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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

NOTES
TO THE SIX FIRST VOLUMES.

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NOTES

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

† DION Cassius (l. liv. p. 736.), with the annotations of Reyman, who has collected all that Roman vanity has left upon the subject. The marble of Ancyra, on which Augustus recorded his own exploits, asserts that he *compelled* the Parthians to restore the ensigns of Crassus.

² Strabo (l. xvi. p. 780.), Pliny the elder (Hist. Natur. l. vi. c. 32. 35.); and Dion Cassius (l. liii. p. 723. and l. liv. p. 734.), have left us very curious details concerning these wars. The Romans made themselves masters of Mariaba, or Merab, a city of Arabia Felix, well known to the Orientals (see Abulfeda and the Nubian geography, p. 52.) They were arrived within three days journey of the Spice country, the rich object of their invasion.

³ By the slaughter of Varus and his three legions. See the first book of the Annals of Tacitus. Sueton. in August. c. 23. and Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 117, etc. Augustus did not receive the melancholy news with all the temper and firmness that might have been expected from his character.

⁴ Tacit. Annal. l. ii. Dion Cassius, l. lvi. p. 833. and the speech of Augustus himself, in Julian's Cæsars. It receives great light from the learned notes of his French translator, M. Spanheim.

⁵ Germanicus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Agricola, were checked and recalled in the course of their victories. Corbulo was put to death. Military merit, as it is admirably expressed by Tacitus, was, in the strictest sense of the word, *imperatoria virtus*.

⁶ Cæsar himself conceals that ignoble motive; but it is mentioned by Suetonius, c. 47. The British pearls proved, however, of little value, on account of their dark and livid colour. Tacitus observes, with reason (in Agricola, c. 12), that it was an inherent defect. "Ego facilius crediderim, naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam."

⁷ Claudius, Nero, and Domitian. A hope is expressed by Pomponius Mela, l. iii. c. 6. he wrote under Claudius that, by the success of the Roman arms, the island and its savage inhabitants would soon be better known. It is amusing enough to peruse such passages in the midst of London.

⁸ See the admirable abridgment given by Tacitus, in the life of
Notes. A

Agricola, and copiously, though perhaps not completely, illustrated by our own antiquarians, Camden and Horsley.

⁹ The Irish writers, jealous of their national honour, are extremely provoked on this occasion, both with Tacitus and with Agricola.

¹⁰ See Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, l. i. c. 10.

¹¹ The poet Buchanan celebrates, with elegance and spirit (see his *Sylvæ* V.), the unviolated independence of his native country. But, if the single testimony of Richard of Cirencester was sufficient to create a Roman province of Vespasiana to the north of the wall, that independence would be reduced within very narrow limits.

¹² See Appian (in Proem.) and the uniform imagery of Ossian's Poems, which, according to every hypothesis, were composed by a native Caledonian.

¹³ See Pliny's Panegyric, which seems founded on facts.

¹⁴ Dion Cassius, l. lxxvii.

¹⁵ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 94. Julian in the *Cæsars*, with Spanheim's observations.

¹⁶ Plin. Epist. viii. 9.

¹⁷ Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii. p. 1123. 1131. Julian in *Cæsaribus*. Eutropius, viii. 2. 6. Aurelius Victor in *Epitome*.

¹⁸ See a Memoir of M. d'Anville, on the Province of Dacia, in the *Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 444—468.

¹⁹ Trajan's sentiments are represented in a very just and lively manner in the *Cæsars* of Julian.

²⁰ Eutropius and Sextus Rufus have endeavoured to perpetuate the illusion. See a very sensible dissertation of M. Freret in the *Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. p. 55.

²¹ Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii; and the Abbreviators.

²² Ovid. *Fast.* l. ii. ver. 667. See Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, under the reign of Tarquin.

²³ St. Augustin is highly delighted with the proof of the weakness of Terminus, and the vanity of the Augurs. See *De Civitate Dei*, iv. 29.

²⁴ See the *Augustan History*, p. 5. Jerome's *Chronicle*, and all the *Epitomisers*. It is somewhat surprising, that this memorable event should be omitted by Dion, or rather by Xiphilin.

²⁵ Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1158. *Hist. August.* p. 5. 8. If all our historians were lost, medals, inscriptions, and other monuments, would be sufficient to record the travels of Hadrian.

²⁶ See the *Augustan History* and the *Epitomes*.

²⁷ We must, however, remember, that, in the time of Hadrian, a rebellion of the Jews raged with religious fury, though only in a single province: Pausanias (l. viii. c. 43.) mentions two necessary and successful wars, conducted by the generals of Pius. 1st, Against the wandering Moors, who were driven into the solitudes of Atlas. 2d, Against the Brigantes of Britain, who had invaded the Roman province. Both these

wars (with several other hostilities) are mentioned in the Augustan History, p. 19.

²⁸ Appian of Alexandria, in the preface to his History of the Roman wars.

²⁹ Dion, l. lxxi. Hist. August. in Marco. The Parthian victories gave birth to a crowd of contemptible historians, whose memory has been rescued from oblivion, and exposed to ridicule, in a very lively piece of criticism of Lucian.

³⁰ The poorest rank of soldiers possessed above forty pounds sterling (Dionys. Halicarn. iv. 17.), a very high qualification, at a time when money was so scarce, that an ounce of silver was equivalent to seventy pound weight of brass. The populace, excluded by the ancient constitution, were indiscriminately admitted by Marius. See Sallust. de Bell. Jugurth. c. 91.

³¹ Cæsar formed his legion Alauda, of Gauls and strangers: but it was during the licence of civil war; and after the victory, he gave them the freedom of the city for their reward.

³² See Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 2—7.

³³ The oath of service and fidelity to the emperor, was annually renewed by the troops, on the first of January.

³⁴ Tacitus calls the Roman Eagles, Bellorum Deos. They were placed in a chapel in the camp, and with the other deities received the religious worship of the troops.

³⁵ See Gronovius de Pecuniâ vetere, l. iii. p. 120, etc. The emperor Domitian raised the annual stipend of the legionaries to twelve pieces of gold, which, in his time, was equivalent to about ten of our guineas. This pay, somewhat higher than our own, had been, and was afterwards, gradually increased, according to the progress of wealth and military government. After twenty years service, the veteran received three thousand denarii (about one hundred pounds sterling), or a proportionable allowance of land. The pay and advantages of the guards were, in general, about double those of the legions.

³⁶ *Exercitus ab exercitando*, Varro de Lingua Latinâ, l. iv. Cicero in Tusculan. l. ii. 37. There is room for a very interesting work, which should lay open the connexion between the languages and manners of nations.

³⁷ Vegetius, l. ii. and the rest of his first book.

³⁸ The Pyrrhic Dance is extremely well illustrated by M. le Beau in the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxv. p. 262, etc. That learned academician, in a series of memoirs, has collected all the passages of the ancients that relate to the Roman legion.

³⁹ Joseph. de Bell. Judaico, l. iii. c. 5. We are indebted to this Jew for some very curious details of Roman discipline.

⁴⁰ Plin. Panegyri. c. 13. Life of Hadrian, in the Augustan History.

⁴¹ See an admirable digression on the Roman discipline, in the sixth book of his history.

⁴² Vegetius de Re Militari, l. ii. c. 4, etc. Considerable part of his very perplexed abridgment was taken from the regulations of Trajan and Hadrian; and the legion, as he describes it, cannot suit any other age of the Roman empire.

⁴³ Vegetius de Re Militari, l. ii. c. 1. In the purer age of Cæsar and Cicero, the word *miles* was almost confined to the infantry. Under the lower empire, and in the times of chivalry, it was appropriated almost as exclusively to the men at arms, who fought on horseback.

⁴⁴ In the time of Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. v. c. 45.), the steel point of the *pilum* seems to have been much longer. In the time of Vegetius, it was reduced to a foot, or even nine inches. I have chosen a medium.

⁴⁵ For the legionary arms, see Lipsius de Militiâ Romanâ, l. iii. c. 2—7.

⁴⁶ See the beautiful comparison of Virgil, Georgic. ii. v. 279.

⁴⁷ M. Guichard, Mémoires Militaires, tom. i. c. 4. and Nouveaux Mémoires, tom. i. p. 293—311, has treated the subject like a scholar and an officer.

⁴⁸ See Arrian's Tactics. With the true partiality of a Greek, Arrian rather chose to describe the phalanx, of which he had read, than the legions which he had commanded.

⁴⁹ Polyb. l. xvii.

⁵⁰ Veget. de Re Militari, l. ii. c. 6. His positive testimony, which might be supported by circumstantial evidence, ought surely to silence those critics who refuse the Imperial legion its proper body of cavalry.

⁵¹ See Livy almost throughout, particularly xlii. 61.

⁵² Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 2. The true sense of that very curious passage was first discovered and illustrated by M. de Beaufort, République Romaine, l. ii. c. 2.

⁵³ As in the instance of Horace and Agricola. This appears to have been a defect in the Roman discipline; which Hadrian endeavoured to remedy, by ascertaining the legal age of a tribune.

⁵⁴ See Arrian's Tactics.

⁵⁵ Such, in particular, was the state of the Batavians. Tacit. Germania, c. 29.

⁵⁶ Marcus Antoninus obliged the vanquished Quadi and Marcomanni to supply him with a large body of troops, which he immediately sent into Britain. Dion Cassius, l. lxxi.

⁵⁷ Tacit. Annal. iv. 5. Those who fix a regular proportion of as many foot, and twice as many horse, confound the auxiliaries of the emperors, with the Italian allies of the republic.

⁵⁸ Vegetius, ii. 2. Arrian, in his order of march and battle against the Alani.

⁵⁹ The subject of the ancient machines is treated with great knowledge and ingenuity by the Chevalier Folard (Polybe, tom. ii. p. 233—290.). He prefers them in many respects to our modern cannon and mortars. We

may observe, that the use of them in the field gradually became more prevalent, in proportion as personal valour and military skill declined with the Roman empire. When men were no longer found, their place was supplied by machines. See Vegetius, ii. 25. Arrian.

⁶⁰ Vegetius finishes his second book, and the description of the legion, with the following emphatic words: „ *Univerſa quæ in quoque belli genere neceſſaria eſſe creduntur, ſecum legio debet ubique portare, ut in quovis loco fixerit caſtra, armatam faciat civitatem.* ”

⁶¹ For the Roman Caſtrametation, ſee Polybius, l. vi. with Lipſius de *Militiâ Romanâ*, Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 5. Vegetius, i. 21—25. iii. 9. and Mémoires de Guichard, tom. i. c. 1.

⁶² Cicero, in Tuſculan. ii. 37.—Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. 5. Frontinus, iv. 1.

⁶³ Vegetius, i. 9. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxv. p. 187.

⁶⁴ See thoſe evolutions admirably well explained by M. Guichard *Nouveaux Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 141—234.

⁶⁵ Tacitus (Annal. iv. 5.) has given us a ſtate of the legions under Tiberius: and Dion Caſſius (l. lv. p. 794.) under Alexander Severus. I have endeavoured to fix on the proper medium between theſe two periods, See likewiſe Lipſius, de *Magnitudine Romanâ*, l. i. c. 4. 5.

⁶⁶ The Romans tried to diſguiſe, by the pretence of religious awe, their ignorance and terror. See Tacit. *Germania*, c. 34.

⁶⁷ Plutarch. in *Marc. Anton.* And yet, if we may credit Oroſius, theſe monſtrous caſtles were no more than ten feet above the water, vi. 19.

⁶⁸ See Lipſius, de *Magnitud. Rom.* l. i. c. 5. The ſixteen laſt chapters of Vegetius relate to naval affairs.

⁶⁹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* c. 29. It muſt, however, be remembered, that France ſtill feels that extraordinary effort.

⁷⁰ See Strabo, l. ii. It is natural enough to ſuppoſe, that Arragon is derived from *Tarraconenſis*, and ſeveral moderns who have written in Latin, uſe thoſe words as ſynonymous. It is however certain, that the Arragon, a little ſtream which falls from the Pyrenees into the Ebro, firſt gave its name to a country, and gradually to a kingdom. See d'Anville, *Géographie du moyen Age*, p. 181.

⁷¹ One hundred and fifteen *cities* appear in the *Notitia* of Gaul; and it is well known that this appellation was applied not only to the capital town, but to the whole territory of each ſtate. But Plutarch and Appian increaſe the number of tribes to three or four hundred.

⁷² D'Anville, *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule.*

⁷³ Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, Vol. i. c. 3.

⁷⁴ The Italian Veneti, though often confounded with the Gauls, were more probably of Illyrian origin. See M. Freret, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions*, tom. xviii.

⁷⁵ See *Maffei Verona illuſtrata*, l. i.

⁷⁶ The first contrast was observed by the ancients. See Florus, i. 11. The second must strike every modern traveller.

⁷⁷ Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. iii.) follows the division of Italy, by Augustus.

⁷⁸ Tournefort, Voyages en Grèce et Asie Mineure, lettre xviii.

⁷⁹ The name of Illyricum originally belonged to the sea-coast of the Hadriatic, and was gradually extended by the Romans from the Alps to the Euxine sea. See Severini Pannonia, l. i. c. 3.

⁸⁰ A Venetian traveller, the Abbate Fortis, has lately given us some account of those very obscure countries. But the geography and antiquities of the western Illyricum can be expected only from the munificence of the emperor, its sovereign.

⁸¹ The Save rises near the confines of *Istria*, and was considered by the more early Greeks as the principal stream of the Danube.

⁸² See the Periplus of Arrian. He examined the coasts of the Euxine, when he was governor of Cappadocia.

⁸³ The progress of religion is well known. The use of letters was introduced among the savages of Europe about fifteen hundred years before Christ; and the Europeans carried them to America, about fifteen centuries after the Christian æra. But in a period of three thousand years, the Phœnician alphabet received considerable alterations, as it passed through the hands of the Greeks and Romans.

⁸⁴ Dion Cassius, lib. lxxviii. p. 1131.

⁸⁵ Ptolemy and Strabo, with the modern geographers, fix the Isthmus of Suez as the boundary of Asia and Africa. Dionysius, Mela, Pliny, Sallust, Hirtius and Solinus, have preferred for that purpose the western branch of the Nile, or even the great Catabathmus, or descent, which last would assign to Asia, not only Egypt, but part of Libya.

⁸⁶ The long range, moderate height, and gentle declivity of mount Atlas (See Shaw's Travels, p. 5.) are very unlike a solitary mountain which rears its head into the clouds, and seems to support the heavens. The peak of Teneriff, on the contrary, rises a league and a half above the surface of the sea, and as it was frequently visited by the Phœnicians, might engage the notice of the Greek poets. See Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 312. Histoire des Voyages, tom. ii.

⁸⁷ M. de Voltaire, tom. xiv. p. 297. unsupported by either fact or probability, has generously bestowed the Canary Islands on the Roman empire.

⁸⁸ Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4. a very useful collection.

⁸⁹ See Templeman's Survey of the Globe: but I distrust both the doctor's learning and his maps.

C H A P. II.

¹ They were erected about the midway between Lahor and Dehli. The conquests of Alexander in Hindostan were confined to the Punjah, a country watered by the five great streams of the Indus.

² See M. de Guignes *Histoire des Huns*, l. xv, xvi, and xvii.

³ There is not any writer who describes in so lively a manner as Herodotus, the true genius of Polytheism. The best commentary may be found in Mr. Hume's *Natural History of Religion*; and the best contrast in Bossuet's *Universal History*. Some obscure traces of an intolerant spirit appear in the conduct of the Egyptians (see Juvenal, Sat. xv.); and the Christians as well as Jews, who lived under the Roman empire, formed a very important exception: so important indeed, that the discussion will require a distinct chapter of this work.

⁴ The rights, powers, and pretensions of the sovereign of Olympus, are very clearly described in the xvth book of the *Iliad*: in the Greek original, I mean; for Mr. Pope, without perceiving it, has improved the theology of Homer.

⁵ See for instance, Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 17. Within a century or two the Gauls themselves applied to their gods the names of Mercury, Mars, Apollo, etc.

⁶ The admirable work of Cicero *de Naturâ Deorum*, is the best clue we have to guide us through the dark and profound abyss. He represents with candour, and confutes with subtlety, the opinions of the philosophers.

⁷ I do not pretend to assert, that, in this irreligious age, the natural terrors of superstition, dreams, omens, apparitions, etc. had lost their efficacy.

⁸ Socrates, Epicurus, Cicero, and Plutarch, always inculcated a decent reverence for the religion of their own country, and of mankind. The devotion of Epicurus was assiduous and exemplary. Diogen. Laert. x. 10.

⁹ Polybius, l. vi. c. 53, 54. Juvenal. Sat. xiii. laments, that in his time this apprehension had lost much of its effect.

¹⁰ See the fate of Syracuse, Tarentum, Ambracia, Corinth, etc. the conduct of Verres, in Cicero (*Actio ii. Orat.* 4.), and the usual practice of governors, in the viiith Satire of Juvenal.

¹¹ Sueton. in Claud.—Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 1.

¹² Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. vi. p. 230—252.

¹³ Seneca, in *Consolat. ad Helviam*, p. 74. Edit. Lips.

¹⁴ Dionysius Halicarn. *Antiquitat. Roman.* l. ii.

¹⁵ In the year of Rome 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was demolished by the order of the senate (Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 252.), and even by the hands of the consul (Valerius Maximus, 1. 3.). After the death of Cæsar, it was restored at the public expence (Dion, l. xlvii. p. 501.). When Augustus was in Egypt, he revered the majesty of Serapis (Dion, l. li.

p. 647.); but in the *Pomærium* of Rome, and a mile round it, he prohibited the worship of the Egyptian gods (Dion, l. liii. p. 679. l. liv, p. 735.). They remained, however, very fashionable under his reign (Ovid. *de Art. amand.* l. i.) and that of his successor, till the justice of Tiberius was provoked to some acts of severity. (See Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 85, Joseph. *Antiquit.* l. xviii. c. 3.).

¹⁶ Tertullian, in *Apologetic.* c. 6. p. 74. Edit. Havercamp I am inclined to attribute their establishment to the devotion of the Flavian family.

¹⁷ See Livy, l. xi. and xxix.

¹⁸ Macrob. *Saturnalia*, l. iii. c. 9. He gives us a form of evocation.

¹⁹ Minutius Fælix, in Octavio, p. 54. Arnobius, l. vi. p. 115.

²⁰ Tacit. *Annal.* xi. 24. The *Orbis Romanus* of the learned Spanheim, is a complete history of the progressive admission of Latium, Italy, and the provinces, to the freedom of Rome.

²¹ Herodotus, v. 97. It should seem, however, that he followed a large and popular estimation.

²² Athenæus *Deipnosophist.* l. vi. p. 272. Edit. Casaubon. Meursius, *de Fortunâ Atticâ*, c. 4.

²³ See a very accurate collection of the numbers of each *Lustrum* in M. de Beaufort, *République Romaine*, l. iv. c. 4.

²⁴ Appian. *de Bell. civil.* l. i. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 15, 16, 17.

²⁵ Mæcenæ had advised him to declare by one edict, all his subjects citizens. But we may justly suspect that the historian Dion was the author of a counsel, so much adapted to the practice of his own age, and so little to that of Augustus.

²⁶ The senators were obliged to have one-third of their own landed property in Italy. See Plin. l. vi. ep. 19. The qualification was reduced by Marcus to one-fourth. Since the reign of Trajan, Italy had sunk nearer to the level of the provinces.

²⁷ The first part of the *Verona Illustrata* of the Marquis Maffei, gives the clearest and most comprehensive view of the state of Italy under the Cæsars.

²⁸ See Pausanias, l. vii. The Romans condescended to restore the names of those assemblies, when they could no longer be dangerous.

²⁹ They are frequently mentioned by Cæsar. The Abbé Dubos attempts, with very little success, to prove that the assemblies of Gaul were continued under the emperors. *Histoire de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Française*, l. i. c. 4.

³⁰ Seneca, in *Consolat. ad Helviam*, c. 6.

³¹ Memnon apud Photium, c. 33. Valer. Maxim. ix. 2. Plutarch and Dion Cassius swell the massacre to 150,000 citizens; but I should esteem the smaller number to be more than sufficient.

³² Twenty-five colonies were settled in Spain (see Plin. *Hist. Natur.* iii. 3, 4. iv. 35.): and nine in Britain, of which London, Colchester, Lincoln, Chester, Gloucester, and Bath, still remain considerable cities.

(see Richard of Cirencester, p. 36., and Whitaker's History of Manchester, l. i. c. 3.).

³³ Aul. Gell. Noctes Atticæ, xvi. 13. The emperor Hadrian expressed his surprise, that the cities of Utica, Gades, and Itatica, which already enjoyed the rights of *Municipia*, should solicit the title of *Colonies*. Their example, however, became fashionable, and the empire was filled with honorary colonies. See Spanheim, de Ufu Numismatum, Dissertat. xiii.

³⁴ Spanheim, Orbis Roman. c. 8. p. 62.

³⁵ Aristid. in Romæ Encomio, tom. i. p. 218. Edit. Jebb.

³⁶ Tacit. Annal. xi. 23, 24. Hist. iv. 74.

³⁷ See Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, xix. 7. Lipsius de pronunciatione Linguæ Latinæ, c. 3.

³⁸ Apuleius and Augustin will answer for Africa; Strabo for Spain and Gaul; Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, for Britain; and Velleius Paterculus, for Pannonia. To them we may add the language of the Inscriptions.

³⁹ The Celtic was preserved in the mountains of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica. We may observe that Apuleius reproaches an African youth, who lived among the populace, with the use of the Punic; whilst he had almost forgot Greek, and neither could nor would speak Latin (Apolog. p. 596). The greater part of St. Augustin's congregations were strangers to the Punic.

⁴⁰ Spain alone produced Columella, the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian.

⁴¹ There is not, I believe, from Dionysius to Libanius, a single Greek critic who mentions Virgil or Horace. They seem ignorant that the Romans had any good writers.

⁴² The curious reader may see in Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. xix. p. 1. c. 8.) how much the use of the Syriac and Egyptian languages was still preserved.

⁴³ See Juvenal, Sat. iii. and xv. Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.

⁴⁴ Dion Cassius, l. lxxvii. p. 1275. The first instance happened under the reign of Septimius Severus.

⁴⁵ See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 2. n. 2. The emperor Claudius disfranchised an eminent Grecian for not understanding Latin. He was probably in some public office. Suetonius in Claud. c. 16.

⁴⁶ In the camp of Lucullus, an ox sold for a drachma, and a slave for four drachmæ, or about three shillings. Plutarch. in Lucull. p. 580.

⁴⁷ Diodorus Siculus in Eclog. Hist. l. xxxiv. and xxxvi. Florus, iii. 19, 20.

⁴⁸ See a remarkable instance of severity in Cicero, in Verrem, v. 3.

⁴⁹ See in Gruter, and the other collectors, a great number of inscriptions addressed by slaves to their wives, children, fellow-servants, masters, etc. They are all most probably of the Imperial age.

⁵⁰ See the Augustan History, and a Dissertation of M. de Burigny, in the xxxvth volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, upon the Roman slaves.

⁵¹ See another Dissertation of M. de Burigny in the xxxviiiith volume, on the Roman freedmen.

⁵² Spanheim, *Orbis Roman.* l. i. c. 16. p. 124, etc.

⁵³ Seneca de Clementiâ, l. i. c. 24. The original is much stronger, „ Quantum periculum immineret si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent. „

⁵⁴ See Pliny (*Hist. natur.* l. xxxiii.) and Athenæus (*Deipnosophist.* l. vi. p. 272.) The latter boldly asserts, that he knew very many (παμπολλοι) Romans who possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and even twenty thousand slaves.

⁵⁵ In Paris there are not more than 43,700 domestics of every sort, and not a twelfth part of the inhabitants. *Messange Recherches sur la Population*, p. 186.

⁵⁶ A learned slave sold for many hundred pounds sterling; Atticus always bred and taught them himself. *Cornel. Nepos in Vit.* c. 13.

⁵⁷ Many of the Roman physicians were slaves. See Dr. Middleton's *Dissertation and Defence*.

⁵⁸ Their ranks and offices are very copiously enumerated by *Pignori* de Servis.

⁵⁹ *Tacit. Annal.* xiv. 43. They were all executed for not preventing their master's murder.

⁶⁰ *Apuleius in Apolog.* p. 548. Edit. Delphin.

⁶¹ *Plin. Hist. Natur.* l. xxxiii. 47.

⁶² Compute twenty millions in France, twenty-two in Germany, four in Hungary, ten in Italy with its islands, eight in Great Britain and Ireland, eight in Spain and Portugal, ten or twelve in the European Russia, six in Poland, six in Greece and Turkey, four in Sweden, three in Denmark and Norway, four in the Low Countries. The whole would amount to one hundred and five, or one hundred and seven millions. See *Voltaire, Histoire Générale*.

⁶³ *Joseph de Bell. Judaico*, l. ii. c. 16. The oration of Agrippa, or rather of the historian, is a fine picture of the Roman empire.

⁶⁴ *Sueton. in August.* c. 28. Augustus built in Rome the temple and forum of Mars the Avenger; the temple of Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol; that of Apollo Palatine, with public libraries; the portico and basilica of Caius and Lucius, the porticoes of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus. The example of the sovereign was imitated by his ministers and generals; and his friend Agrippa left behind him the immortal monument of the Pantheon.

⁶⁵ See *Maffei, Verona illustrata*, l. iv. p. 68.

⁶⁶ See the xth book of Pliny's *Epistles*. He mentions the following works, carried on at the expence of the cities. At Nicomedia, a new forum, an aqueduct, and a canal, left unfinished by a king; at Nice, a Gymnasium, and a theatre which had already cost near ninety thousand pounds; baths at Prusa and Claudiopoli; and an aqueduct of sixteen miles in length for the use of Sinope.

⁶⁷ Hadrian afterwards made a very equitable regulation, which divided

all treasure-trove between the right of property and that of discovery. Hist. August. p. 9.

⁶⁸ Philostrat. in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. p. 548.

⁶⁹ Aulus Gellius, in Noct. Attic. i. 2. ix. 2. xviii. 10. xix. 12. Philostrat. p. 564.

⁷⁰ See Philostrat. l. ii. p. 548. 566. Pausanias, l. i. and vii. 10. The life of Herodes, in the xxxth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

⁷¹ It is particularly remarked of Athens by Dicæarchus, de Statu Græciæ, p. 8. inter Geographos Minores, edit. Hudson.

⁷² Donatus de Româ Vetere, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6. Nardini Roma Antica, l. iii. 11, 12, 13. and a MS. description of ancient Rome, by Bernardus Oricellarius, or Rucellai, of which I obtained a copy from the library of the Canon Ricardi at Florence. Two celebrated pictures of Timanthes and of Protogenes are mentioned by Pliny, as in the Temple of Peace; and the Laocoon was found in the baths of Titus.

⁷³ Montfaucon l'Antiquité Expliquée, tom. iv. p. 2. l. i. c. 9. Fabretti has composed a very learned treatise on the aqueducts of Rome.

⁷⁴ Ælian. Hist. Var. l. ix. c. 16. He lived in the time of Alexander Severus. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græca, l. iv. c. 21.

⁷⁵ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 16. The number, however, is mentioned, and should be received with a degree of latitude.

⁷⁶ Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5.

⁷⁷ Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 3, 4, iv. 35. The list seems authentic and accurate: the division of the provinces, and the different condition of the cities, are minutely distinguished.

⁷⁸ Strabon. Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1189.

⁷⁹ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 16. Philostrat. in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. p. 548. Edit. Olear.

⁸⁰ Tacit. Annal. iv. 55. I have taken some pains in consulting and comparing modern travellers, with regard to the fate of those eleven cities of Asia; seven or eight are totally destroyed, Hypæpe, Tralles, Laodicea, Ilium, Halicarnassus, Miletus, Ephesus, and we may add Sardes. Of the remaining three, Pergamus is a straggling village of two or three thousand inhabitants; Magnesia, under the name of Guzel-hissar, a town of some consequence; and Smyrna, a great city, peopled by an hundred thousand souls. But even at Smyrna, while the Franks have maintained commerce, the Turks have ruined the arts.

⁸¹ See a very exact and pleasing description of the ruins of Laodicea, in Chandler's Travels through Asia Minor, p. 225, etc.

⁸² Strabo, l. xii. p. 866. He had studied at Tralles.

⁸³ See a Dissertation of M. de Boze, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xviii. Aristides pronounced an oration which is still extant, to recommend concord to the rival cities.

⁸⁴ The inhabitants of Egypt, exclusive of Alexandria, amounted to seven millions and a half (Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 16.) Under the

military government of the Mamalukes, Syria was supposed to contain sixty thousand villages (*Histoire de Timur Bec*, l. v. c. 20.)

⁸⁵ The following Itinerary may serve to convey some idea of the direction of the road, and of the distance between the principal towns. I. From the wall of Antoninus to York, 222 Roman miles. II. London 227. III. Rhotupia or Sandwich 67. IV. The navigation to Boulogne 45. V. Rheims 174. VI. Lyons 330. VII. Milan 324. VIII. Rome 426. IX. Brundisium 360. X. The navigation to Dyrrachium 40. XI. Byzantium 711. XII. Ancyra 283. XIII. Tarsus 301. XIV. Antioch 141. XV. Tyre 252. XVI. Jerusalem 168. In all 4080 Roman, or 3740 English miles. See the Itineraries published by Wesseling, his annotations; Gale and Stukeley for Britain, and M. d'Anville for Gaul and Italy.

⁸⁶ Montfaucon, *l'Antiquité Expliquée*, (tom. iv. p. 2. l. i. c. 5.) has described the bridges of Narni, Alcantara, Nîmes, etc.

⁸⁷ Bergier *Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain*, l. ii. c. 1—28.

⁸⁸ Procopius in *Hist. Arcanâ*, c. 30. Bergier *Hist. des grands Chemins*. l. iv. Codex Theodosian. l. viii. tit. v. vol. ii. p. 506—563 with Godefroy's learned commentary.

⁸⁹ In the time of Theodosius, Cæsarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles. See Libanius *Orat* xxii. and the *Itineraria*, p. 572—581.

⁹⁰ Pliny, though a favourite and a minister, made an apology for granting post-horses to his wife on the most urgent business. *Epist.* x. 121, 122.

⁹¹ Bergier *Hist. des grands Chemins*, l. iv. c. 49.

⁹² Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xix. 1.

⁹³ It is not improbable that the Greeks and Phœnicians introduced some new arts and productions into the neighbourhood of Marseilles and Gades.

⁹⁴ See Homer. *Odyss.* l. ix. v. 358.

⁹⁵ Plin. *Hist. Natur.* l. xiv.

⁹⁶ Strab. *Geograph.* l. iv. p. 223. The intense cold of a Gallic winter was almost proverbial among the ancients.

⁹⁷ In the beginning of the ivth century, the orator Eumenius (*Panegyric. Veter.* viii. 6. edit. Delphin.) speaks of the vines in the territory of Autun, which were decayed through age, and the first plantation of which was totally unknown. The Pagus Arabrignus is supposed by M. d'Anville to be the district of Beaune, celebrated, even at present, for one of the first growths of Burgundy.

⁹⁸ Plin. *Hist. Natur.* l. xv.

⁹⁹ Plin. *Hist. Natur.* l. xix.

¹⁰⁰ See the agreeable *Essays on Agriculture* by Mr. Harte, in which he has collected all that the ancients and moderns have said of lucerne.

¹⁰¹ Tacit. Germania, c. 45. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxviii. 11. The latter observed, with some humour, that even fashion had not yet found out the use of amber. Nero sent a Roman knight, to purchase great quantities on the spot, where it was produced; the coast of modern Prussia.

¹⁰² Called Tabrobana by the Romans, and Serendib by the Arabs. It was discovered under the reign of Claudius, and gradually became the principal mart of the East.

¹⁰³ Plin. Hist. Natur. l. vi. Strabo, l. xvii.

¹⁰⁴ Hist. August. p. 224. A silk garment was considered as an ornament to a woman, but as a disgrace to a man.

¹⁰⁵ The two great pearl fisheries were the same as at present, Ormuz and Cape Comorin. As well as we can compare ancient with modern geography, Rome was supplied with diamonds from the mine of Jumelpur, in Bengal, which is described in the Voyages de Tavernier, tom. ii. p. 281.

¹⁰⁶ Tacit. Annal. iii. 52. In a speech of Tiberius.

¹⁰⁷ Plin. Hist. Natur. xii. 18. In another place he computes half that sum; Quingenties H. S. for India exclusive of Arabia.

¹⁰⁸ The proportion which was 1 to 10, and $12\frac{1}{2}$, rose to $14\frac{2}{5}$ the legal regulation of Constantine. See Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient Coins, c. v.

¹⁰⁹ Among many other passages, see Pliny (Hist. Natur. iii. 5.), Aristides (de Urbe Româ) and Tertullian (de Animâ, c. 30.).

¹¹⁰ Herodes Atticus gave the sophist Polemo above eight thousand pounds for three declamations. See Philostrat. l. i. p. 558. The Antonines founded a school at Athens, in which professors of grammar, rhetoric, politics, and the four great sects of philosophy, were maintained at the public expence for the instruction of youth. The salary of a philosopher was ten thousand drachmæ, between three and four hundred pounds a year. Similar establishments were formed in the other great cities of the empire. See Lucian in Eunuch. tom. ii. p. 353. edit. Reitz. Philostrat. l. ii. p. 566. Hist. August. p. 21. Dion Cassius, l. lxxi. p. 1195. Juvenal himself, in a morose satire, which in every line betrays his own disappointment and envy, is obliged, however, to say,

——— O Juvenes, circumspicit et agitat vos.

Materiamque sibi Ducis indulgentia quærit.

Satir. VII. 25.

¹¹¹ Longin. de Sublim. c. 43. p. 229. edit. Toll. Here too we may say of Longinus, "his own example strengthens all his laws." Instead of proposing his sentiments with a manly boldness, he insinuates them with the most guarded caution, puts them into the mouth of a friend; and, as far as we can collect from a corrupted text, makes a shew of refuting them himself.

CHAP. III.

¹ Orosius, vi. 18.

² Julius Cæsar introduced soldiers, strangers, and half-barbarians, into the senate (Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 77. 80.) The abuse became still more scandalous after his death.

³ Dion, Cassius, l. iii. p. 693. Suetonius in August. c. 55.

⁴ Dion (l. liii. p. 698.) gives us a prolix and bombast speech on this great occasion. I have borrowed from Suetonius and Tacitus the general language of Augustus.

⁵ *Imperator* (from which we have derived Emperor) signified under the republic no more than *general*, and was emphatically bestowed by the soldiers, when on the field of battle they proclaimed their victorious leader worthy of that title. When the Roman *emperors* assumed it in that sense, they placed it after their name, and marked how often they had taken it.

⁶ Dion, l. liii. p. 703, etc.

⁷ Livy, Epitom. l. xiv. Valer. Maxim. vi. 3.

⁸ See in the viiith book of Livy, the conduct of Manlius Torquatus and Papirius Cursor. They violated the laws of nature and humanity, but they asserted those of military discipline; and the people, who abhorred the action, was obliged to respect the principle.

⁹ By the lavish but unconstrained suffrages of the people, Pompey had obtained a military command scarcely inferior to that of Augustus. Among the extraordinary acts of power executed by the former, we may remark the foundation of twenty-nine cities, and the distribution of three or four millions sterling to his troops. The ratification of his acts met with some opposition and delays in the senate. See Plutarch, Appian, Dion Cassius, and the first book of the epistles to Atticus.

¹⁰ Under the commonwealth, a triumph could only be claimed by the general, who was authorized to take the Auspices in the name of the people. By an exact consequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was reserved to the emperor; and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which, under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour.

¹¹ Cicero (de Legibus, iii. 3.) gives the consular office the name of *Regia potestas*: and Polybius (l. vi. c. 3.) observes three powers in the Roman constitution. The monarchical was represented and exercised by the Consuls.

¹² As the tribunitian power (distinct from the annual office) was first invented for the dictator Cæsar (Dion, l. xliv. p. 384.), we may easily conceive, that it was given as a reward for having so nobly asserted,

by arms, the sacred rights of the tribunes and people. See his own Commentaries, de Bell. Civil. l. i.

¹³ Augustus exercised nine annual consulships without interruption. He then most artfully refused that magistracy as well as the dictatorship, absented himself from Rome, and waited till the fatal effects of tumult and faction forced the senate to invest him with a perpetual consulship. Augustus, as well as his successors, affected, however, to conceal so invidious a title.

¹⁴ See a fragment of a Decree of the Senate, conferring on the emperor Vespasian, all the powers granted to his predecessors, Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius. This curious and important monument is published in Gruter's Inscriptions, N° ccxlii.

¹⁵ Two consuls were created on the Calends of January; but in the course of the year others were substituted in their places, till the annual number seems to have amounted to no less than twelve. The prætors were usually sixteen or eighteen (Lipsius in Excurs. D. ad Tacit. Annal. l. i.) I have not mentioned the Ædiles or Quæstors. Officers of the police or revenue easily adapt themselves to any form of government. In the time of Nero, the tribunes legally possessed the right of *intercession*, though it might be dangerous to exercise it (Tacit. Annal. xvi. 26.) In the time of Trajan, it was doubtful whether the tribuneship was an office or a name (Plin. Epist. i. 23.)

¹⁶ The tyrants themselves were ambitious of the consulship. The virtuous princes were moderate in the pursuit, and exact in the discharge of it. Trajan revived the ancient oath, and swore before the consul's tribunal, that he would observe the laws (Plin. Panegyric. c. 64.)

¹⁷ Quoties Magistratum Comitibus interesset, Tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat, supplicabatque more solemniori. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribubus, ut unus e populo. Suetonius in August. c. 56.

¹⁸ Tum primum Comitia e campo ad patres translata sunt. Tacit. Annal. i. 15. The word *primum* seems to allude to some faint and unsuccessful efforts, which were made towards restoring them to the people.

¹⁹ Dion Cassius (l. liii. p. 703—714) has given a very loose and partial sketch of the imperial system. To illustrate and often to correct him, I have meditated Tacitus, examined Suetonius, and consulted the following moderns: the Abbé de la Bléterie, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xix. xxi. xxiv, xxv. xxvii. Beaufort, République Romaine, tom. i. p. 255—275. Two Dissertations of Noodt and Gronovius, de lege Regiâ; printed at Leyden, in the year 1731. Gravina de Imperio Romano, p. 479—544. of his Opuscula. Maffei Verona Illustrata, p. i. p. 245, etc.

²⁰ A weak prince will always be governed by his domestics. The power of slaves aggravated the shame of the Romans; and the senate paid court to a Pallas or a Narcissus. There is a chance that a modern favourite may be a gentleman.

²¹ See a treatise of Vandale de Consecratione Principum. It would

be easier for me to copy, than it has been to verify, the quotations of that learned Dutchman.

²² See a dissertation of the Abbé Mongault in the first volume of the Academy of Inscriptions.

²³ *Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras*, says Horace to the emperor himself, and Horace was well acquainted with the court of Augustus.

²⁴ See Cicero in Philippic. i. 6. Julian in *Cæsaribus*. *Inque Deum templis jurabit Roma per umbras*, is the indignant expression of Lucan, but it is a patriotic, rather than a devout indignation.

²⁵ Dion Cassius, l. liii. p. 710. with the curious Annotations of Reymar.

²⁶ As Octavianus advanced to the banquet of the Cæsars, his colour changed like that of the Camelion; pale at first, then red, afterwards black, he at last assumed the mild livery of Venus and the graces. (*Cæsares*, p. 309.) This image employed by Julian, in his ingenious fiction, is just and elegant; but when he considers this change of character as real, and ascribes it to the power of philosophy, he does too much honour to philosophy, and to Octavianus.

²⁷ Two centuries after the establishment of monarchy, the emperor Marcus Antoninus recommends the character of Brutus as a perfect model of Roman virtue.

²⁸ It is much to be regretted, that we have lost the part of Tacitus, which treated of that transaction. We are forced to content ourselves with the popular rumours of Josephus, and the imperfect hints of Dion and Suetonius.

²⁹ Augustus restored the ancient severity of discipline. After the civil wars, he dropped the endearing name of Fellow Soldiers, and called them only Soldiers (*Sueton. in August. c. 25.*) See the use Tiberius made of the senate in the mutiny of the Pannonian legions (*Tacit. Annal. i.*)

³⁰ These words seem to have been the constitutional language. See *Tacit. Annal. xiii. 4.*

³¹ The first was Camillus Scribonianus, who took up arms in Dalmatia against Claudius, and was deserted by his own troops in five days. The second, L. Antonius, in Germany, who rebelled against Domitian; and the third, Avidius Cassius, in the reign of M. Antoninus. The two last reigned but a few months, and were cut off by their own adherents. We may observe, that both Camillus and Cassius coloured their ambition with the design of restoring the republic; a task, said Cassius, peculiarly reserved for his name and family.

³² Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 121. *Sueton. in Tiber. c. 20.*

³³ *Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. Plin. in Præfat. Hist. Natur.*

³⁴ This idea is frequently and strongly inculcated by Tacitus. See *Hist. i. 5. 16. ii. 76.*

³⁵ The emperor Vespasian, with his usual good sense, laughed at the Genealogists,

Genealogists, who deduced his family from Flavius, the founder of Reate (his native country), and one of the companions of Hercules. Suet. in Vespasian. c. 12.

³⁶ Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1121. Plin. Secund. in Panegyric.

³⁷ Felicior Augusto, MELIOR TRAJANO. Eutrop. viii. 5.

³⁸ Dion (l. lxxix. p. 1249.) affirms the whole to have been a fiction, on the authority of his father, who being governor of the province where Trajan died, had very good opportunities of sifting this mysterious transaction. Yet Dodwell (Prælect. Camden. xvii.) has maintained, that Hadrian was called to the certain hope of the empire, during the lifetime of Trajan.

³⁹ Dion (l. lxx. p. 1171.) Aurel. Victor.

⁴⁰ The deification of Antinous, his medals, statues, temples, city, oracles, and constellation, are well known, and still dishonour the memory of Hadrian. Yet we may remark, that of the first fifteen emperors, Claudius was the only one whose taste in love was entirely correct. For the honours of Antinous, see Spanheim, Commentaire sur les Césars de Julien, p. 80.

⁴¹ Hist. August. p. 13. Aurelius Victor in Epitom.

⁴² Without the help of medals and inscriptions, we should be ignorant of this fact, so honourable to the memory of Pius.

⁴³ During the twenty-three years of Pius's reign, Marcus was only two nights absent from the palace, and even those were at different times. Hist. August. p. 25.

⁴⁴ He was fond of the theatre, and not insensible to the charms of the fair sex. Marcus Antoninus, i. 16. Hist. August. p. 20, 21. Julian in Cæsar.

⁴⁵ The enemies of Marcus charged him with hypocrisy, and with a want of that simplicity which distinguished Pius and even Verus (Hist. August. 6. 34.) This suspicion, unjust as it was, may serve to account for the superior applause bestowed upon personal qualifications, in preference to the social virtues. Even Marcus Antoninus has been called a hypocrite; but the wildest scepticism never insinuated that Cæsar might possibly be a coward, or Tully a fool. Wit and valour are qualifications more easily ascertained, than humanity or the love of justice.

⁴⁶ Tacitus has characterized, in a few words, the principles of the portico. Doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia; potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis adnumerant. Tacit. Hist. iv. 5.

⁴⁷ Before he went on the second expedition against the Germans, he read lectures of philosophy to the Roman people, during three days. He had already done the same in the cities of Greece and Asia. Hist. August. in Cassio, c. 3.

⁴⁸ Dion, l. lxxi. p. 1190. Hist. August. in Avid. Cassio.

⁴⁹ Hist. August. in Marc. Antonin. c. 18.

⁵⁰ Vitellius consumed in mere eating, at least six millions of our money,

in about seven months. It is not easy to express his vices with dignity, or even decency. Tacitus fairly calls him a hog; but it is by substituting to a coarse word a very fine image. "At Vitellius, umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut *ignava animalia*, quibus si cibum suggeras jacent torpentque, præterita, instantia, futura, pari oblivione dimiserat. Atque illum nemore Aricino desidem et marcentem, etc." Tacit. Hist. iii. 36. ii. 95. Sueton. in Vitell. c. 13. Dion Cassius, l. lxxv. p. 1062.

⁵¹ The execution of Helvidius Priscus, and of the virtuous Eponina, disgraced the reign of Vespasian.

⁵² Voyage de Chardin en Perse, vol. iii. p. 293.

⁵³ The practice of raising slaves to the great offices of state is still more common among the Turks than among the Persians. The miserable countries of Georgia and Circassia supply rulers to the greatest part of the east.

⁵⁴ Chardin says, that European travellers have diffused among the Persians some ideas of the freedom and mildness of our governments. They have done them a very ill office.

⁵⁵ They alleged the example of Scipio and Cato (Tacit. Annal. iii. 66.) Marcellus Epirus and Crispus Vibius had acquired two millions and a half under Nero. Their wealth, which aggravated their crimes, protected them under Vespasian. See Tacit. Hist. iv. 43. Dialog. de Orator. c. 8. For one accusation, Regulus, the just object of Pliny's satire, received from the senate the consular ornaments, and a present of sixty-thousand pounds.

⁵⁶ The crime of *majesty* was formerly a treasonable offence against the Roman people. As tribunes of the people, Augustus and Tiberius applied it to their own persons, and extended it to an infinite latitude.

⁵⁷ After the virtuous and unfortunate widow of Germanicus had been put to death, Tiberius received the thanks of the senate for his clemency. She had not been publicly strangled; nor was the body drawn with a hook to the Gemoniæ, where those of common malefactors were exposed. See Tacit. Annal. vi. 25. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 53.

⁵⁸ Seriphus was a small rocky island in the Ægean Sea, the inhabitants of which were despised for their ignorance and obscurity. The place of Ovid's exile is well known, by his just, but unmanly lamentations. It should seem, that he only received an order to leave Rome in so many days, and to transport himself to Tomi. Guards and gaolers were unnecessary.

⁵⁹ Under Tiberius, a Roman knight attempted to fly to the Parthians. He was stopt in the Streights of Sicily; but so little danger did there appear in the example, that the most jealous of tyrants disdained to punish it. Tacit. Annal. vi. 14.

⁶⁰ Cicero ad Familiares, iv. 7.

CHAP. IV.

¹ See the complaints of Avidius Cassius, *Hist. August.* p. 45. These are, it is true, the complaints of faction; but even faction exaggerates, rather than invents.

² *Faustinam satis constat apud Cayetam, conditiones sibi et nauticas et gladiatorias, elegisse. Hist. August.* p. 30. Lampridius explains the sort of merit which Faustina chose, and the *conditions* which she exacted. *Hist. August.* p. 102.

³ *Hist. August.* p. 34.

⁴ *Meditat.* l. i. The world has laughed at the credulity of Marcus; but Madam Dacier assures us (and we may credit a lady), that the husband will always be deceived, if the wife condescends to dissemble.

⁵ Dion Cassius, l. lxxi. p. 1195. *Hist. August.* p. 33. *Commentaire de Spanheim sur les Césars de Julien*, p. 289. The deification of Faustina is the only defect which Julian's criticism is able to discover in the all-accomplished character of Marcus.

⁶ Commodus was the first *Porphyrogenetus* (born since his father's accession to the throne). By a new strain of flattery, the Egyptian medals date by the years of his life; as if they were synonymous to those of his reign. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. ii. p. 752.

⁷ *Hist. August.* p. 46.

⁸ Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. p. 1203.

⁹ According to Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 25.), he died at Sirmium. But the situation of Vindobona, or Vienna, where both the Victors place his death, is better adapted to the operations of the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi.

¹⁰ Herodian, l. i. p. 12.

¹¹ Herodian, l. i. p. 16.

¹² This universal joy is well described (from the medals as well as historians) by Mr. Wotton, *Hist. of Rome*, p. 192. 193.

¹³ Manilius, the confidential secretary of Avidius Cassius, was discovered after he had lain concealed several years. The emperor nobly relieved the public anxiety by refusing to see him, and burning his papers without opening them. Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. p. 1209.

¹⁴ See Maffei degli Amphitheatri, p. 126.

¹⁵ Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1205. Herodian, l. i. p. 16. *Hist. August.* p. 46.

¹⁶ In a note upon the Augustan History, Casaubon has collected a number of particulars concerning these celebrated brothers. See p. 96. of his learned commentary.

¹⁷ Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1210. Herodian, l. i. p. 22. *Hist. August.* p. 48. Dion gives a much less odious character of Perennis, than the other historians. His moderation is almost a pledge of his veracity.

¹⁸ During the second Punic war, the Romans imported from Asia the

worship of the mother of the gods. Her festival, the *Megalesia*, began on the fourth of April, and lasted six days. The streets were crowded with mad processions, the theatres with spectators; and the public tables with unbidden guests. Order and police were suspended, and pleasure was the only serious business of the city. See Ovid. de Fastis, l. iv. 189, etc.

¹⁹ Herodian, l. i. p. 23. 28.

²⁰ Cicero pro Flacco, c. 27.

²¹ One of these dear-bought promotions occasioned a current bon mot, that Julius Solon was *banished* into the senate.

²² Dion (l. lxxii. p. 12, 13.) observes, that no freedman had possessed riches equal to those of Cleander. The fortune of Pallas amounted, however, to upwards of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds; *Ter millies*.

²³ Dion, l. lxxii. p. 12, 13. Herodian, l. i. p. 29. Hist. August. p. 52. These baths were situated near the *Porta Capena*. See Nardini Roma Antica, p. 79.

²⁴ Hist. August. p. 48.

²⁵ Herodian, l. i. p. 28. Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1215. The latter says, that two thousand persons died every day at Rome, during a considerable length of time.

²⁶ Tuncque primum tres præfecti prætorio fuere: inter quos libertinus. From some remains of modesty, Cleander declined the title, whilst he assumed the powers, of Prætorian præfect. As the other freedmen were styled, from their several departments, *a rationibus*, *ab epistolis*; Cleander called himself *a pugione*, as intrusted with the defence of his master's person. Salmaſius and Casaubon seem to have talked very idly upon this passage.

²⁷ *Οἱ τῆς πόλεως πέζοι στρατιῶται*. Herodian, l. i. p. 31. It is doubtful whether he means the Prætorian infantry, or the cohortes urbanæ, a body of six thousand men, but whose rank and discipline were not equal to their numbers. Neither Tillemont nor Wotton chuse to decide this question.

²⁸ Dion Cassius, l. lxxii. p. 1215. Herodian, l. i. p. 32. Hist. August. p. 48.

²⁹ Sororibus suis constupratis. Ipsas concubinas suas sub oculis suis stuprari jubebat. Nec irruentium in se juvenum carebat infamiâ, omni parte corporis atque ore in sexum utrumque pollutus. Hist. Aug. p. 47.

³⁰ The African lions; when pressed by hunger, infested the open villages and cultivated country; and they infested them with impunity. The royal beast was reserved for the pleasures of the emperor and the capital; and the unfortunate peasant, who killed one of them, though in his own defence, incurred a very heavy penalty. This extraordinary *game-law* was mitigated by Honorius, and finally repealed by Justinian. Codex Theodos. tom. v. p. 92, et Comment. Gothofred.

³¹ Spanheim de Numismat. Dissertat. xii. tom. ii. p. 493.

³² Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1216. Hist. August. p. 49.

³³ The ostrich's neck is three feet long, and composed of seventeen vertebræ. See Buffon, Hist. Naturelle.

³⁴ Commodus killed a camelopardalis or Giraffe (Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1211.), the tallest, the most gentle, and the most useless of the large quadrupeds. This singular animal, a native only of the interior parts of Africa, has not been seen in Europe since the revival of letters: and though M. de Buffon (Hist. Naturelle, tom. xiii.) has endeavoured to describe, he has not ventured to delineate, the Giraffe.

³⁵ Herodian, l. i. p. 37. Hist. August. p. 50.

³⁶ The virtuous and even the wise princes forbade the senators and knights to embrace this scandalous profession, under pain of infamy, or, what was more dreaded by those profligate wretches, of exile. The tyrants allured them to dishonour by threats and rewards. Nero once produced, in the Arena, forty senators and sixty knights. See Lipsius, Saturnalia, l. ii. c. 2. He has happily corrected a passage of Suetonius, in Nerone, c. 12.

³⁷ Lipsius, l. ii. c. 7, 8. Juvenal, in the eighth satire, gives a picturesque description of this combat.

³⁸ Hist. August. p. 50. Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1220. He received, for each time, *decies*, about 8000 l. sterling.

³⁹ Victor tells us, that Commodus only allowed his antagonists a leaden weapon, dreading most probably the consequences of their despair.

⁴⁰ They were obliged to repeat six hundred and twenty-six times, *Paulus first of the Secutors*, etc.

⁴¹ Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1221. He speaks of his own baseness and danger.

⁴² He mixed however some prudence with his courage, and passed the greatest part of his time in a country retirement; alleging his advanced age, and the weakness of his eyes. "I never saw him in the senate," says Dion, except during the short reign of Pertinax. All his infirmities had suddenly left him, and they returned as suddenly upon the murder of that excellent prince. Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1227.

⁴³ The præfects were changed almost hourly or daily; and the caprice of Commodus was often fatal to his most favourite chamberlains, Hist. August. p. 46. 51.

⁴⁴ Dion, l. lxxii. p. 1222. Herodian, l. i. p. 43. Hist. August. p. 52.

⁴⁵ Pertinax was a native of Alba Pompeia, in Piedmont, and son of a timber-merchant. The order of his employments (it is marked by Capitolinus) well deserves to be set down, as expressive of the form of government and manners of the age. 1. He was a centurion. 2. Præfect of a cohort in Syria, in the Parthian war, and in Britain. 3. He obtained an *Ala*, or Squadron of horse, in Mœsia. 4. He was commissary of provisions on the Æmilian way. . He commanded the fleet upon the Rhine. 6. He was procurator of Dacia, with a salary of about 1600 l. a year. 7. He commanded the Veterans of a legion. 8. He obtained the rank of senator. 9. Of prætor. 10. With the command of the first legion in Rhætia and Noricum. 11. He was consul about the year 175. 12. He attended Marcus into the east. 13. He commanded an army on the Danube. 14. He was consular legate of

Mœsia. 15. Of Dacia. 16. Of Syria. 17. Of Britain. 18. He had the care of the public provisions at Rome. 19. He was præconsul of Africa. 20. Præfect of the city. Herodian (l. i. p. 48.) does justice to his disinterested spirit; but Capitolinus, who collected every popular rumour, charges him with a great fortune acquired by bribery and corruption.

⁴⁶ Julian, in the Cæsars, taxes him with being accessory to the death of Commodus.

⁴⁷ Capitolinus gives us the particulars of these tumultuary votes which were moved by one senator, and repeated, or rather chanted by the whole body. Hist. August. p. 52.

⁴⁸ The senate condemned Nero to be put to death *more majorum*, Sueton. c. 49.

⁴⁹ Dion (l. lxxiii. p. 1223.) speaks of these entertainments, as a senator who had supped with the emperor; Capitolinus (Hist. August. p. 58.), like a slave, who had received his intelligence from one of the scullions.

⁵⁰ *Decies*. The blameless œconomy of Pius left his successors a treasure of *vicies septies millies*, above two and twenty millions sterling. Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1231.

⁵¹ Besides the design of converting these useless ornaments into money, Dion (l. lxxiii. p. 1229.) assigns two secret motives of Pertinax. He wished to expose the vices of Commodus, and to discover by the purchasers those who most resembled him.

⁵² Though Capitolinus has picked up many idle tales of the private life of Pertinax, he joins with Dion and Herodian in admiring his public conduct.

⁵³ *Leges, rem furdam, inexorabilem esse*. T. Liv. ii. 3.

⁵⁴ If we credit Capitolinus (which is rather difficult), Falco behaved with the most petulant indecency to Pertinax, on the day of his accession. The wise emperor only admonished him of his youth and inexperience. Hist. August. p. 55.

⁵⁵ The modern bishopric of Liege. This soldier probably belonged to the Batavian horse-guards, who were mostly raised in the dutchy of Gueldres and the neighbourhood, and were distinguished by their valour, and by the boldness with which they swam their horses across the broadest and most rapid rivers. Tacit. Hist. iv. 12. Dion, l. lv. p. 797. Lipsius de Magnitudine Romanâ, l. i. c. 4.

⁵⁶ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1232. Herodian, l. ii. p. 60. Hist. August. p. 58. Victor in Epitom. et in Cæsarib. Eutropius, viii. 16.

C H A P. V.

¹ They were originally nine or ten thousand men (for Tacitus and Dion are not agreed upon the subject), divided into as many cohorts. Vitellius increased them to sixteen thousand, and as far as we can learn from inscriptions, they never afterwards sunk much below that number. See Lipsius de magnitudine Romanâ, i. 4.

² Sueton. in August. c. 49.

³ Tacit. Annal. iv. 2. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 37. Dion Cassius, l. lvii. p. 867.

⁴ In the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the Prætorian camp was attacked and defended with all the machines used in the siege of the best fortified cities. Tacit. Hist. iii. 84.

⁵ Close to the walls of the city, on the broad summit of the Quirinal and Viminal hills. See Nardini Roma Antica, p. 174. Donatus de Româ Antiquâ, p. 46.

⁶ Claudius, raised by the soldiers to the empire, was the first who gave a donative. He gave *quina dena*, 120 l. (Sueton. in Claud. c. 10.) when Marcus, with his colleague Lucius Verus, took quiet possession of the throne, he gave *vicena*, 160 l. to each of the guards. Hist. August. p. 25. (Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1231.). We may form some idea of the amount of these sums, by Hadrian's complaint, that the promotion of a Cæsar had cost him *ter millies*, two millions and a half sterling.

⁷ Cicero de Legibus, iii. 3. The first book of Livy, and the second of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, shew the authority of the people, even in the election of the kings.

⁸ They were originally recruited in Latium, Etruria, and the old colonies. (Tacit. Annal. iv. 5.) The emperor Otho compliments their vanity, with the flattering titles of *Italiae Alumni*, *Romana vere juven-tus*. Tacit. Hist. i. 83.

⁹ In the siege of Rome by the Gauls. See Livy, v. 48. Plutarch. in Camill. p. 143.

¹⁰ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1234. Herodian, l. ii. p. 63. Hist. August. p. 60. Though the three historians agree that it was in fact an auction, Herodian alone affirms, that it was proclaimed as such by the soldiers.

¹¹ Spartianus softens the most odious parts of the character and elevation of Julian.

¹² Dion Cassius, at that time prætor, had been a personal enemy to Julian, l. lxxiii. p. 1235.

¹³ Hist. August. p. 61. We learn from thence one curious circumstance, that the new emperor, whatever had been his birth, was immediately aggregated to the number of Patrician families.

¹⁴ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1235. Hist. August. p. 61. I have endeavoured to blend into one consistent story the seeming contradictions of the two writers.

¹⁵ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1235.

¹⁶ The Posthumian and the Cejonian; the former of whom was raised to the consulship in the fifth year after its institution.

¹⁷ Spartianus, in his undigested collections, mixes up all the virtues and all the vices that enter into the human composition, and bestows them on the same object. Such, indeed, are many of the characters in the Augustan History.

¹⁸ Hist. August. p. 80. 84.

¹⁹ Pertinax, who governed Britain a few years before, had been left for dead, in a mutiny of the soldiers. Hist. August. p. 54. Yet they loved and regretted him; *admirantibus eam virtutem cui irascebantur.*

²⁰ Sueton. in Galb. c. 10.

²¹ Hist. August. p. 76.

²² Herod. l. ii. p. 68. The chronicle of John Malala, of Antioch, shews the zealous attachment of his countrymen to these festivals, which at once gratified their superstition, and their love of pleasure.

²³ A king of Thebes, in Egypt, is mentioned in the Augustan History, as an ally, and, indeed, as a personal friend of Niger. If Spartianus is not, as I strongly suspect, mistaken, he has brought to light a dynasty of tributary princes totally unknown to history.

²⁴ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1238. Herod. l. ii. p. 67. A verse in every one's mouth at that time, seems to express the general opinion of the three rivals; *Optimus est Niger, bonus Afer, pessimus Albus.* Hist. August. p. 75.

²⁵ Herodian, l. ii. p. 71.

²⁶ See an account of that memorable war in Velleius Paterculus, ii. 110, etc. who served in the army of Tiberius.

²⁷ Such is the reflection of Herodian, l. ii. p. 74. Will the modern Austrians allow the influence?

²⁸ In the letter to Albinus, already mentioned, Commodus accuses Severus, as one of the ambitious generals who censured his conduct, and wished to occupy his place. Hist. August. p. 80.

²⁹ Pannonia was too poor to supply such a sum. It was probably promised in the camp, and paid at Rome, after the victory. In fixing the sum, I have adopted the conjecture of Casaubon. See Hist. August. p. 66. Comment. p. 115.

³⁰ Herodian, l. ii. p. 78. Severus was declared emperor on the banks of the Danube; either at Carnuntum, according to Spartianus (Hist. August. p. 65.), or else at Sabaria, according to Victor. Mr. Hume, in supposing that the birth and dignity of Severus were too much inferior to the Imperial crown, and that he marched into Italy as general only, has not considered this transaction with his usual accuracy (Essay on the original contract).

³¹ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 3. We must reckon the march from the nearest verge of Pannonia, and extend the fight of the city as far as two hundred miles.

³² This is not a puerile figure of rhetoric, but an allusion to a real fact recorded by Dion, l. lxxi. p. 1181. It probably happened more than once.

³³ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1233. Herodian, l. ii. p. 81. There is no surer proof of the military skill of the Romans, than their first surmounting the idle terror, and afterwards disdaining the dangerous use, of elephants in war.

³⁴ Hist. August. p. 62, 63.

³⁵ Victor and Eutropius, viii. 17. mention a combat near the Milvian bridge, the *Ponte Molle*, unknown to the better and more ancient writers.

³⁶ Dion, l. lxxiii. p. 1240. Herodian, l. ii. p. 83. Hist. August. p. 63.

³⁷ From these sixty-six days, we must first deduct sixteen, as Pertinax was murdered on the 28th of March, and Severus most probably elected on the 13th of April (see Hist. August. p. 65. and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 393. Note 7.). We cannot allow less than ten days after his election, to put a numerous army in motion. Forty days remain for this rapid march, and as we may compute about eight hundred miles from Rome to the neighbourhood of Vienna, the army of Severus marched twenty miles every day, without halt or intermission.

³⁸ Dion (l. lxxiv. p. 1241.) Herodian, l. ii. p. 84.

³⁹ Dion (l. lxxiv. p. 1244.), who assisted at the ceremony as a senator, gives a most pompous description of it.

⁴⁰ Herodian, l. iii. p. 112.

⁴¹ Though it is not, most assuredly, the intention of Lucan, to exalt the character of Cæsar, yet the idea he gives of that hero, in the tenth book of the *Pharsalia*, where he describes him, at the same time, making love to Cleopatra, sustaining a siege against the power of Egypt, and conversing with the sages of the country, is, in reality, the noblest panegyric.

⁴² Reckoning from his election, April 13, 193, to the death of Albinus, February 19, 197. See Tillemont's Chronology.

⁴³ Herodian, l. ii. p. 85.

⁴⁴ Whilst Severus was very dangerously ill, it was industriously given out, that he intended to appoint Niger and Albinus his successors. As he could not be sincere with respect to both, he might not be so with regard to either. Yet Severus carried his hypocrisy so far, as to profess that intention in the memoirs of his own life.

⁴⁵ Hist. August. p. 65.

⁴⁶ This practice, invented by Commodus, proved very useful to Severus. He found, at Rome, the children of many of the principal adherents of his rivals; and he employed them more than once to intimidate, or seduce, the parents.

⁴⁷ Herodian, l. iii. p. 96. Hist. August. p. 67, 68.

⁴⁸ Hist. August. p. 84. Spartianus has inserted this curious letter at full length.

⁴⁹ Consult the third book of Herodian, and the seventy-fourth book of Dion Cassius.

⁵⁰ Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1260.

⁵¹ Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1261. Herodian, l. iii. p. 110. Hist. August. p. 68. The battle was fought in the plain of Trevoux, three or four leagues from Lyons. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 406. Note 18.

⁵² Montesquieu, *Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains*, c. xii.

⁵³ Most of these, as may be supposed, were small open vessels; some, however, were galleys of two, and a few of three ranks of oars.

⁵⁴ The engineer's name was Priscus. His skill saved his life, and he was taken into the service of the conqueror. For the particular facts of the siege consult Dion Cassius (l. lxxv. p. 1251.), and Herodian (l. iii. p. 95.): for the theory of it, the fanciful chevalier de Folard may be looked into. See Polybe, tom. i. p. 76.

⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the authority of Spartianus and some modern Greeks, we may be assured from Dion and Herodian, that Byzantium, many years after the death of Severus, lay in ruins.

⁵⁶ Dion, l. lxxiv. p. 1250.

⁵⁷ Dion (l. lxxv. p. 1264.); only 29 senators are mentioned by him, but 41 are named in the Augustan History, p. 69. among whom were six of the name of Pescennius. Herodian. (l. iii. p. 115.) speaks in general of the cruelties of Severus.

⁵⁸ Aurelius Victor.

⁵⁹ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1272. Hist. August. p. 67. Severus celebrated the secular games with extraordinary magnificence, and he left in the public granaries a provision of corn for seven years, at the rate of 75,000 modii, or about 2500 quarters per day. I am persuaded, that the granaries of Severus were supplied for a long term; but I am not less persuaded, that policy on one hand, and admiration on the other, magnified the hoard far beyond its true contents.

⁶⁰ See Spanheim's treatise of ancient medals, the inscriptions, and our learned travellers Spon and Wheeler, Shaw, Pocock, etc. who, in Africa, Greece, and Asia, have found more monuments of Severus, than of any other Roman emperor whatsoever.

⁶¹ He carried his victorious arms to Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the capitals of the Parthian monarchy. I shall have occasion to mention this war in its proper place.

⁶² *Etiam in Britannis*, was his own just and emphatic expression. Hist. August. 73.

⁶³ Herodian, l. iii. p. 115. Hist. August. p. 68.

⁶⁴ Upon the insolence and privileges of the soldiers, the 16th satire, falsely ascribed to Juvenal, may be consulted; the style and circumstances of it would induce me to believe, that it was composed under the reign of Severus, or that of his son.

⁶⁵ Hist. August. p. 73.

⁶⁶ Herodian, l. iii. p. 131.

⁶⁷ Dion, l. lxxiv. p. 1243.

⁶⁸ One of his most daring and wanton acts of power, was the castration of an hundred free Romans, some of them married men, and even fathers of families; merely that his daughter, on her marriage with the young emperor, might be attended by a train of eunuchs worthy of an Eastern queen. Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1271.

⁶⁹ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1274. Herodian, l. iii. p. 122. 129. The grammarian of Alexandria seems, as it is not unusual, much better acquainted with this mysterious transaction, and more assured of the guilt of Plautianus, than the Roman senator ventures to be.

⁷⁰ Appian, in Proem.

⁷¹ Dion Cassius seems to have written with no other view, than to form these opinions into an historical system. The pandects will shew how assiduously the lawyers, on their side, laboured in the cause of prerogative.

CHAP. VI.

¹ Hist. August. p. 71. "Omnia fui et nihil expedit."

² Dion Cassius, l. lxxvi. p. 1284.

³ About the year 186, M. de Tillemont is miserably embarrassed with a passage of Dion, in which the empress Faustina, who died in the year 175, is introduced as having contributed to the marriage of Severus and Julia (l. lxxiv. p. 1243.). The learned compiler forgot, that Dion is relating, not a real fact, but a dream of Severus; and dreams are circumscribed to no limits of time or space. Did. M. de Tillemont imagine that marriages were *consummated* in the temple of Venus at Rome? Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 389. Note 6.

⁴ Hist. August. p. 65.

⁵ Hist. August. p. 85.

⁶ Dion Cassius, l. lxxvii. p. 1304. 1314.

⁷ See a Dissertation of Menage, at the end of his edition of Diogenes Laertius, de Fœminis Philosophis

⁸ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1285. Aurelius Victor.

⁹ Bassianus was his first name, as it had been that of his maternal grandfather. During his reign he assumed the appellation of Antoninus, which is employed by lawyers and ancient historians. After his death, the public indignation loaded him with the nicknames of Tarantus and Caracalla. The first was borrowed from a celebrated Gladiator, the second from a long Gallic gown which he distributed to the people of Rome.

¹⁰ The elevation of Caracalla is fixed by the accurate M. de Tillemont to the year 198: the association of Geta to the year 208.

¹¹ Herodian, l. iii. p. 130. The lives of Caracalla and Geta, in the Augustan History.

¹² Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1280, etc. Herodian, l. iii. p. 132, etc.

¹³ Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 175.

¹⁴ That the Caracul of Ossian is the Caracalla of the Roman History, is, perhaps, the only point of British antiquity in which Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Whitaker are of the same opinion; and yet the opinion is not without difficulty. In the Caledonian war, the son of Severus was known only by the appellation of Antoninus; and it may seem strange, that the Highland bard should describe him by a nick-name, invented four years afterwards, scarcely used by the Romans till after the death of that emperor, and seldom employed by the most ancient historians. See Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1317. Hist. August. p. 89. Aurel. Victor. Euseb. in Chron. ad ann. 214.

¹⁵ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1282. Hist. August. p. 71. Aurel. Victor.

¹⁶ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1283. Hist. August. p. 89.

¹⁷ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1284. Herodian, l. iii. p. 135.

¹⁸ Mr. Hume is justly surprised at a passage of Herodian (l. iv. p. 139.), who, on this occasion, represents the Imperial palace, as equal in extent to the rest of Rome. The whole region of the Palatine Mount on which it was built, occupied, at most, a circumference of eleven or twelve thousand feet (See the Notitia and Victor, in Nardini's Roma Antica.). But we should recollect that the opulent senators had almost surrounded the city with their extensive gardens and suburb palaces, the greatest part of which had been gradually confiscated by the emperors. If Geta resided in the gardens that bore his name on the Janiculum; and if Caracalla inhabited the gardens of Mæcenæ on the Esqueline, the rival brothers were separated from each other by the distance of several miles: and yet the intermediate space was filled by the Imperial gardens of Sallust, of Lucullus, of Agrippa, of Domitian, of Caius, etc. all skirting round the city, and all connected with each other, and with the palace, by bridges thrown over the Tiber and the streets. But this explanation of Herodian would require, though it ill deserves, a particular dissertation, illustrated by a map of ancient Rome.

¹⁹ Herodian, l. iv. p. 139.

²⁰ Herodian, l. iv. p. 144.

²¹ Caracalla consecrated, in the temple of Serapis, the sword, with which, as he boasted, he had slain his brother Geta. Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307.

²² Herodian, l. iv. p. 147. In every Roman camp there was a small chapel near the head-quarters, in which the statues of the tutelar deities were preserved and adored; and we may remark, that the eagles, and other military ensigns, were in the first rank of these deities: an excellent institution, which confirmed discipline by the sanction of religion. See Lipsius de Militiâ Romanâ, iv. §. v. 2.

²³ Herodian, l. iv. p. 148. Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1289.

²⁴ Geta was placed among the gods. *Sit divus, dum non sit vivus*, said his brother. Hist. August. p. 91. Some marks of Geta's consecration are still found upon medals.

²⁵ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307.

²⁶ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1290. Herodian, l. iv. p. 150. Dion (p. 1298.) says, that the comic poets no longer durst employ the name of Geta in their plays, and that the estates of those who mentioned it in their testaments, were confiscated.

²⁷ Caracalla had assumed the names of several conquered nations; Pertinax observed, that the name of *Geticus* (he had obtained some advantage of the Goths or Getæ) would be a proper addition to Parthicus, Alemannicus, Hist. August. p. 89.

²⁸ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1291. He was probably descended from Helvidius Priscus, and Thrasea Pætus, those patriots whose firm, but useless and unseasonable virtue, has been immortalized by Tacitus.

²⁹ It is said that Papinian was himself a relation of the empress Julia.

³⁰ Tacit. Annal. xiv. ii.

³¹ Hist. August. p. 88.

³² With regard to Papinian, see Heineccius's *Historia Juris Romani*, l. 330, etc.

³³ Tiberius and Domitian never moved from the neighbourhood of Rome. Nero made a short journey into Greece. "Et laudatorum Principum usus ex æquo quamvis procul agentibus. Sævi proximis ingruunt." Tacit. Hist. iv. 75.

³⁴ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1294.

³⁵ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307. Herodian, l. iv. p. 158. The former represents it as a cruel massacre, the latter as a perfidious one too. It seems probable, that the Alexandrians had irritated the tyrant by their railleries, and perhaps by their tumults.

³⁶ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1296.

³⁷ Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1284. Mr. Wotton (*Hist. of Rome*, p. 330.) suspects that this maxim was invented by Caracalla himself, and attributed to his father.

³⁸ Dion (l. lxxviii. p. 1343.) informs us, that the extraordinary gifts of Caracalla to the army amounted annually to seventy millions of drachmæ (about two millions three hundred and fifty thousand pounds). There is another passage in Dion, concerning the military pay, infinitely curious; were it not obscure, imperfect, and probably corrupt. The best sense seems to be, that the Prætorian guards received twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ (forty pounds) a year (Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307.). Under the reign of Augustus, they were paid at the rate of two drachmæ, or denarii, per day, 720 a year (Tacit. Annal. i. 17.). Domitian, who increased the soldiers pay one fourth, must have raised the Prætorians to 960 drachmæ (Gronovius *de Pecuniâ Veteri*, l. iii. c. 2.). These successive augmentations ruined

the empire, for, with the foldiers pay, their numbers too were increased. We have seen the Prætorians alone increased from 10,000 to 50,000 men.

³⁹ Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1312. Herodian, l. iv. p. 168.

⁴⁰ The fondness of Caracalla for the name and ensigns of Alexander, is still preserved on the medals of that emperor. See Spanheim, de Ufu Numismatum, Dissertat. xii. Herodian (l. iv. p. 154.) had seen very ridiculous pictures, in which a figure was drawn, with one side of the face like Alexander, and the other like Caracalla.

⁴¹ Herodian, l. iv. p. 169. Hist. August. p. 94.

⁴² Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1350. Elagabalus reproached his predecessor, with daring to seat himself on the throne; though, as Prætorian Præfect, he could not have been admitted into the senate after the voice of the cryer had cleared the house. The personal favour of Plautianus and Sejanus had broke through the established rule. They rose indeed from the equestrian order; but they preserved the præfecture with the rank of senator, and even with the consulship.

⁴³ He was a native of Cæsarea, in Numidia, and began his fortune by serving in the household of Plautian, from whose ruin he narrowly escaped. His enemies asserted, that he was born a slave, and had exercised, among other infamous professions, that of Gladiator. The fashion of aspersing the birth and condition of an adversary, seems to have lasted from the time of the Greek orators, to the learned grammarians of the last age.

⁴⁴ Both Dion and Herodian speak of the virtues and vices of Macrinus, with candour and impartiality; but the author of his life, in the Augustan History, seems to have implicitly copied some of the venal writers, employed by Elagabalus, to blacken the memory of his predecessor.

⁴⁵ Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1336. The sense of the author is as clear as the intention of the emperor; but M. Wotton has mistaken both, by understanding the distinction, not of veterans and recruits, but of old and new legions. History of Rome, p. 347.

⁴⁶ Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1330. The abridgment of Xiphilin, though less particular, is in this place clearer than the original.

⁴⁷ According to Lampridius (Hist. August. p. 135.) Alexander Severus lived twenty-nine years, three months, and seven days. As he was killed March 19, 235, he was born December 12, 205, and was consequently about this time thirteen years old, as his elder cousin might be about seventeen. This computation suits much better the history of the young princes, than that of Herodian (l. v. p. 181.), who represents them as three years younger; whilst, by an opposite error of chronology, he lengthens the reign of Elagabalus two years beyond its real duration. For the particulars of the conspiracy, see Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1339. Herodian, l. v. p. 184.

⁴⁸ By a most dangerous proclamation of the pretended Antoninus,

every soldier who brought in his officer's head, became entitled to his private estate, as well as to his military commission.

⁴⁹ Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1345. Herodian, l. v. p. 186. The battle was fought near the village of Immæ, about two and twenty miles from Antioch.

⁵⁰ Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1350.

⁵¹ Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1363. Herodian, l. v. p. 189.

⁵² This name is derived by the learned from two Syriac words, *Ela* a God, and *Gabal* to form, the forming, or plastic God, a proper, and even happy epithet for the Sun. Wotton's History of Rome, p. 378.

⁵³ Herodian, l. v. p. 190.

⁵⁴ He broke into the sanctuary of Vesta, and carried away a statue, which he supposed to be the Palladium; but the vestals boasted, that, by a pious fraud, they had imposed a counterfeit image on the profane intruder. Hist. August. p. 103.

⁵⁵ Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1360. Herodian, l. v. p. 193. The subjects of the empire were obliged to make liberal presents to the new-married couple; and whatever they had promised during the life of Elagabalus, was carefully exacted under the administration of Mamæa.

⁵⁶ The invention of a new sauce was liberally rewarded; but if it was not relished, the inventor was confined to eat of nothing else, till he had discovered another more agreeable to the Imperial palate. Hist. August. p. 111.

⁵⁷ He never would eat sea-fish except at a great distance from the sea; he then would distribute vast quantities of the rarest sorts, brought at an immense expence, to the peasants of the inland country. Hist. Aug. p. 109.

⁵⁸ Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1358. Herodian, l. v. p. 192.

⁵⁹ Hierocles enjoyed that honour; but he would have been supplanted by one Zoticus, had he not contrived, by a potion, to enervate the powers of his rival, who being found on trial unequal to his reputation, was driven with ignominy from the palace. Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1363, 1364. A dancer was made præfect of the city, a charioteer præfect of the watch, a barber præfect of the provisions. These three ministers, with many inferior officers, were all recommended, *enormitate membrorum*. Hist. August. p. 105.

⁶⁰ Even the credulous compiler of his life, in the Augustan history (p. 111.), is inclined to suspect that his vices may have been exaggerated.

⁶¹ Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1365. Herodian, l. v. p. 195—201. Hist. August. p. 105. The last of the three historians seems to have followed the best authors in his account of the revolution.

⁶² The æra of the death of Elagabalus, and of the accession of Alexander, has employed the learning and ingenuity of Pagi, Tillemont, Valfecchi, Vignoli, and Torre bishop of Adria. The question

is most assuredly intricate ; but I still adhere to the authority of Dion ; the truth of whose calculations is undeniable , and the purity of whose text is justified by the agreement of Xiphilin , Zonaras , and Cedrenus . Elagabalus reigned three years , nine months , and four days , from his victory over Macrinus , and was killed March 10 , 222 . But what shall we reply to the medals , undoubtedly genuine , which reckon the fifth year of his tribunitian power ? We shall reply with the learned Valsecchi , that the usurpation of Macrinus was annihilated , and that the son of Caracalla dated his reign from his father's death . After resolving this great difficulty , the smaller knots of this question may be easily untied , or cut asunder .

⁶³ Hist. August. p. 114 . By this unusual precipitation , the senate meant to confound the hopes of pretenders , and prevent the factions of the armies .

⁶⁴ Metellus Numidicus , the censor , acknowledged to the Roman people , in a public oration , that had kind Nature allowed us to exist without the help of women , we should be delivered from a very troublesome companion ; and he could recommend matrimony , only as the sacrifice of private pleasure to public duty . Aulus Gellius , i. 6 .

⁶⁵ Tacit. Annal. xiii. 5 .

⁶⁶ Hist. August. p. 102. 107 .

⁶⁷ Dion , l. lxxx. p. 1369 . Herodian , l. vi. p. 206 . Hist. August. p. 131 . Herodian represents the Patricians as innocent . The Augustan History , on the authority of Dexippus , condemns him , as guilty of a conspiracy against the life of Alexander . It is impossible to pronounce between them : but Dion is an irreproachable witness of the jealousy and cruelty of Mamaea toward the young empress ; whose hard fate Alexander lamented , but durst not oppose .

⁶⁸ Herodian , l. vi. p. 203 . Hist. August. p. 119 . The latter insinuates , that when any law was to be passed , the council was assisted by a number of able lawyers and experienced senators , whose opinions were separately given , and taken down in writing .

⁶⁹ See his life in the Augustan History . The undistinguishing compiler has buried these interesting anecdotes under a load of trivial and unmeaning circumstances .

⁷⁰ See the 13th Satire of Juvenal .

⁷¹ Hist. August. p. 119 .

⁷² See in the Hist. August. p. 116 , 117 . the whole contest between Alexander and the senate , extracted from the journals of that assembly . It happened on the sixth of March , probably of the year 223 , when the Romans had enjoyed , almost a twelvemonth , the blessings of his reign . Before the appellation of Antoninus was offered him as a title of honour , the senate waited to see whether Alexander would not assume it , as a family name .

⁷³ It was a favourite saying of the emperor's , *Se milites magis fervare* ,

fervare, quam seipsum; quod salus publica in his esset. Hist. August. p. 130.

⁷⁴ Though the author of the life of Alexander (Hist. August. p. 132.) mentions the sedition raised against Ulpian by the soldiers, he conceals the catastrophe, as it might discover a weakness in the administration of his hero. From this designed omission, we may judge of the weight and candour of that author.

⁷⁵ For an account of Ulpian's fate and his own danger, see the mutilated conclusion of Dion's History, l. lxxx. p. 1371.

⁷⁶ Annot. Reimar. ad Dion Cassius, l. lxxx. p. 1369.

⁷⁷ Julius Cæsar had appeased a sedition with the same word *Quirites*; which thus opposed to *Soldiers*, was used in a sense of contempt, and reduced the offenders to the less honourable condition of mere citizens. Tacit. Annal. i. 43.

⁷⁸ Hist. August. p. 132.

⁷⁹ From the Metelli. Hist. August. p. 119. The choice was judicious. In one short period of twelve years, the Metelli could reckon seven consulships and five triumphs. See Velleius Paterculus, ii. 11. and the Fasti.

⁸⁰ The life of Alexander, in the Augustan History, is the mere idea of a perfect prince, an awkward imitation of the Cyropædia. The account of his reign, as given by Herodian, is rational and moderate, consistent with the general history of the age; and, in some of the most invidious particulars, confirmed by the decisive fragments of Dion. Yet from a very paltry prejudice, the greater number of our modern writers abuse Herodian, and copy the Augustan History. See Mess. de Tillemont and Wotton. From the opposite prejudice, the emperor Julian (in Cæsarib. p. 315.) dwells with a visible satisfaction on the effeminate weakness of the *Syrian*, and the ridiculous avarice of his mother.

⁸¹ According to the more accurate Dionysius, the city itself was only an hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half from Rome; though some out posts might be advanced farther on the side of Etruria. Nardini, in a professed treatise, has combated the popular opinion and the authority of two popes, and has removed Veii from Civitâ Castellana, to a little spot called Isola, in the midway between Rome and the lake Bracciano.

⁸² See the 4th and 5th books of Livy. In the Roman Census, property, power, and taxation, were commensurate with each other.

⁸³ Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cicero de Offic. ii. 22. Plutarch. in P. Æmil. p. 275.

⁸⁴ See a fine description of this accumulated wealth of ages, in Lucan's Phars. l. iii. v. 155, etc.

⁸⁵ Tacit. in Annal. i. 11. It seems to have existed in the time of Appian.

⁸⁶ Plutarch. in Pompeio, p. 642.

Notes.

⁸⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 798.

⁸⁸ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 39. he seems to give the preference to the revenue of Gaul.

⁸⁹ The Euboic, the Phœnician, and Alexandrian talents, were double in weight to the Attic. See Hooper of ancient weights and measures, p. iv. c. 5. It is very probable, that the same talent was carried from Tyre to Carthage.

⁹⁰ Polyb. l. xv. c. 2.

⁹¹ Appian in Punicis, p. 84.

⁹² Diodorus Siculus, l. v. Cadiz was built by the Phœnicians a little more than a thousand years before Christ. See Vell. Paterc. i. 2.

⁹³ Strabo, l. iii. p. 148.

⁹⁴ Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 3. He mentions likewise a silver mine in Dalmatia, that yielded every day fifty pounds to the state.

⁹⁵ Strabo, l. x. p. 485. Tacit. Annal. iii. 69. and iv. 30. See in Tournefort (Voyages au Levant, Lettre viii.) a very lively picture of the actual misery of Gyarus.

⁹⁶ Lipsius de magnitudine Romanâ (l. ii. c. 3.) computes the revenue at one hundred and fifty millions of gold crowns; but his whole book, though learned and ingenious, betrays a very heated imagination.

⁹⁷ Tacit. Annal. xiii. 31.

⁹⁸ See Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. vi. c. 23. l. xii. c. 18.) His observation, that the Indian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price, may give us some notion of the produce of the customs, since that original price amounted to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.

⁹⁹ The ancients were unacquainted with the art of cutting diamonds.

¹⁰⁰ M. Bouchaud, in his treatise de l'Impôt chez les Romains, has transcribed this catalogue, from the Digest, and attempts to illustrate it by a very prolix commentary.

¹⁰¹ Tacit. Annal. i. 78. Two years afterwards, the reduction of the poor kingdom of Cappadocia gave Tiberius a pretence for diminishing the excise to one half; but the relief was of very short duration.

¹⁰² Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 794. l. lvi. p. 825.

¹⁰³ The sum is only fixed by conjecture.

¹⁰⁴ As the Roman law subsisted for many ages, the *Cognati*, or relations on the mother's side, were not called to the succession. This harsh institution was gradually undermined by humanity, and finally abolished by Justinian.

¹⁰⁵ Plin. Panegyric. c. 37.

¹⁰⁶ See Heineccius in the Antiquit. Juris Romani, l. ii.

¹⁰⁷ Horat. l. ii. Sat. v. Petron. c. 116, etc. Plin. l. ii. Epist. 20.

¹⁰⁸ Cicero in Philipp. ii. c. 16.

¹⁰⁹ See his epistles. Every such Will gave him an occasion of displaying his reverence to the dead, and his justice to the living. He

reconciled both, in his behaviour to a son who had been disinherited by his mother (v. 1.).

¹¹⁰ Tacit. Annal. xiii. 50. Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 19.

¹¹¹ See Pliny's Panegyric, the Augustan History, and Burman. de Vectigal. passim.

¹¹² The tributes (properly so called) were not farmed; since the good princes often remitted many millions of arrears.

¹¹³ The situation of the new citizens is minutely described by Pliny (Panegyric, c. 37, 38, 39.). Trajan published a law very much in their favour.

¹¹⁴ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1295.

¹¹⁵ He who paid ten *aurei*, the usual tribute, was charged with no more than the third part of an aureus, and proportional pieces of gold were coined by Alexander's order. Hist. August. p. 127. with the commentary of Salmasius.

¹¹⁶ See the lives of Agricola, Vespasian, Trajan, Severus, and his three competitors; and indeed of all the eminent men of those times.

CHAP. VII.

¹ There had been no example of three successive generations on the throne; only three instances of sons who succeeded their fathers. The marriages of the Cæsars (notwithstanding the permission, and the frequent practice of divorces) were generally unfruitful.

² Hist. August. p. 138.

³ Hist. August. p. 140. Herodian, l. vi. p. 223. Aurelius Victor. By comparing these authors, it should seem, that Maximin had the particular command of the Triballian horse, with the general commission of disciplining the recruits of the whole army. His Biographer ought to have marked, with more care, his exploits, and the successive steps of his military promotions.

⁴ See the original letter of Alexander Severus. Hist. August. p. 149.

⁵ Hist. August. p. 135. I have softened some of the most improbable circumstances of this wretched biographer. From this ill worded narration, it should seem, that the prince's buffoon having accidentally entered the tent, and awakened the slumbering monarch, the fear of punishment urged him to persuade the disaffected soldiers to commit the murder.

⁶ Herodian, l. vi. p. 223—227.

⁷ Caligula, the eldest of the four, was only twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne; Caracalla was twenty-three, Commodus nineteen, and Nero no more than seventeen.

⁸ It appears that he was totally ignorant of the Greek language; which, from its universal use in conversation and letters, was an essential part of every liberal education.

⁹ Hist. August. p. 141. Herodian, l. vii. p. 237. The latter of these historians has been most unjustly censured for sparing the vices of Maximin.

¹⁰ The wife of Maximin, by insinuating wife counsels with female gentleness, sometimes brought back the tyrant to the way of truth and humanity. See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xiv. c. 1. where he alludes to the fact which he had more fully related under the reign of the Gordians. We may collect from the medals, that Paulina was the name of this benevolent empress; and from the title of *Diva*, that she died before Maximin. (Valesius ad loc. cit. Ammian). Spanheim de U. et P. N. tom. ii. p. 300.

¹¹ He was compared to Spartacus and Athenio. Hist. August. p. 141.

¹² Herodian, l. vii. p. 238. Zosim. l. i. p. 15.

¹³ In the fertile territory of Byzacium, one hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage. This city was decorated, probably by the Gordians, with the title of colony, and with a fine amphitheatre, which is still in a very perfect state. See Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 59. and Shaw's Travels, p. 117.

¹⁴ Herodian, l. vii. p. 239. Hist. August. p. 153.

¹⁵ Hist. August. p. 152. The celebrated house of Pompey *in carinis*, was usurped by Marc Antony, and consequently became, after the Triumvir's death, a part of the Imperial domain. The emperor Trajan allowed and even encouraged the rich senators to purchase those magnificent and useless palaces (Plin. Panegyric. c. 50): and it may seem probable, that, on this occasion, Pompey's house came into the possession of Gordian's great grandfather.

¹⁶ The Claudian, the Numidian, the Carystian, and the Synnadian. The colours of Roman marbles have been faintly described and imperfectly distinguished. It appears, however, that the Carystian was a sea-green, and that the marble of Synnada was white mixed with oval spots of purple. See Salmasius ad Hist. August. p. 164.

¹⁷ Hist. August. p. 151, 152. He sometimes gave five hundred pair of Gladiators, never less than one hundred and fifty. He once gave for the use of the Circus one hundred Sicilian, and as many Cappadocian horses. The animals designed for hunting, were chiefly bears, boars, bulls, stags, elks, wild asses, etc. Elephants and lions seem to have been appropriated to Imperial magnificence.

¹⁸ See the original letter, in the Augustan History, p. 152, which at once shews Alexander's respect for the authority of the senate, and his esteem for the proconsul appointed by that assembly.

¹⁹ By each of his concubines, the younger Gordian left three or four children. His literary productions, though less numerous, were by no means contemptible.

²⁰ Herodian, l. vii. p. 243. Hist. August. p. 144.

²¹ Quod tamen patres dum periculosum existimant, inermes armato resistere approbaverunt. *Aurelius Victor*.

²² Even the servants of the house, the scribes, etc. were excluded, and their office was filled by the senators themselves. We are obliged to the Augustan History, p. 159, for preserving this curious example of the old discipline of the commonwealth.

²³ This spirited speech, translated from the Augustan historian, p. 156, seems transcribed by him from the original registers of the senate.

²⁴ Herodian, l. vii. p. 244.

²⁵ Herodian, l. vii. p. 247. l. viii. p. 277. Hist. August. p. 156—158.

²⁶ Herodian, l. vii. p. 254. Hist. August. p. 150—160. We may observe, that one month and six days, for the reign of Gordian, is a just correction of Casaubon and Panvinus, instead of the absurd reading of one year and six months. See Commentar. p. 193. Zosimus relates, l. i. p. 17. that the two Gordians perished by a tempest in the midst of their navigation. A strange ignorance of history, or a strange abuse of metaphors!

²⁷ See the Augustan History, p. 166. from the registers of the senate; the date is confessedly faulty, but the coincidence of the Apollinarian games enables us to correct it.

²⁸ He was descended from Cornelius Balbus, a noble Spaniard, and the adopted son of Theophanes the Greek historian. Balbus obtained the freedom of Rome by the favour of Pompey, and preserved it by the eloquence of Cicero (see Orat. pro Cornel. Balbo). The friendship of Cæsar (to whom he rendered the most important secret services in the civil war) raised him to the consulship and the pontificate, honours never yet possessed by a stranger. The nephew of this Balbus triumphed over the Garamantes. See Dictionnaire de Bayle au mot *Balbus*, where he distinguishes the several persons of that name, and rectifies with his usual accuracy, the mistakes of former writers concerning them.

²⁹ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 622. But little dependence is to be had on the authority of a modern Greek, so grossly ignorant of the history of the third century, that he creates several imaginary emperors, and confounds those who really existed.

³⁰ Herodian, l. vii. p. 256. supposes that the senate was at first convoked in the Capitol, and is very eloquent on the occasion. The Augustan History, p. 116. seems much more authentic.

³¹ In Herodian, l. vii. p. 249. and in the Augustan History, we have three several orations of Maximin to his army, on the rebellion of Africa and Rome: M. de Tillemont has very justly observed, that they neither agree with each other, nor with truth. *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. iii. p. 799.

³² The carelessness of the writers of that age leaves us in a singular

perplexity. 1. We know that Maximus and Balbinus were killed during the Capitoline games. Herodian, l. viii. p. 285. The authority of Cenforinus (*de Die Natali*, c. 18.) enables us to fix those games with certainty to the year 238, but leaves us in ignorance of the month or day. 2. The election of Gordian by the senate, is fixed, with equal certainty, to the 27th of May; but we are at a loss to discover, whether it was in the same or the preceding year. Tillemont and Muratori, who maintain the two opposite opinions, bring into the field a desultory troop of authorities, conjectures and probabilities. The one seems to draw out, the other to contract the series of events, between those periods, more than can be well reconciled to reason and history. Yet it is necessary to chuse between them.

³³ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 24. The president de Montesquieu (in his dialogue between Sylla and Eucrates) expresses the sentiments of the dictator, in a spirited and even a sublime manner.

³⁴ Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. ii. p. 294.) thinks the melting of the snows suits better with the months of June or July, than with those of February. The opinion of a man who passed his life between the Alps and the Appennines, is undoubtedly of great weight; yet I observe, 1. That the long winter, of which Muratori takes advantage, is to be found only in the Latin version, and not in the Greek text of Herodian. 2. That the vicissitude of suns and rains, to which the soldiers of Maximin were exposed (Herodian, l. viii. p. 277.), denotes the spring rather than the summer. We may observe likewise, that these several streams, as they melted into one, composed the Timavus, so poetically (in every sense of the word) described by Virgil. They are about twelve miles to the east of Aquileia. See Cluver. *Italia Antiqua*, tom. i. p. 189, etc.

³⁵ Herodian, l. viii. p. 272. The Celtic deity was supposed to be Apollo, and received under that name the thanks of the senate. A temple was likewise built to Venus the bald, in honour of the women of Aquileia, who had given up their hair to make ropes for the military engines.

³⁶ Herodian, l. viii. p. 279. Hist. August. p. 146. The duration of Maximin's reign has not been defined with much accuracy, except by Eutropius, who allows him three years and a few days (l. ix. 1.); we may depend on the integrity of the text, as the Latin original is checked by the Greek version of Pæanius.

³⁷ Eight Roman feet and one third, which are equal to above eight English feet, as the two measures are to each other in the proportion of 967 to 1000. See Graves's discourse on the Roman foot. We are told that Maximin could drink in a day an amphora (or about seven gallons of wine), and eat thirty or forty pounds of meat. He could move a loaded waggon, break a horse's leg with his fist, crumble stones in his hand, and tear up small trees by the roots. See his life in the Augustan History.

³⁸ See the congratulatory letter of Claudius Julianus the consul, to the two emperors, in the Augustan History.

³⁹ Hist. August. p. 171.

⁴⁰ Herodian, l. viii. p. 258.

⁴¹ Herodian, l. viii. p. 213.

⁴² The observation had been made imprudently enough in the acclamations of the senate, and with regard to the soldiers it carried the appearance of a wanton insult. Hist. August. p. 170.

⁴³ *Discordiæ tacitæ, et quæ intelligerentur potius quam viderentur.* Hist. August. p. 170. This well-chosen expression is probably stolen from some better writer.

⁴⁴ Herodian, l. viii. p. 287, 288.

⁴⁵ *Quia non alius erat in præsentî,* is the expression of the Augustan History.

⁴⁶ Quintus Curtius (l. x. c. 9.) pays an elegant compliment to the emperor of the day, for having, by his happy accession, extinguished so many fire brands, sheathed so many swords, and put an end to the evils of a divided government. After weighing with attention every word of the passage, I am of opinion, that it suits better with the elevation of Gordian, than with any other period of the Roman History. In that case, it may serve to decide the age of Quintus Curtius. Those who place him under the first Cæsars, argue from the purity of his style, but are embarrassed by the silence of Quintilian, in his accurate list of Roman historians.

⁴⁷ Hist. August. p. 161. From some hints in the two letters, I should expect that the eunuchs were not expelled the palace, without some degree of gentle violence, and that young Gordian rather approved of, than consented to, their disgrace.

⁴⁸ *Duxit uxorem filiam Misitheî, quem causâ eloquentiæ dignum parentelâ suâ putavit, et præfectum statim fecit; post quod, non puerile jam et contemptibile videbatur imperium.*

⁴⁹ Hist. August. p. 162. Aurelius Victor. Porphyrius in Vit. Plotin. ap. Fabricium Biblioth. Græc. l. iv. c. 36. The philosopher Plotinus accompanied the army, prompted by the love of knowledge, and by the hope of penetrating as far as India.

⁵⁰ About twenty miles from the little town of Circesium, on the frontier of the two empires.

⁵¹ The inscription (which contained a very singular pun) was erased by the order of Licinius, who claimed some degree of relationship to Philip (Hist. August. p. 165.); but the *tumulus* or mound of earth which formed the sepulchre, still subsisted in the time of Julian. See Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 5.

⁵² Aurelius Victor. Eutrop. ix. 2. Orosius, vii. 20. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5. Zosimus, l. i. p. 19. Philip, who was a native of Bosra, was about forty years of age.

⁵³ Can the epithet of *Aristocracy* be applied, with any propriety,

to the government of Algiers? Every military government floats between the extremes of absolute monarchy and wild democracy.

⁵⁴ The military republic of the Mamalukes in Egypt, would have afforded M. de Montesquieu (see *Considerations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains*, c. 16.) a juster and more noble parallel.

⁵⁵ The Augustan History (p. 163, 164.) cannot, in this instance, be reconciled with itself or with probability. How could Philip condemn his predecessor, and yet consecrate his memory? How could he order his public execution, and yet, in his letters to the senate, exculpate himself from the guilt of his death? Philip, though an ambitious usurper, was by no means a mad tyrant. Some chronological difficulties have likewise been discovered by the nice eyes of Tillemont and Muratori, in this supposed association of Philip to the empire.

⁵⁶ The account of the last supposed celebration, though in an enlightened period of history, was so very doubtful and obscure, that the alternative seems not doubtful. When the popish jubilees, the copy of the secular games, were invented by Boniface VIII. the crafty pope pretended, that he only revived an ancient institution. See M. le Chais *Lettres sur les Jubilés*.

⁵⁷ Either of a hundred, or a hundred and ten years. Varro and Livy adopted the former opinion, but the infallible authority of the Sibyl consecrated the latter (Censorinus de Die Natal. c. 17.). The emperors Claudius and Philip, however, did not treat the oracle with implicit respect.

⁵⁸ The idea of the secular games is best understood from the poem of Horace, and the description of Zosimus, l. ii. p. 167, etc.

⁵⁹ The received calculation of Varro assigns to the foundation of Rome, an æra that corresponds with the 754th year before Christ. But so little is the chronology of Rome to be depended on, in the more early ages, that Sir Isaac Newton has brought the same event as low as the year 627.

CHAP. VIII.

¹ An ancient chronologist quoted by Velleius Paterculus (l. i. c. 6.) observes, that the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Macedonians, reigned over Asia one thousand nine hundred and ninety-five years, from the accession of Ninus to the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans. As the latter of these great events happened 189 years before Christ, the former may be placed 2184 years before the same æra. The Astronomical Observations, found at Babylon by Alexander, went fifty years higher.

² In the five hundred and thirty-eighth year of the æra of Seleucus.

See Agathias, l. ii. p. 63. This great event (such is the carelessness of the Orientals) is placed by Eutychius, as high as the tenth year of Commodus, and by Moses of Chorene, as low as the reign of Philip: Ammianus Marcellinus has so fervently copied (xxiii. 6.) his ancient materials, which are indeed very good, that he describes the family of the Arsacides, as still seated on the Persian throne in the middle of the fourth century.

³ The tanner's name was Babec; the soldier's, Sassan: from the former Artaxerxes obtained the surname of Babegan; from the latter all his descendants have been styled *Sassanides*.

⁴ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale. *Ardshir*.

⁵ Dion Cassius, l. lxxx. Herodian, l. vi. p. 207. Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 80.

⁶ See Moses Chorenensis, l. ii. c. 65—71.

⁷ Hyde and Prideaux, working up the Persian legends and their own conjectures into a very agreeable story, represent Zoroaster as a contemporary of Darius Hystaspes. But it is sufficient to observe, that the Greek writers, who lived almost in the age of Darius, agree in placing the æra of Zoroaster many hundred, or even thousand, years before their own time. The judicious criticism of Mr. Moyle perceived, and maintained against his uncle Dr. Prideaux, the antiquity of the Persian prophet. See his work, vol. ii.

⁸ That ancient idiom was called the *Zend*. The language of the commentary, the Pehlvi, though much more modern, has ceased many ages ago to be a living tongue. This fact alone (if it is allowed as authentic) sufficiently warrants the antiquity of those writings, which M. d'Anquetil has brought into Europe, and translated into French.

⁹ Hyde de Religione veterum Pers. c. 21.

¹⁰ I have principally drawn this account from the *Zendavesta* of M. d'Anquetil, and the *Sadder*, subjoined to Dr. Hyde's treatise. It must, however, be confessed, that the studied obscurity of a prophet, the figurative style of the East, and the deceitful medium of a French or Latin version, may have betrayed us into error and heresy, in this abridgment of Persian theology.

¹¹ The modern Perses (and in some degree the *Sadder*) exalt Ormusd into the first and omnipotent cause, whilst they degrade Ahriman into an inferior but rebellious spirit. Their desire of pleasing the Mahometans may have contributed to refine their theological system.

¹² Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. But Dr. Prideaux thinks, with reason, that the use of temples was afterwards permitted in the Magian religion.

¹³ Hyde de Relig. Pers. c. 8. Notwithstanding all their distinctions and protestations, which seem sincere enough, their tyrants, the Mahometans, have constantly stigmatized them, as idolatrous worshippers of the Fire.

¹⁴ See the *Sadder*, the smallest part of which consists of moral precepts. The ceremonies enjoined are infinite, and trifling. Fifteen genuflexions, prayers, etc. were required whenever the devout Persian cut his nails or made water; or as often as he put on the sacred girdle. *Sadder*, art. 14. 50. 60.

¹⁵ *Zendavesta*, tom. i. p. 224. and *Précis du Système de Zoroastre*, tom. iii.

¹⁶ Hyde de *Religione Persarum*, c. 19.

¹⁷ Hyde de *Religione Persarum*, c. 28. Both Hyde and Prideaux affect to apply to the Magian, the terms consecrated to the Christian hierarchy.

¹⁸ Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 6. He informs us (as far as we may credit him) of two curious particulars; 1. that the Magi derived some of their most secret doctrines from the Indian Brachmans; and, 2. that they were a tribe or family, as well as order.

¹⁹ The divine institution of tithes exhibits a singular instance of conformity between the law of Zoroaster and that of Moses. Those who cannot otherwise account for it, may suppose, if they please, that the Magi of the latter times inserted so useful an interpolation into the writings of their prophet.

²⁰ *Sadder*, Art. 8.

²¹ Plato in *Alcibiad*.

²² Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* l. xxx. c. 1.) observes, that magic held mankind by the triple chain of religion, of physic, and of astronomy.

²³ Agathias, l. iv. p. 134.

²⁴ Mr. Hume, in the *Natural History of Religion*, sagaciously remarks, that the most refined and philosophic sects are constantly the most intolerant.

²⁵ Cicero de *Legibus*, ii. 10. Xerxes, by the advice of the Magi, destroyed the temples of Greece.

²⁶ Hyde de *Rel. Persar.* c. 23, 24. D'Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale Zerdusht*. Life of Zoroaster in tom. ii. of the *Zendavesta*.

²⁷ Compare Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 74. with Ammian. Marcellin. xxiii. 6. Hereafter I shall make use of these passages.

²⁸ Rabbi Abraham in the *Tarikh Schickard*, p. 108, 109.

²⁹ Basnage *Histoire des Juifs*, l. viii. c. 3. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 1. Manes, who suffered an ignominious death, may be deemed a Magian, as well as a Christian heretic.

³⁰ Hyde de *Religione Persar.* c. 21.

³¹ These colonies were extremely numerous. Seleucus Nicator founded thirty-nine cities, all named from himself, or some of his relations (see Appian in *Syriac.* p. 124.). The æra of Seleucus (still in use among the Eastern Christians) appears as late as the year 508, of Christ 196, on the medals of the Greek cities within the Parthian empire. See Moyle's works, vol. i. p. 273. etc. and M. Freret, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xix.

³² The modern Persians distinguish that period as the dynasty of the kings of the nations. See Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 25.

³³ Eutychius (tom. i. p. 367. 371. 375.) relates the siege of the island of Mesene in the Tigris, with some circumstances not unlike the story of Nisus and Scylla.

³⁴ Agathias, ii. 164. The princes of Segestan defended their independence during many years. As romances generally transport to an ancient period the events of their own time, it is not impossible, that the fabulous exploits of Rustan prince of Segestan may have been grafted on this real history.

³⁵ We can scarcely attribute to the Persian monarchy the sea coast of Gedrosia or Macran, which extends along the Indian Ocean from Cape Jask (the promontory Capella) to Cape Goadel. In the time of Alexander, and probably many ages afterwards, it was thinly inhabited by a savage people of Ichthyophagi, or Fishermen, who knew no arts, who acknowledged no master, and who were divided by inhospitable deserts from the rest of the world. (See Arrian. de Reb. Indicis.) In the twelfth century, the little town of Taiz supposed by M. d'Anville to be the Tefa of Ptolemy) was peopled and enriched by the resort of the Arabian merchants. (See Géographie Nubienne, p. 58., and d'Anville Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 283.) In the last age the whole country was divided between three princes, one Mahometan and two Idolaters, who maintained their independence against the successors of Shaw Abbas. (Voyages de Tavernier, part. i. l. v. p. 635.).

³⁶ Chardin, tom. iii. c. 1, 2, 3.

³⁷ Dion, l. xxviii. p. 1335.

³⁸ For the precise situation of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Mo-dain, and Bagdad, cities often confounded with each other, see an excellent Geographical Tract of M. d'Anville, in Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx.

³⁹ Tacit. Annal. xi. 42. Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 26.

⁴⁰ This may be inferred from Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

⁴¹ That most curious traveller Bernier, who followed the camp of Aurengzebe from Dehli to Cashmir, describes with great accuracy the immense moving city. The guard of cavalry consisted of 35,000 men, that of infantry of 10,000. It was computed that the camp contained 150,000 horses, mules, and elephants; 50,000 camels, 50,000 oxen, and between 300,000 and 400,000 persons. Almost all Dehli followed the court, whose magnificence supported its industry.

⁴² Dion, l. lxxi. p. 1178. Hist. August. p. 38. Eutrop. viii. 10. Euseb. in Chronic. Quadratus (quoted in the Augustan History) attempted to vindicate the Romans, by alleging, that the citizens of Seleucia had first violated their faith.

⁴³ Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1263. Herodian, l. iii. p. 120. Hist. August. p. 70.

⁴⁴ The polished citizens of Antioch, called those of Edeffa mixed barbarians. It was, however, some praise, that of the three dialects of the Syriac, the purest and most elegant (the Aramæan) was spoke at Edeffa. This remark M. Bayer (Hist. Edeff. p. 5.) has borrowed from George of Malatia, a Syrian writer.

⁴⁵ Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1248, 1249, 1250. M. Bayer has neglected to use this most important passage.

⁴⁶ This kingdom, from Osrhoes, who gave a new name to the country, to the last Abgarus, had lasted 353 years. See the learned work of M. Bayer; Historia Osrhoena et Edeffena.

⁴⁷ Xenophon, in the preface to the Cyropædia, gives a clear and magnificent idea of the extent of the empire of Cyrus. Herodotus (l. iii. c. 79, etc.) enters into a curious and particular description of the twenty great *Satrapies* into which the Persian empire was divided by Darius Hystaspes.

⁴⁸ Herodian, vi. 209. 212.

⁴⁹ There were two hundred scythed chariots at the battle of Arbela, in the host of Darius. In the vast army of Tigranes, which was vanquished by Lucullus, seventeen thousand horse only were completely armed. Antiochus brought fifty-four elephants into the field against the Romans: by his frequent wars and negociations with the princes of India, he had once collected an hundred and fifty of those great animals; but it may be questioned, whether the most powerful monarch of Hindostan ever formed a line of battle of seven hundred elephants. Instead of three or four thousand elephants, which the Great Mogul was supposed to possess, Tavernier (Voyages, part. ii. l. i. p. 198.) discovered, by a more accurate inquiry, that he had only five hundred for his baggage, and eighty or ninety for the service of war. The Greeks have varied with regard to the number which Porus brought into the field: but Quintus Curtius (viii. 13.), in this instance judicious and moderate, is contented with eighty-five elephants, distinguished by their size and strength. In Siam, where these animals are the most numerous and the most esteemed, eighteen elephants are allowed as a sufficient proportion for each of the nine brigades into which a just army is divided. The whole number, of one hundred and sixty-two elephants of war, may sometimes be doubled. Hist. des Voyages, tom. ix. p. 260.

⁵⁰ Hist. August. p. 133.

⁵¹ M. de Tillemont has already observed, that Herodian's geography is somewhat confused.

⁵² Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 71.) illustrates this invasion of Media, by asserting that Chosroes, king of Armenia, defeated Artaxerxes, and pursued him to the confines of India. The exploits of Chosroes have been magnified; and he acted as a dependent ally to the Romans.

⁵³ For the account of this war, see Herodian, l. vi. p. 209. 212.

The old abbreviators and modern compilers have blindly followed the Augustan History.

⁵⁴ Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 180. vers. Pocock. The great Chosroes Noushirwan sent the Code of Artaxerxes to all his Satraps, as the invariable rule of their conduct.

⁵⁵ D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, au mot *Ardshir*. We may observe, that after an ancient period of fables, and a long interval of darkness, the modern histories of Persia begin to assume an air of truth with the dynasty of the Sassanides.

⁵⁶ Herodian, l. vi. p. 214. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiii. c. 6. Some differences may be observed between the two historians; the natural effects of the changes produced by a century and a half.

⁵⁷ The Persians are still the most skilful horsemen, and their horses the finest, in the East.

⁵⁸ From Herodotus, Xenophon, Herodian, Ammianus, Chardin, etc. I have extracted such *probable* accounts of the Persian nobility, as seem either common to every age, or particular to that of the Sassanides.

C H A P. I X.

¹ The modern philosophers of Sweden seem agreed that the waters of the Baltic gradually sink in a regular proportion, which they have ventured to estimate at half an inch every year. Twenty centuries ago, the flat country of Scandinavia must have been covered by the sea; while the high lands rose above the waters, as so many islands of various forms and dimensions. Such indeed is the notion given us by Mela, Pliny, and Tacitus, of the vast countries round the Baltic. See in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xl. and xlv. a large abstract of Dalin's History of Sweden, composed in the Swedish language.

² In particular, Mr. Hume, the Abbé du Bos, and M. Pelloutier, Hist. des Celtes, tom. i.

³ Diodorus Siculus, l. v. p. 340. Edit. Wessel. Herodian, l. vi. p. 221. Jornandes, c. 55. On the banks of the Danube, the wine, when brought to table, was frequently frozen into great lumps, *frusta vini*. Ovid. Epist. ex Ponto, l. iv. 7. 9. 10. Virgil. Georgic. l. iii. 355. The fact is confirmed by a soldier and a philosopher, who had experienced the intense cold of Thrace. See Xenophon, Anabasis, l. vii. p. 560. Edit. Hutchinson.

⁴ Buffon Histoire Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 79. 116.

⁵ Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. vi. 23, etc. The most inquisitive of the Germans were ignorant of its utmost limits, although some of them had travelled in it more than sixty days journey.

⁶ Cluverius (Germania Antiqua, l. iii. c. 47.) investigates the small and scattered remains of the Hercynian wood.

⁷ Charlevoix Histoire du Canada.

⁸ Olaus Rudbeck asserts that the Swedish women often bear ten or twelve children, and not uncommonly twenty or thirty; but the authority of Rudbeck is much to be suspected.

⁹ In hos artus, in hæc corpora, quæ miramur, excreſcunt. Tacit. Germania, 3. 20. Cluver. l. i. c. 14.

¹⁰ Plutarch. in Mario. The Cimbri, by way of amusement, often slid down mountains of ſnow on their broad ſhields.

¹¹ The Romans made war in all climates, and by their excellent diſcipline were in a great meaſure preſerved in health and vigour. It may be remarked, that man is the only animal which can live and multiply in every country from the equator to the poles. The hog ſeems to approach the neareſt to our ſpecies in that privilege.

¹² Tacit. German. c. 3. The emigration of the Gauls followed the courſe of the Danube, and diſcharged itſelf on Greece and Aſia. Tacitus could diſcover only one inconfiderable tribe that retained any traces of a Gallic origin.

¹³ According to Dr. Keating (History of Ireland, p. 13, 14.), the giant Partholanus, who was the ſon of Seara, the ſon of Efra, the ſon of Sru, the ſon of Framant, the ſon of Fathaclan, the ſon of Magog, the ſon of Japhet, the ſon of Noah, landed on the coaſt of Munſter, the 14th day of May, in the year of the world one thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-eight. Though he ſucceeded in his great enterpriſe, the looſe behaviour of his wife rendered his domeſtic life very unhappy, and provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he killed—her favourite greyhound. This, as the learned hiſtorian very properly obſerves, was the *firſt* inſtance of female falſehood and infidelity ever known in Ireland.

¹⁴ Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars by Abulghazi Bahadur Khan.

¹⁵ His work, entitled Atlantica, is uncommonly ſcarce. Bayle has given two moſt curious extracts from it. République des Lettres Janvier et Février, 1685.

¹⁶ Tacit. Germ. ii. 19. Literarum ſecreta viri pariter ac ſceminæ ignorant. We may reſt contented with this deciſive authority, without entering into the obſcure diſputes concerning the antiquity of the Runic characters. The learned Celfius, a Swede, a ſcholar, and a philoſopher, was of opinion, that they were nothing more than the Roman letters, with the curves changed into ſtraight lines for the eaſe of engraving. See Pelloutier, Hiſtoire des Celtes, l. ii. c. II. Dictionnaire Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 223. We may add, that the oldeſt Runic inſcriptions are ſuppoſed to be of the third century, and the moſt ancient writer who mentions the Runic characters, is Venantius Fortunatus (Carm. vii. 18.), who lived towards the end of the ſixth century.

Barbara fraxineis pingatur RUNA tabellis.

¹⁷ Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. iii. p. 228. The author of that very curious work is, if I am not misinformed, a German by birth.

¹⁸ The Alexandrian Geographer is often criticised by the accurate Cluverius.

¹⁹ See Cæsar, and the learned Mr. Whitaker in his History of Manchester, vol. i.

²⁰ Tacit. Germ. 15.

²¹ When the Germans commanded the Ubii of Cologne to cast off the Roman yoke, and with their new freedom to resume their ancient manners, they insisted on the immediate demolition of the walls of the colony. "Postulamus a vobis, muros coloniæ, munimenta servitii detrahatis; etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obviscuntur." Tacit. Hist. iv. 64.

²² The straggling villages of Silesia are several miles in length. See Cluver. l. i. c. 13.

²³ One hundred and forty years after Tacitus, a few more regular structures were erected near the Rhine and Danube. Herodian, l. vii. p. 234.

²⁴ Tacit. Germ. 17.

²⁵ Tacit. Germ. 5.

²⁶ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 21.

²⁷ Tacit. Germ. 26. Cæsar, vi. 22.

²⁸ Tacit. Germ. 6.

²⁹ It is said that the Mexicans and Peruvians, without the use of either money or iron, had made a very great progress in the arts. Those arts, and the monuments they produced, have been strangely magnified. See Recherches sur les Américains, tom. ii. p. 153, etc.

³⁰ Tacit. Germ. 15.

³¹ Tacit. Germ. 22, 23.

³² Tacit. Germ. 24. The Germans might borrow the *arts* of play from the Romans, but the *passion* is wonderfully inherent in the human species.

³³ Tacit. Germ. 14.

³⁴ Plutarch. in Camillo. T. Liv. v. 33.

³⁵ Dubos. Hist. de la Monarchie Française, tom. i. p. 193.

³⁶ The Helvetian nation, which issued from the country called Switzerland, contained, of every age and sex, 368,000 persons (Cæsar de Bell. Gall. i. 29.). At present, the number of people in the Pays de Vaud (a small district on the banks of the Lemane Lake, much more distinguished for politeness than for industry) amounts to 112,591. See an excellent Tract of M. Muret, in the Mémoires de la Société de Berne.

³⁷ Paul Diaconus, c. 1, 2, 3. Machiavel, Davila, and the rest of Paul's followers, represent these emigrations too much as regular and concerted measures.

³⁸ Sir William Temple and Montesquieu have indulged, on this subject, the usual liveliness of their fancy.

³⁹ Machiavel. Hist. di Firenza, l. i. Mariana Hist. Hispan. l. v. c. i.

⁴⁰ Robertson's Charles V. Hume's Political Essays.

⁴¹ Tacit. German. 44, 45. Freinshemius (who dedicated his supplement to Livy, to Christina of Sweden) thinks proper to be very angry with the Roman who expressed so very little reverence for Northern queens.

⁴² May we not suspect that superstition was the parent of despotism? The descendants of Odin (whose race was not extinct till the year 1060.) are said to have reigned in Sweden above a thousand years. The temple of Upsal was the ancient seat of religion and empire. In the year 1153. I find a singular law, prohibiting the use and profession of arms to any except the king's guards. Is it not probable that it was coloured by the pretence of reviving an old institution? See Dalin's History of Sweden in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xl. and xlv.

⁴³ Tacit. Germ. c. 43.

⁴⁴ Tacit. Germ. c. 11, 12, 13, etc.

⁴⁵ Grotius changes an expression of Tacitus, *pertractantur* into *prætractantur*. The correction is equally just and ingenious.

⁴⁶ Even in our ancient parliament, the barons often carried a question, not so much by the number of votes, as by that of their armed followers.

⁴⁷ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 23.

⁴⁸ Minuunt controversias, is a very happy expression of Cæsar's.

⁴⁹ Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Tacit. Germ. 7.

⁵⁰ Cluver. Germ. Ant. l. i. c. 38.

⁵¹ Cæsar, vi. 22. Tacit. Germ. 26.

⁵² Tacit. Germ. 7.

⁵³ Tacit. Germ. 13, 14.

⁵⁴ Esprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 3. The brilliant imagination of Montesquieu is corrected, however, by the dry cold reason of the Abbé de Mably. Observations sur l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 356.

⁵⁵ Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Tacit. Germ. c. 21.

⁵⁶ The adulteress was whipped through the village. Neither wealth nor beauty could inspire compassion, or procure her a second husband, 18, 19.

⁵⁷ Ovid employs two hundred lines in the research of places the most favourable to love. Above all, he considers the theatre as the best adapted to collect the beauties of Rome, and to melt them into tenderness and sensuality.

⁵⁸ Tacit. Hist. iv. 61. 65.

⁵⁹ The marriage present was a yoke of oxen, horses, and arms. See Germ. c. 18. Tacitus is somewhat too florid on the subject.

⁶⁰ The

⁶⁰ The change of *exigere* into *exugere* is a most excellent correction.

⁶¹ Tacit. Germ. c. 7. Plutarch in Mario. Before the wives of the Teutones destroyed themselves and their children, they had offered to surrender, on condition that they should be received as the slaves of the vestal virgins.

⁶² Tacitus has employed a few lines, and Cluverius one hundred and twenty-four pages, on this obscure subject. The former discovers in Germany the gods of Greece and Rome. The latter is positive, that, under the emblems of the sun, the moon, and the fire, his pious ancestors worshipped the Trinity in unity.

⁶³ The sacred wood, described with such sublime horror by Lucan, was in the neighbourhood of Marseilles; but there were many of the same kind in Germany.

⁶⁴ Tacit. Germania, c. 7.

⁶⁵ Tacit. Germania, c. 40.

⁶⁶ See Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. i. note 10.

⁶⁷ Tacit. Germ. c. 7. These standards were only the heads of wild beasts.

⁶⁸ See an instance of this custom, Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57.

⁶⁹ Cæsar, Diodorus, and Lucan, seem to ascribe this doctrine to the Gauls, but M. Pelloutier (Histoire des Celtes, l. iii. c. 18.) labours to reduce their expressions to a more orthodox sense.

⁷⁰ Concerning this gross but alluring doctrine of the Edda, see Fable xx. in the curious version of that book, published by M. Mallet, in his introduction to the History of Denmark.

⁷¹ See Tacit. Germ. c. 3. Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Strabo, l. iv. p. 197. The classical reader may remember the rank of Demodocus in the Phæacian court, and the ardour infused by Tyrtæus into the fainting Spartans. Yet there is little probability that the Greeks and the Germans were the same people. Much learned trifling might be spared, if our antiquarians would condescend to reflect, that similar manners will naturally be produced by similar situations.

⁷² *Miffilia spargunt*, Tacit. Germ. c. 6. Either that historian used a vague expression, or he meant that they were thrown at random.

⁷³ It was their principal distinction from the Sarmatians, who generally fought on horseback.

⁷⁴ The relation of this enterprise occupies a great part of the fourth and fifth books of the History of Tacitus, and is more remarkable for its eloquence than perspicuity. Sir Henry Saville has observed several inaccuracies.

⁷⁵ Tacit. Hist. iv. 13. Like them, he had lost an eye.

⁷⁶ It was contained between the two branches of the old Rhine, as they subsisted before the face of the country was changed by art and nature. See Cluver. German. Antiq. l. ii. c. 30. 37.

⁷⁷ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. l. vi. 23.

⁷⁸ They are mentioned however in the ivth and vth centuries by
Notes.

Nazarius, Ammianus, Claudian, etc. as a tribe of Franks. See Cluver. *Germ. Antiq.* l. iii. c. 13.

⁷⁹ *Urgentibus* is the common reading, but good sense, Lipsius, and some MSS. declare for *Vergentibus*.

⁸⁰ Tacit. *Germania*, c. 33. The pious Abbé de la Bléterie is very angry with Tacitus, talks of the devil who was a murderer from the beginning, etc. etc.

⁸¹ Many traces of this policy may be discovered in Tacitus and Dion; and many more may be inferred from the principles of human nature.

⁸² Hist. August. p. 31. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxi. c. 5. Aurel. Victor. The emperor Marcus was reduced to sell the rich furniture of the palace, and to enlist slaves and robbers.

⁸³ The Marcomanni, a colony, who, from the banks of the Rhine, occupied Bohemia and Moravia, had once erected a great and formidable monarchy under their king Maroboduus. See Strabo, l. vii. Vell. Pat. ii. 105. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 63.

⁸⁴ Mr. Wotton (*History of Rome*, p. 166.) increases the prohibition to ten times the distance. His reasoning is specious, but not conclusive. Five miles were sufficient for a fortified barrier.

⁸⁵ Dion, l. lxxi. and lxxii.

⁸⁶ See an excellent dissertation on the origin and migrations of nations, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xviii. p. 48—71. It is seldom that the antiquarian and the philosopher are so happily blended.

⁸⁷ Should we suspect that Athens contained only 21,000 citizens, and Sparta no more than 39,000? See Hume and Wallace on the number of mankind in ancient and modern times.

CHAP. X.

¹ The expression used by Zosimus and Zonaras may signify that Marius commanded a century, a cohort, or a legion.

² His birth at Bubalia, a little village in Pannonia (*Eutrop.* ix. Victor. in *Cæsarib. et Epitom.*), seems to contradict, unless it was merely accidental, his supposed descent from the Decii. Six hundred years had bestowed nobility on the Decii; but at the commencement of that period, they were only Plebeians of merit, and among the first who shared the consulship with the haughty Patricians. *Plebeix Deciorum animæ*, etc. Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 254. See the spirited speech of Decius, in *Livy*, x. 9, 10.

³ Zosimus, l. i. p. 20. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 624. Edit. Louvre.

⁴ See the prefaces of Cassiodorus and Jornandes: it is surprising that the latter should be omitted in the excellent edition published by Grotius, of the Gothic writers.

⁵ On the authority of Ablavius, Jornandes quotes some old Gothic chronicles in verse. *De Reb. Geticis*, c. 4.

⁶ Jornandes, c. 3.

⁷ See in the *Prolegomena* of Grotius some large extracts from Adam of Bremen, and Saxo-Grammaticus. The former wrote in the year 1077, the latter flourished about the year 1200.

⁸ Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII.* l. iii. When the Austrians desired the aid of the court of Rome against Gustavus Adolphus, they always represented that conqueror as the lineal successor of Alaric. Harte's *History of Gustavus*, vol. ii. p. 123.

⁹ See Adam of Bremen in *Grotii Prolegomenis*, p. 104. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by Ingo king of Sweden, who began his reign in the year 1075, and about fourscore years afterwards a Christian cathedral was erected on its ruins. See Dalin's *History of Sweden*, in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*.

¹⁰ Mallet, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Danemarck*.

¹¹ Mallet, c. iv. p. 55, has collected from Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Stephanus Byzantinus, the vestiges of such a city and people.

¹² This wonderful expedition of Odin, which, by deducing the enmity of the Goths and Romans from so memorable a cause, might apply the noble groundwork of an Epic poem, cannot safely be received as authentic history. According to the obvious sense of the *Edda*, and the interpretation of the most skilful critics, As-gard, instead of denoting a real city of the Asiatic Sarmatia, is the fictitious appellation of the mystic abode of the gods, the Olympus of Scandinavia; from whence the prophet was supposed to descend, when he announced his new religion to the Gothic nations, who were already seated in the southern parts of Sweden.

¹³ Tacit. *Germania*, c. 44.

¹⁴ Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 62. If we could yield a firm assent to the navigations of Pytheas of Marseilles, we must allow that the Goths had passed the Baltic at least three hundred years before Christ.

¹⁵ Ptolemy, l. ii.

¹⁶ By the German Colonies who followed the arms of the Teutonic knights. The conquest and conversion of Prussia were completed by those adventurers in the xiiiith century.

¹⁷ Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* iv. 14.), and Procopius (*in Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 1.) agree in this opinion. They lived in distant ages, and possessed different means of investigating the truth.

¹⁸ The *Ostro* and *Visti*, the eastern and western Goths obtained those denominations from their original seats in Scandinavia. In all their future marches and settlements they preserved, with their names, the same relative situation. When they first departed from Sweden, the infant colony was contained in three vessels. The third being a heavy failer lagged behind, and the crew, which afterwards swelled into a nation, received from that circumstance the appellation of Gepidæ or Loiterers. Jornandes, c. 17.

¹⁹ See a fragment of Peter Patricius in the *Excerpta Legationum*; and with regard to its probable date, see Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iii. p. 346.

²⁰ *Omnium harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.* Tacit. *Germania*, c. 43. The Goths probably acquired their iron by the commerce of amber.

²¹ Jornandes, c. 13, 14.

²² The Heruli, and the Uregundi or Burgundi, are particularly mentioned. See Mascou's *History of the Germans*, l. v. A passage in the *Augustan History*, p. 28, seems to allude to this great emigration. The Marcomannic war was partly occasioned by the pressure of barbarous tribes, who fled before the arms of more northern barbarians.

²³ D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, and the third part of his incomparable map of Europe.

²⁴ Tacit. *Germania*, c. 46.

²⁵ Cluver. *Germ. Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 43.

²⁶ The Venedi, the *Slavi*, and the Antes, were the three great tribes of the same people. Jornandes, c. 24.

²⁷ Tacitus most assuredly deserves that title, and even his cautious suspense is a proof of his diligent inquiries.

²⁸ *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, p. 593. Mr. Bell (vol. ii. p. 379.) traversed the Ukraine in his journey from Petersburg to Constantinople. The modern face of the country is a just representation of the ancient, since, in the hands of the Cossacks, it still remains in a state of nature.

²⁹ In the sixteenth chapter of Jornandes, instead of *secundo* Mæsam, we may venture to substitute *secundam*, the second Mæsia, of which Marcianopolis was certainly the capital (see Hierocles de *Provinciis*, and Wesseling ad locum, p. 636. *Itinerar.*). It is surprising how this palpable error of the scribe could escape the judicious correction of Grotius.

³⁰ The place is still called Nicop. The little stream, on whose banks it stood, falls into the Danube. D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 307.

³¹ Stephan. *Byzant. de Urbibus*, p. 740. Wesseling *Itinerar.* p. 136. Zonaras, by an odd mistake, ascribes the foundation of Philippopolis to the immediate predecessor of Decius.

³² Ammian. xxxi. 5.

³³ Aurel. Victor. c. 29.

³⁴ *Victoria Carpica*, on some medals of Decius, insinuate these advantages.

³⁵ Claudius (who afterwards reigned with so much glory) was posted in the pass of Thermopylæ with 200 Dardanians, 100 heavy and 160 light horse, 60 Cretan archers, and 1000 well-armed recruits. See an original letter from the emperor to his officer, in the *Augustan History*, p. 200.

³⁶ Jornandes, c. 16—18. Zosimus, l. i. p. 22. In the general account of this war, it is easy to discover the opposite prejudices of the Gothic and the Grecian writer. In carelessness alone they are alike.

³⁷ Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, c. viii. He illustrates the nature and use of the censorship with his usual ingenuity, and with uncommon precision.

³⁸ Vespasian and Titus were the last censors (Pliny Hist. Natur. vii. 49. Censorinus de Die Natali). The modesty of Trajan refused an honour which he deserved, and his example became a law to the Antonines. See Pliny's Panegyric, c. 45 and 60.

³⁹ Yet in spite of this exemption Pompey appeared before that tribunal, during his consulship. The occasion indeed was equally singular and honourable. Plutarch in Pomp. p. 630.

⁴⁰ See the original speech, in the Augustan Hist. p. 173, 174.

⁴¹ This transaction might deceive Zonaras, who supposes that Valerian was actually declared the colleague of Decius, l. xii. p. 625.

⁴² Hist. August. p. 174. The emperor's reply is omitted.

⁴³ Such as the attempts of Augustus towards a reformation of manners. Tacit. Annal. iii. 24.

⁴⁴ Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. iii. p. 598. As Zosimus and some of his followers mistake the Danube for the Tanais, they place the field of battle in the plains of Scythia.

⁴⁵ Aurelius Victor allows two distinct actions for the deaths of the two Decii; but I have preferred the account of Jornandes.

⁴⁶ I have ventured to copy from Tacitus (Annal. i. 64.) the picture of a similar engagement between a Roman army and a German tribe.

⁴⁷ Jornandes, c. 18. Zosimus, l. i. p. 22. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 627. Aurelius Victor.

⁴⁸ The Decii were killed before the end of the year two hundred and fifty-one, since the new princes took possession of the consulship on the ensuing calends of January.

⁴⁹ Hist. August. p. 228. gives them a very honourable place among the small number of good emperors who reigned between Augustus and Diocletian.

⁵⁰ Hæc ubi Patres comperuere decernunt. Victor in Cæsaribus.

⁵¹ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 628.

⁵² A *Sella*, a *Toga*, and a golden *Patera* of five pounds weight, were accepted with joy and gratitude by the wealthy king of Egypt (Livy, xxvii. 4.). *Quina Millia Æris*, a weight of copper in value about eighteen pounds sterling, was the usual present made to foreign ambassadors (Livy, xxxi. 9.).

⁵³ See the firmness of a Roman general so late as the time of Alexander Severus, in the *Excerpta Legationum*, p. 25. Edit. Louvre.

⁵⁴ For the plague, see Jornandes, c. 19. and Victor in Cæsaribus.

⁵⁵ These improbable accusations are alleged by Zosimus, l. i. p. 23, 24.

⁵⁶ Jornandes, c. 19. The Gothic writer at least observed the peace which his victorious countrymen had sworn to Gallus.

- ⁵⁷ Zosimus, l. i. p. 25, 26.
- ⁵⁸ Victor in *Cæsaribus*.
- ⁵⁹ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 628.
- ⁶⁰ Banduri *Numismata*, p. 94.
- ⁶¹ Eutropius, l. ix. c. 6. says *tertio mense*. Eusebius omits this emperor.
- ⁶² Zosimus, l. i. p. 28. Eutropius and Victor station Valerian's army in *Rhætia*.
- ⁶³ He was about seventy at the time of his accession, or, as it is more probable, of his death. Hist. August. p. 173. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 893. note I.
- ⁶⁴ *Inimicus Tyrannorum*. Hist. August. p. 173. In the glorious struggle of the senate against Maximin, Valerian acted a very spirited part. Hist. August. p. 156.
- ⁶⁵ According to the distinction of Victor, he seems to have received the title of *Imperator* from the army, and that of *Augustus* from the senate.
- ⁶⁶ From Victor and from the medals, Tillemont (tom. iii. p. 710.) very justly infers, that Gallienus was associated to the empire about the month of August of the year 253.
- ⁶⁷ Various systems have been formed to explain a difficult passage in Gregory of Tours, l. ii. c. 9.
- ⁶⁸ The Geographer of Ravenna, i. 11. by mentioning *Mauringania* on the confines of Denmark, as the ancient seat of the Franks, gave birth to an ingenious system of Leibnitz.
- ⁶⁹ See Cluver *Germania Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 20. M. Freret, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xviii.
- ⁷⁰ Most probably under the reign of Gordian, from an accidental circumstance fully canvassed by Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 710. 1181.
- ⁷¹ Plin. Hist. Natur. xvi. 1. The panegyrists frequently allude to the morasses of the Franks.
- ⁷² Tacit. *Germania*, c. 30. 37.
- ⁷³ In a subsequent period, most of those old names are occasionally mentioned. See some vestiges of them in Cluver. *Germ. Antiq.* l. iii.
- ⁷⁴ Simler de *Republicâ Helvet.* cum notis Fueslin.
- ⁷⁵ Zosimus, l. i. p. 27.
- ⁷⁶ M. de Brequigny (in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxx.) has given us a very curious life of Posthumus. A series of the Augustan History from Medals and Inscriptions has been more than once planned, and is still much wanted.
- ⁷⁷ Aurel. Victor, c. 53. Instead of *Pæne direpto*, both the sense and the expression require *deleto*; though indeed, for different reasons, it is alike difficult to correct the text of the best, and of the worst, writers.
- ⁷⁸ In the time of Ausonius (the end of the fourth century) Ilerda or Lerida was in a very ruinous state (Auson. Epist. xxv. 58.), which probably was the consequence of this invasion.

⁷⁹ Valesius is therefore mistaken in supposing that the Franks had invaded Spain by sea.

⁸⁰ Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. ix. 6.

⁸¹ Tacit. Germania, 38.

⁸² Cluver. Germ. Antiq. iii. 25.

⁸³ Sic Suevi a cæteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. A proud separation!

⁸⁴ Cæsar in Bello Gallico, iv. 7.

⁸⁵ Victor in Caracal. Dion Cassius, lxxvii. p. 1350.

⁸⁶ This etymology (far different from those which amuse the fancy of the learned) is preserved by Asinius Quadratus, an original historian, quoted by Agathias, l. i. c. 5.

⁸⁷ The Suevi engaged Cæsar in this manner, and the manœuvre deserved the approbation of the conqueror (in Bello Gallico, i. 48.).

⁸⁸ Hist. August. p. 215, 216. Dexippus in the excerpta Legationum, p. 8. Hieronym. Chron. Orosius, vii. 22.

⁸⁹ Zosimus, l. i. p. 34.

⁹⁰ Aurel. Victor, in Gallieno et Probo. His complaints breathe an uncommon spirit of freedom.

⁹¹ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 631.

⁹² One of the Victors calls him King of the Marcomanni; the other, of the Germans.

⁹³ See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 398, etc.

⁹⁴ See the lives of Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, in the Augustan History.

⁹⁵ It is about half a league in breadth. Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 598.

⁹⁶ M. de Peyssonel, who had been French consul at Caffa, in his Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, qui ont habité les bords du Danube.

⁹⁷ Euripides in Iphigenia in Taurid.

⁹⁸ Strabo, l. vii. p. 309. The first kings of Bosphorus were the allies of Athens.

⁹⁹ Appian in Mithridat.

¹⁰⁰ It was reduced by the arms of Agrippa. Orosius, vi. 21. Eutropius, vii. 9. The Roman once advanced within three days march of the Tanais. Tacit. Annal. xii. 17.

¹⁰¹ See the Toxaris of Lucian, if we credit the sincerity and the virtues of the Scythian, who relates a great war of his nation against the kings of Bosphorus.

¹⁰² Zosimus, l. i. p. 28.

¹⁰³ Strabo, l. xi. Tacit. Hist. iii. 47.—They were called *Camaraæ*.

¹⁰⁴ See a very natural picture of the Euxine navigation, in the xvth letter of Tournefort.

¹⁰⁵ Arrian places the frontier garrison at Dioscurias, or Sebastopolis, forty-four miles to the east of Pityus. The garrison of Phasis

consisted in his time of only four hundred foot. See the Periplus of the Euxine.

¹⁰⁶ Zosimus, l. i. p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Arrian (in Periplo Maris Euxin. p. 130.) calls the distance 2610 stadia.

¹⁰⁸ Xenophon, Anabasis, l. iv. p. 348. Edit. Hutchinson.

¹⁰⁹ Arrian, p. 129. The general observation is Tournefort's.

¹¹⁰ See an epistle of Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, quoted by Mascon, v. 37.

¹¹¹ Zosimus, l. i. p. 32, 33.

¹¹² Itiner. Hierosolym p. 572. Weffeling.

¹¹³ Zosimus, l. i. p. 32, 33.

¹¹⁴ He besieged the place with 400 gallies, 150,000 foot, and a numerous cavalry. See Plutarch in Lucul. Appian in Mithridat. Cicero pro Lege Maniliâ, c. 8.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 573.

¹¹⁶ Pocock's Description of the East, l. ii. c. 23, 24.

¹¹⁷ Zosimus, l. i. p. 33.

¹¹⁸ Syncellus tells an unintelligible story of Prince *Odenathus*, who defeated the Goths, and who was killed by Prince *Odenathus*.

¹¹⁹ Voyages de Chardin, tom. i. p. 45. He sailed with the Turks from Constantinople to Caffa.

¹²⁰ Syncellus (p. 382.) speaks of this expedition, as undertaken by the Heruli.

¹²¹ Strabo, l. xi. p. 495.

¹²² Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 7.

¹²³ Hist. August. p. 181. Victor, c. 33. Orosius, vii. 42. Zosimus, l. i. p. 35. Zonaras, l. xii. 635. Syncellus, p. 382. It is not without some attention, that we can explain and conciliate their imperfect hints. We can still discover some traces of the partiality of Dexippus, in the relation of his own and his countrymen's exploits.

¹²⁴ Syncellus, p. 382. This body of Heruli was for a long time faithful and famous.

¹²⁵ Claudius, who commanded on the Danube, thought with propriety and acted with spirit. His colleague was jealous of his fame. Hist. August. p. 181.

¹²⁶ Jornandes, c. 20.

¹²⁷ Zosimus and the Greeks (as the author of the Philopatris) give the name of Scythians to those whom Jornandes, and the Latin writers; constantly represent as Goths.

¹²⁸ Hist. August. p. 178. Jornandes, c. 20.

¹²⁹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640. Vitruvius, l. i. c. 1. præfat. l. vii. Tacit. Annal. iii. 61. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 14.

¹³⁰ The length of St. Peter's is 840 Roman palms; each palm is very little short of nine English inches. See Greaves's Miscellanies, vol. i. p. 233; On the Roman foot.

¹³¹ The policy, however, of the Romans induced them to abridge

the extent of the sanctuary or asylum, which by successive privileges had spread itself two stadia round the temple. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 641. Tacit. Annal. iii. 60, etc.

¹³² They offered no sacrifices to the Grecian gods. See Epistol. Gregor. Thaummat.

¹³³ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 635. Such an anecdote was perfectly suited to the taste of Montaigne. He makes use of it in his agreeable Essay on Pedantry, l. i. c. 24.

¹³⁴ Moses Chorenensis, l. ii. c. 71. 73, 74. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 628. The authentic relation of the Armenian historian serves to rectify the confused account of the Greek. The latter talks of the children of Tiridates, who at that time was himself an infant.

¹³⁵ Hist. August. p. 191. As Macrianus was an enemy to the Christians, they charged him with being a magician.

¹³⁶ Zosimus, l. i. p. 33.

¹³⁷ Hist. August. p. 174.

¹³⁸ Victor. in Cæsar. Eutropius, ix. 7.

¹³⁹ Zosimus, l. i. p. 33. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 630. Peter Patricius in the Excerpta Legat. p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ Hist. August. p. 185. The reign of Cyriades appears in that collection prior to the death of Valerian; but I have preferred a probable series of events to the doubtful chronology of a most inaccurate writer.

¹⁴¹ The sack of Antioch, anticipated by some historians, is assigned, by the decisive testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, to the reign of Gallienus, xxiii. 5.

¹⁴² Zosimus, l. i. p. 35.

¹⁴³ John Malala, tom. i. p. 391. He corrupts this probable event by some fabulous circumstances.

¹⁴⁴ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 630. Deep vallies were filled up with the slain. Crowds of prisoners were driven to water like beasts, and many perished for want of food.

¹⁴⁵ Zosimus, l. i. p. 25. asserts, that Sapor, had he not preferred spoil to conquest, might have remained master of Asia.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Patricius in Excerpt. Leg. p. 29.

¹⁴⁷ Syrorum agrestium manû. Sextus Rufus, c. 23. Rufus, Victor, the Augustan History (p. 192.), and several inscriptions agree in making Odenathus a citizen of Palmyra.

¹⁴⁸ He possessed so powerful an interest among the wandering tribes, that Procopius (Bell. Persic. l. ii. c. 5.) and John Malala (tom. i. p. 391.) style him prince of the Saracens.

¹⁴⁹ Peter Patricius, p. 25.

¹⁵⁰ The Pagan writers lament, the Christian insult, the misfortunes of Valerian. Their various testimonies are accurately collected by Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 739, etc. So little has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant

of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation. See Bibliothèque Orientale.

¹⁵¹ One of these epistles is from Artavasdēs, king of Armenia: since Armenia was then a province in Persia, the king, the kingdom, and the epistle, must be fictitious.

¹⁵² See his life in the Augustan History.

¹⁵³ There is still extant a very pretty Epithalamium, composed by Gallienus for the nuptials of his nephews.

Ite ait, O Juvenes, pariter sudate medullis

Omnibus, inter vos; non murmura vestra columbæ,

Brachia non Hederæ, non vincant oscula Conchæ.

¹⁵⁴ He was on the point of giving Plotinus a ruined city of Campania, to try the experiment of realizing Plato's Republic. See the Life of Plotinus, by Porphyry, in Fabricius's Biblioth. Græc. l. iv.

¹⁵⁵ A medal which bears the head of Gallienus has perplexed the antiquarians by its legend and reverse; the former *Galliena Augusta*, the latter *Ubique Pax*. M. Spanheim supposes that the coin was struck by some of the enemies of Gallienus, and was designed as a severe satire on that effeminate prince. But as the use of irony may seem unworthy of the gravity of the Roman mint, M. de Vallemont has deduced from a passage of Trebellius Pollio (Hist. August. p. 198.) an ingenious and natural solution. *Galliena* was first cousin to the emperor. By delivering Africa from the usurper Celsus, she deserved the title of Augusta. On a medal in the French king's collection, we read a similar inscription of *Faustina Augusta* round the head of Marcus Aurelius. With regard to the *Ubique Pax*, it is easily explained by the vanity of Gallienus, who seized, perhaps, the occasion of some momentary calm. See Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Janvier 1700. p. 21—34.

¹⁵⁶ This singular character has, I believe, been fairly transmitted to us. The reign of his immediate successor was short and busy; and the historians who wrote before the elevation of the family of Constantine, could not have the most remote interest to misrepresent the character of Gallienus.

¹⁵⁷ Pollio expresses the most minute anxiety to complete the number.

¹⁵⁸ The place of his reign is somewhat doubtful; but there *was* a tyrant in Pontus, and we are acquainted with the feat of all the others.

¹⁵⁹ Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1163, reckons them somewhat differently.

¹⁶⁰ See the speech of Marius, in the Augustan History, p. 197. The accidental identity of names was the only circumstance that could tempt Pollio to imitate Sallust.

¹⁶¹ Vos, O Pompilius sanguis! is Horace's address to the Pisos. See Art. Poet. v. 292, with Dacier's and Sanadon's notes.

¹⁶² Tacit. Annal. xv. 48. Hist. i. 15. In the former of these passages we may venture to change *paterna* into *materna*. In every generation from Augustus to Alexander Severus, one or more Pisos appear as consuls. A Piso was deemed worthy of the throne by Augustus (Tacit.

Annal. i. 13.). A second headed a formidable conspiracy against Nero; and a third was adopted, and declared Cæsar by Galba.

¹⁶³ Hist. August. p. 195. The senate, in a moment of enthusiasm, seems to have presumed on the approbation of Gallienus.

¹⁶⁴ Hist. August. p. 196.

¹⁶⁵ The association of the brave Palmyrenian was the most popular act of the whole reign of Gallienus. Hist. August. p. 180.

¹⁶⁶ Gallienus had given the titles of Cæsar and Augustus to his son Saloninus, slain at Cologne by the usurper Posthumus. A second son of Gallienus succeeded to the name and rank of his elder brother. Valerian, the brother of Gallienus, was also associated to the empire, several other brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the emperor, formed a very numerous royal family. See Tillemont, tom. iii. and M. de Brequigny in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxxii. p. 262.

¹⁶⁷ Hist. August. p. 188.

¹⁶⁸ Regillianus had some bands of Roxolani in his service. Posthumus a body of Franks. It was perhaps in the character of auxiliaries that the latter introduced themselves into Spain.

¹⁶⁹ The Augustan History, p. 177, calls it *servile bellum*. See Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv.

¹⁷⁰ Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 10.

¹⁷¹ Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 590. Edit. Wesseling.

¹⁷² See a very curious letter of Hadrian, in the Augustan History, p. 245.

¹⁷³ Such was the sacrilegious murder of a divine cat. See Diodor. Sicul. l. i.

¹⁷⁴ Hist. August. p. 195. This long and terrible sedition was first occasioned by a dispute between a soldier and a townsman about a pair of shoes.

¹⁷⁵ Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vol. vii. p. 21. Ammian. xxii. 16.

¹⁷⁶ Scaliger. Animadver. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 258. Three dissertations of M. Bonamy, in the Mém. de l'Académie, tom. ix.

¹⁷⁷ Strabo, l. xii. p. 569.

¹⁷⁸ Hist. August. p. 197.

¹⁷⁹ See Cellarius, Geogr. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 137. upon the limits of Ifauria.

¹⁸⁰ Hist. August. p. 177.

¹⁸¹ Hist. August. p. 177. Zosimus, l. i. p. 24. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 623. Euseb. Chronicon. Victor in Epitom. Victor in Cæsar. Eutropius, ix. 5. Orosius, vii. 21.

¹⁸² Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii. 21. The fact is taken from the Letters of Dionysius, who, in the time of those troubles, was bishop of Alexandria.

¹⁸³ In a great number of parishes 11,000 persons were found between fourteen and eighty; 5365 between forty and seventy. See Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. ii. p. 590.

NOTES

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. XI.

¹ *P*ONS *Aureoli*, thirteen miles from Bergamo, and thirty-two from Milan. See Cluver. *Italia Antiq.* tom. i. p. 245. Near this place, in the year 1703, the obstinate battle of Cassano was fought between the French and Austrians. The excellent relation of the Chevalier de Folard, who was present, gives a very distinct idea of the ground. See Polybe de Folard, tom. iii. p. 223—248.

² On the death of Gallienus, see Trebellius Pollio in *Hist. August.* p. 181. Zosimus, l. i. p. 37. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 634. Eutrop. ix. 11. Aurelius Victor in *Epitom.* Victor in *Cæsar*. I have compared and blended them all, but have chiefly followed Aurelius Victor, who seems to have had the best memoirs.

³ Some supposed him, oddly enough, to be a bastard of the younger Gordian. Others took advantage of the province of Dardania, to deduce his origin from Dardanus, and the ancient kings of Troy.

⁴ *Notoria*, a periodical and official dispatch, which the Emperors received from the *frumentarii*, or agents dispersed through the provinces. Of these we may speak hereafter.

⁵ *Hist. August.* p. 208. Gallienus describes the plate, vestments, etc. like a man who loved and understood those splendid trifles.

⁶ Julian (*Orat.* i. p. 6.) affirms that Claudius acquired the empire in a just and even holy manner. But we may distrust the partiality of a kinsman.

⁷ *Hist. August.* p. 203. There are some trifling differences concerning the circumstances of the last defeat and death of Aureolus.

⁸ Aurelius Victor in Gallien. The people loudly prayed for the damnation of Gallienus. The senate decreed that his relations and servants should be thrown down headlong from the Gemonian stairs. An obnoxious officer of the revenue had his eyes torn out whilst under examination.

⁹ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 137.

¹⁰ Zonaras on this occasion mentions Posthumus; but the registers of the senate (*Hist. August.* p. 203.) prove that Tetricus was already emperor of the western provinces.

¹¹ The Augustan History mentions the smaller, Zonaras the larger, number; the lively fancy of Montesquieu induced him to prefer the latter.

¹² Trebell. Pollio in Hist. August. p. 204.

¹³ Hist. August. in Claud. Aurelian. et Prob. Zosimus, l. i. p. 38 — 42. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 638. Aurel. Victor in Epitom. Victor Junior in Cæsar. Eutrop. ix. 11. Euseb. in Chron.

¹⁴ According to Zonaras (l. xii. p. 638.), Claudius, before his death, invested him with the purple; but this singular fact is rather contradicted than confirmed by other writers.

¹⁵ See the life of Claudius by Pollio, and the orations of Mæmærtinus, Eumenius, and Julian. See likewise the Cæsars of Julian, p. 313. In Julian it was not adulation, but superstition and vanity.

¹⁶ Zosimus, l. i. p. 42. Pollio (Hist. August. p. 207.) allows him virtues, and says, that like Pertinax he was killed by the licentious soldiers. According to Dexippus, he died of a disease.

¹⁷ Theoclius (as quoted in the Augustan History, p. 211.) affirms, that in one day he killed, with his own hand, forty-eight Sarmatians, and in several subsequent engagements nine hundred and fifty. This heroic valour was admired by the soldiers, and celebrated in their rude songs, the burden of which was *mille, mille, mille occidit*.

¹⁸ Acholius (ap. Hist. August. p. 213.) describes the ceremony of the adoption, as it was performed at Byzantium, in the presence of the emperor and his great officers.

¹⁹ Hist. August. p. 211. This laconic epistle is truly the work of a soldier; it abounds with military phrases and words, some of which cannot be understood without difficulty. *Ferramenta famiata* is well explained by Salmasius. The former of the words means all weapons of offence, and is contrasted with *Arma*, defensive armour. The latter signifies keen and well sharpened.

²⁰ Zosim. l. i. p. 45.

²¹ Dexippus (ap. Excerpta Legat. p. 12.) relates the whole transaction under the name of Vandals. Aurelian married one of the Gothic ladies to his general Bonosus, who was able to drink with the Goths and discover their secrets. Hist. August. p. 247.

²² Hist. August. p. 222. Eutrop. ix. 15. Sextus Rufus, c. 9. Lactantius de mortibus Persecutorum, c. 9.

²³ The Walachians still preserve many traces of the Latin language, and have boasted, in every age, of their Roman descent. They are surrounded by, but not mixed with, the barbarians. See a Memoir of M. d'Anville on ancient Dacia, in the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxx.

²⁴ See the first chapter of Jornandes. The Vandals however (c. 22.) maintained a short independence between the rivers Marisia and Crissia (Maros and Keres) which fell into the Teifs.

²⁵ Dexippus, p. 7—12. Zosimus, l. i. p. 43. Vopiscus in Aurelian, in Hist. August. However these historians differ in names (Alemanni, Juthungi, and Marcomanni), it is evident that they mean the same people, and the same war; but it requires some care to conciliate and explain them.

²⁶ Cantoclarus, with his usual accuracy, chuses to translate three hundred thousand: his version is equally repugnant to sense and to grammar.

²⁷ We may remark, as an instance of bad taste, that Dexippus applies to the light infantry of the Alemanni the technical terms proper only to the Grecian phalanx.

²⁸ In Dexippus, we at present read Rhodanus; M. de Valois very judiciously alters the word to Eridanus.

²⁹ The emperor Claudius was certainly of the number; but we are ignorant how far this mark of respect was extended; if to Cæsar and Augustus, it must have produced a very awful spectacle; a long line of the masters of the world.

³⁰ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 210.

³¹ Dexippus gives them a subtle and prolix oration, worthy of a Grecian sophist.

³² Hist. August. p. 215.

³³ Dexippus, p. 12.

³⁴ Victor Junior, in Aurelian.

³⁵ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216.

³⁶ The little river or rather torrent of Metaurus near Fano, has been immortalized, by finding such an historian as Livy, and such a poet as Horace.

³⁷ It is recorded by an inscription found at Pezaro. See Gruter, cclxxvi. 3.

³⁸ One should imagine, he said, that you were assembled in a Christian church, not in the temple of all the gods.

³⁹ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 215, 216. gives a long account of these ceremonies, from the Registers of the senate.

⁴⁰ Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5. To confirm our idea, we may observe, that for a long time Mount Cælius was a grove of oaks, and Mount Viminal was over-run with osiers; that, in the fourth century, the Aventine was a vacant and solitary retirement; that, till the time of Augustus, the Esquiline was an unwholesome burying ground; and that the numerous inequalities, remarked by the ancients in the Quirinal, sufficiently prove that it was not covered with buildings. Of the seven hills, the Capitoline and Palatine only, with the adjacent vallies, were the primitive habitation of the Roman people. But this subject would require a dissertation.

⁴¹ *Exspatiantia tecta multas addidere urbes*, is the expression of Pliny.

⁴² Hist. August. p. 222. Both Lipsius and Isaac Vossius have eagerly embraced this measure.

⁴³ See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. i. c. 8.

⁴⁴ Tacit. Hist. iv. 23.

⁴⁵ For Aurelian's walls, see Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216. 222. Zosimus, l. i. p. 43. Eutropius, ix. 15. Aurel. Victor in Aurelian. Victor Junior in Aurelian. Euseb. Hieronym. et Idatius in Chronic.

⁴⁶ His competitor was Lollianus, or Ælianus, if indeed these names mean the same person. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1177.

⁴⁷ The character of this prince by Julius Aterianus (ap. Hist. August. p. 187.) is worth transcribing, as it seems fair and impartial. Victorino qui post Junium Posthumium Gallias rexit neminem existimo præferendum; non in virtute Trajanum; non Antoninum in clementiâ; non in gravitate Nervam; non in gubernando ærario Vespasianum; non in Censurâ totius vitæ ac severitate militari Pertinacem vel Severum. Sed omnia hæc libido et cupiditas voluptatis mulierariæ sic perdidit, ut nemo audeat virtutes ejus in literas mittere quem constat omnium judicio meruisse puniri.

⁴⁸ He ravished the wife of Attitianus, an *actuary*, or army agent. Hist. August. p. 186. Aurel. Victor in Aurelian.

⁴⁹ Pollio assigns her an article among the thirty tyrants. Hist. August. p. 200.

⁵⁰ Pollio in Hist. August. p. 196. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 220. The two Victors, in the lives of Gallienus and Aurelian, Eutrop. ix. 13. Euseb. in Chron. Of all these writers, only the two last (but with strong probability) place the fall of Tetricus before that of Zenobia. M. de Boze (in the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxx.) does not wish, and Tillemont (tom. iii. p. 1189.) does not dare, to follow them. I have been fairer than the one, and bolder than the other.

⁵¹ Victor Junior in Aurelian. Eumenius mentions *Batavica*; some critics, without any reason, would fain alter the word to *Bagaudica*.

⁵² Eumen. in Vet. Panegy. iv. 8.

⁵³ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 246. Autun was not restored till the reign of Diocletian. See Eumenius de restaurandis scholis.

⁵⁴ Almost every thing that is said of the manners of Odenathus and Zenobia, is taken from their lives in the Augustan History, by Trebellius Pollio, see p. 192. 198.

⁵⁵ She never admitted her husband's embraces but for the sake of posterity. If her hopes were baffled, in the ensuing *month* she reiterated the experiment.

⁵⁶ Hist. August. p. 192, 193. Zosimus, l. i. p. 36. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent. The text of Syncellus, if not corrupt, is absolute nonsense.

⁵⁷ Odenathus and Zenobia often sent him, from the spoils of the enemy, presents of gems and toys, which he received with infinite delight.

⁵⁸ Some very unjust suspicions have been cast on Zenobia, as if she was accessory to her husband's death.

⁵⁹ Hist. August. p. 180, 181.

⁶⁰ See in Hist. August. p. 198. Aurelian's testimony to her merit; and for the conquest of Egypt, Zosimus, l. i. p. 39, 40.

⁶¹ Timolaus, Herennianus, and Vaballathus. It is supposed that the two former were already dead before the war. On the last, Aurelian

bestowed a small province of Armenia with the title of King; several of his medals are still extant. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1190.

⁶² Zosimus, l. i. p. 44.

⁶³ Vopiscus (in Hist. August. p. 217.) gives us an authentic letter, and a doubtful vision of Aurelian. Apollonius of Tyana was born about the same time as Jesus Christ. His life (that of the former) is related in so fabulous a manner by his disciples, that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage, an impostor, or a fanatic.

⁶⁴ Zosimus, l. i. p. 46.

⁶⁵ At a place called Immæ. Eutropius, Sextus Rufus, and Jerome, mention only this first battle.

⁶⁶ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 217. mentions only the second.

⁶⁷ Zosimus, l. i. p. 44—48. His account of the two battles is clear and circumstantial.

⁶⁸ It was five hundred and thirty seven miles from Seleucia, and two hundred and three from the nearest coast of Syria, according to the reckoning of Pliny, who, in a few words (Hist. Natur. v. 21.) gives an excellent description of Palmyra.

⁶⁹ Some English travellers from Aleppo discovered the ruins of Palmyra, about the end of the last century. Our curiosity has since been gratified in a more splendid manner by Messieurs Wood and Dawkins. For the history of Palmyra, we may consult the masterly dissertation of Dr. Halley in the Philosophical Transactions; Lowthorp's Abridgement, vol. iii. p. 518.

⁷⁰ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 218.

⁷¹ From a very doubtful chronology I have endeavoured to extract the most probable date.

⁷² Hist. August. p. 218. Zosimus, l. i. p. 50. Though the camel is a heavy beast of burden, the dromedary, who is either of the same or of a kindred species, is used by the natives of Asia and Africa on all occasions which require celerity. The Arabs affirm, that he will run over as much ground in one day, as their fleetest horses can perform in eight or ten. See Buffon Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 222, and Shaw's Travels, p. 167.

⁷³ Pollio in Hist. August. p. 199.

⁷⁴ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 219. Zosimus, l. i. p. 51.

⁷⁵ Hist. August. p. 219.

⁷⁶ See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 220. 242. As an instance of luxury, it is observed, that he had glass windows. He was remarkable for his strength and appetite, his courage and dexterity. From the letter of Aurelian, we may justly infer, that Firmus was the last of the rebels, and consequently that Tetricus was already suppressed.

⁷⁷ See the triumph of Aurelian, described by Vopiscus. He relates the particulars with his usual minuteness; and, on this occasion, they happen to be interesting. Hist. August. 220.

⁷⁸ Among barbarous nations, women have often combated by the side.

side of their husbands. But it is *almost* impossible, that a society of Amazons should ever have existed either in the old or new world.

⁷⁹ The use of *Braccæ*, breeches, or trowsers, was still considered in Italy as a Gallic and Barbarian fashion. The Romans, however, had made great advances towards it. To encircle the legs and thighs with *fasciæ*, or bands, was understood, in the time of Pompey and Horace, to be a proof of ill health or effeminacy. In the age of Trajan, the custom was confined to the rich and luxurious. It gradually was adopted by the meanest of the people. See a very curious note of Casaubon, ad Sueton. in August. c. 82.

⁸⁰ Most probably the former; the latter, seen on the medals of Aurelian, only denote (according to the learned Cardinal Noris) an oriental victory.

⁸¹ The expression of Calphurnius (Eclog. i. 50.), *Nullos ducet captiva triumphos*, as applied to Rome, contains a very manifest allusion and censure.

⁸² Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 199. Hieronym. in Chron. Prosper in Chron. Baronius supposes that Zenobius, bishop of Florence in the time of St. Ambrose, was of her family.

⁸³ Vopisc. in Hist. August. p. 222. Eutropius, ix. 13. Victor Junior. But Pollio in Hist. August. p. 196, says, that Tetricus was made corrector of all Italy.

⁸⁴ Hist. August. p. 197.

⁸⁵ Vopiscus in Hist. August. 221. Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. He placed in it the images of Belus and of the Sun, which he had brought from Palmyra. It was dedicated in the fourth year of his reign (Euseb. in Chron.), but was most assuredly begun immediately on his accession.

⁸⁶ See in the Augustan History, p. 210, the omens of his fortune. His devotion to the Sun appears in his letters, on his medals, and is mentioned in the Cæsars of Julian. Commentaire de Spanheim, p. 109.

⁸⁷ Vopiscus, in Hist. August. p. 221.

⁸⁸ Hist. August. p. 222. Aurelian calls those soldiers *Hiberi Riparienses, Castriani*, and *Dacisci*.

⁸⁹ Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Eutropius, ix. 14. Aurel. Victor.

⁹⁰ Hist. August. p. 222. Aurel. Victor.

⁹¹ It already raged before Aurelian's return from Egypt. See Vopiscus, who quotes an original letter. Hist. August. p. 244.

⁹² Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222. The two Victors. Eutropius, ix. 14. Zosimus (l. i. p. 43.) mentions only three senators, and places their death before the eastern war.

⁹³ *Nulla catenati feralis pompa senatûs
Carnificum lassabit opus; nec carcere pleno
Infelix raros numerabit curia Patres.*

Calphurn. Eclog. i. 60.

⁹⁴ According to the younger Victor, he sometimes wore the diadem. *Deus* and *Dominus* appear on his medals.

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⁹⁵ It was the observation of Diocletian. See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 224.

⁹⁶ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 221. Zosimus, l. i. p. 57. Eutrop. ix. 15. The two Victors.

CHAP. XII.

¹ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222. Aurelius Victor mentions a formal deputation from the troops to the senate.

² Vopiscus, our principal authority, wrote at Rome, sixteen years only after the death of Aurelian; and, besides the recent notoriety of the facts, constantly draws his materials from the Journals of the Senate, and the original papers of the Ulpian library. Zosimus and Zonaras appear as ignorant of this transaction as they were in general of the Roman constitution.

³ Liv. i. 17. Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii. p. 115. Plutarch in Numa, p. 60. The first of these writers relates the story like an orator, the second like a lawyer, and the third like a moralist, and none of them probably without some intermixture of fable.

⁴ Vopiscus (in Hist. August. p. 227.) calls him "*primæ sententiæ consularis*," and soon afterwards *Princeps senatûs*. It is natural to suppose, that the monarchs of Rome, disdaining that humble title, resigned it to the most ancient of the senators.

⁵ The only objection to this genealogy, is, that the historian was named Cornelius, the emperor, Claudius. But under the lower empire, surnames were extremely various and uncertain.

⁶ Zonaras, l. xii. p. 637. The Alexandrian Chronicle, by an obvious mistake, transfers that age to Aurelian.

⁷ In the year 273, he was ordinary consul. But he must have been Suffectus many years before, and most probably under Valerian.

⁸ *Bis millies octingenties*. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 229. This sum, according to the old standard, was equivalent to eight hundred and forty thousand Roman pounds of silver, each of the value of three pounds sterling. But in the age of Tacitus, the coin had lost much of its weight and purity.

⁹ After his accession, he gave orders that ten copies of the historian should be annually transcribed and placed in the public libraries. The Roman libraries have long since perished, and the most valuable part of Tacitus was preserved in a single MS. and discovered in a monastery of Westphalia. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, Art. *Tacite*, and Lipsius ad Annal. ii. 9.

¹⁰ Vopiscus in Hist. August. 227.

¹¹ Hist. August. p. 228. Tacitus addressed the Prætorians by the appellation of *sanctissimi milites*, and the people by that of *sacratissimi Quirites*.

¹² In his manumissions he never exceeded the number of an hundred,

as limited by the Caninian law, which was enacted under Augustus, and at length repealed by Justinian. See Casaubon ad locum Vopisci.

¹³ See the lives of Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus, in the Augustan History; we may be well assured, that whatever the soldier gave, the senator had already given.

¹⁴ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216. The passage is perfectly clear; yet both Casaubon and Salmasius wish to correct it.

¹⁵ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 230. 232, 233. The senators celebrated the happy restoration with hecatombs and public rejoicings.

¹⁶ Hist. August. p. 228.

¹⁷ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 230. Zosimus, l. i. p. 57. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 637. Two passages in the life of Probus (p. 236. 238.) convince me, that these Scythian invaders of Pontus were Alani. If we may believe Zosimus (l. i. p. 58.), Florianus pursued them as far as the Cimmerian Bosphorus. But he had scarcely time for so long and difficult an expedition.

¹⁸ Eutropius and Aurelius Victor only say that he died; Victor Junior adds, that it was of a fever. Zosimus and Zonaras affirm, that he was killed by the soldiers. Vopiscus mentions both accounts, and seems to hesitate. Yet surely these jarring opinions are easily reconciled.

¹⁹ According to the two Victors, he reigned exactly two hundred days.

²⁰ Hist. August. p. 231. Zosimus, l. i. p. 58, 59. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 637. Aurelius Victor says, that Probus assumed the empire in Illyricum; an opinion which (though adopted by a very learned man) would throw that period of history into inextricable confusion.

²¹ Hist. August. p. 229.

²² He was to send judges to the Parthians, Persians, and Sarmatians, a president to Taprobana, and a proconsul to the Roman island (supposed by Casaubon and Salmasius to mean Britain). Such a history as mine (says Vopiscus with proper modesty) will not subsist a thousand years to expose or justify the prediction.

²³ For the private life of Probus, see Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 234—237.

²⁴ According to the Alexandrian Chronicle, he was fifty at the time of his death.

²⁵ The letter was addressed to the Prætorian præfect, whom (on condition of his good behaviour) he promised to continue in his great office. See Hist. August. p. 237.

²⁶ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 237. The date of the letter is assuredly faulty. Instead of *Non. Februar.* we may read *Non. August.*

²⁷ Hist. August. p. 238. It is odd, that the senate should treat Probus less favourably than Marcus Antoninus. That prince had received, even before the death of Pius, *Jus quintæ relationis*. See Capitolin. in Hist. August. p. 24.

²⁸ See the dutiful letter of Probus to the senate, after his German victories. Hist. August. p. 239.

²⁹ The date and duration of the reign of Probus are very correctly

ascertained by Cardinal Noris, in his learned work, *De Epochis Syro-Macedonum*, p. 96—105. A passage of Eusebius connects the second year of Probus, with the æras of several of the Syrian cities.

³⁰ Vopiscus in *Hist. August.* p. 239.

³¹ Zosimus (l. i. p. 62—65.) tells a very long and trifling story of Lycius the Isaurian robber.

³² Zosim. l. i. p. 65. Vopiscus in *Hist. August.* p. 239, 240. But it seems incredible, that the defeat of the Savages of Æthiopia could affect the Persian monarch.

³³ Beside these well-known chiefs, several others are named by Vopiscus (*Hist. August.* p. 241.), whose actions have not reached our knowledge.

³⁴ See the Cæsars of Julian, and *Hist. August.* p. 238, 240, 241.

³⁵ Zosimus, l. i. p. 62. *Hist. August.* p. 240. But the latter supposes the punishment inflicted with the consent of their kings; if so, it was partial, like the offence.

³⁶ See Cluver. *Germania Antiqua*, l. iii. Ptolemy places in their country the city of Calisia, probably Calish in Silesia.

³⁷ *Feralis umbra*, is the expression of Tacitus: it is surely a very bold one.

³⁸ Tacit. *Germ.* (c. 43.).

³⁹ Vopiscus in *Hist. August.* p. 238.

⁴⁰ *Hist. August.* p. 238, 239. Vopiscus quotes a letter from the emperor to the senate, in which he mentions his design of reducing Germany into a province.

⁴¹ Strabo, l. vii. According to Velleius Paterculus (ii. 108.), Maroboduus led his Marcomanni into Bohemia: Cluverius (*German. Antiq.* iii. 8.) proves that it was from Swabia.

⁴² These settlers from the payment of tythes were denominated, *Decumates*. Tacit. *Germania*, c. 29.

⁴³ See Notes de l'Abbé de la Bleterie à la Germanie de Tacite, p. 183. His account of the wall is chiefly borrowed (as he says himself) from the *Alsatia Illustrata* of Schœpflin.

⁴⁴ See *Recherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 81—102. The anonymous author is well acquainted with the globe in general, and with Germany in particular: with regard to the latter, he quotes a work of M. Hanfelman; but he seems to confound the wall of Probus, designed against the Alemanni, with the fortification of the Mattiaci, constructed in the neighbourhood of Francfort against the Catti.

⁴⁵ He distributed about fifty or sixty Barbarians to a *Numerus*, as it was then called, a corps with whose established number we are not exactly acquainted.

⁴⁶ Camden's *Britannia*, Introduction, p. 136; but he speaks from a very doubtful conjecture.

⁴⁷ Zosimus, l. i. p. 62. According to Vopiscus, another body of Vandals was less faithful.

⁴⁸ Hist. August. p. 240. They were probably expelled by the Goths. Zosim. l. i. p. 66.

⁴⁹ Hist. August. p. 240.

⁵⁰ Panegy. Vet. v. 18. Zosimus, l. i. p. 66.

⁵¹ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 245, 246. The unfortunate orator had studied rhetoric at Carthage, and was therefore more probably a Moor (Zosim. l. i. p. 60.) than a Gaul, as Vopiscus calls him.

⁵² Zonaras, l. xii. p. 638.

⁵³ A very surprising instance is recorded of the prowess of Proculus. He had taken one hundred Sarmatian virgins. The rest of the story he must relate in his own language; *Ex his unâ nocte decem inivi: omnes tamen, quod in me erat, mulieres intra dies quindecim reddidi.* Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 246.

⁵⁴ Proculus, who was a native of Albengue on the Genoese coast, armed two thousand of his own slaves. His riches were great, but they were acquired by robbery. It was afterwards a saying of his family, *Nec latrones esse, nec principes sibi placere.* Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 247.

⁵⁵ Hist. August. p. 240.

⁵⁶ Zosim. l. i. p. 66.

⁵⁷ Hist. August. p. 236.

⁵⁸ Aurel. Victor in Prob. But the policy of Hannibal, unnoticed by any more ancient writer, is irreconcilable with the history of his life. He left Africa when he was nine years old, returned to it when he was forty-five, and immediately lost his army in the decisive battle of Zama. Livius, xxx. 37.

⁵⁹ Hist. August. p. 240. Eutrop. ix. 17. Aurel. Victor in Prob. Victor Junior. He revoked the prohibition of Domitian, and granted a general permission of planting vines to the Gauls, the Britons, and the Pannonians.

⁶⁰ Julian bestows a severe, and indeed excessive, censure on the rigour of Probus, who, as he thinks, almost deserved his fate.

⁶¹ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 241. He lavishes on this idle hope a large stock of very foolish eloquence.

⁶² *Turris ferrata.* It seems to have been a moveable tower, and cased with iron.

⁶³ Probus, *et vere probus situs est: Victor omnium gentium Barbararum: victor etiam tyrannorum.*

⁶⁴ Yet all this may be conciliated. He was born at Narbonne in Illyricum, confounded by Eutropius with the more famous city of that name in Gaul. His father might be an African, and his mother a noble Roman. Carus himself was educated in the capital. See Scaliger, *Animadversion. ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 241.

⁶⁵ Probus had requested of the senate an equestrian statue and a marble palace, at the public expence, as a just recompence of the singular merit of Carus. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 242.

⁶⁶ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 242. 249. Julian excludes the emperor Carus and both his sons from the banquet of the Cæsars.

⁶⁷ John Malela, tom. i. p. 401. But the authority of that ignorant Greek is very slight. He ridiculously derives from Carus, the city of Carrhæ, and the province of Caria, the latter of which is mentioned by Homer.

⁶⁸ Hist. August. p. 249. Carus congratulated the senate, that one of their own order was made emperor.

⁶⁹ Hist. August. p. 242.

⁷⁰ See the first eclogue of Calphurnius. The design of it is preferred by Fontenelle, to that of Virgil's Pollio. See tom. iii. p. 148.

⁷¹ Hist. August. p. 353. Eutropius, ix. 18. Pagi Annal.

⁷² Agathias, l. iv. p. 135. We find one of his sayings in the Bibliothèque Orientale of M. d'Herbelot. "The definition of humanity includes all other virtues."

⁷³ Synesius tells this story of Carinus; and it is much more natural to understand it of Carus, than (as Petavius and Tillemont chuse to do) of Probus.

⁷⁴ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 250. Eutropius, ix. 18. The two Victors.

⁷⁵ To the Persian victory of Carus, I refer the dialogue of the *Philopatris*, which has so long been an object of dispute among the learned. But to explain and justify my opinion, would require a dissertation.

⁷⁶ Hist. August. p. 250. Yet Eutropius, Festus, Rufus, the two Victors, Jerome, Sidonius Apollinaris, Syncellus and Zonaras, all ascribe the death of Carus to lightning.

⁷⁷ See Nemesian. Cynegeticon, v. 71, etc.

⁷⁸ See Festus and his commentators, on the word *Scribonianum*. Places struck with lightning, were surrounded with a wall: things were buried with mysterious ceremony.

⁷⁹ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 250. Aurelius Victor seems to believe the prediction, and to approve the retreat.

⁸⁰ Nemesian. Cynegeticon, v. 69. He was a contemporary, but a poet.

⁸¹ *Cancellarius*. This word, so humble in its origin, has by a singular fortune rose into the title of the first great office of state in the monarchies of Europe. See Casaubon and Salmasius, ad Hist. August. p. 253.

⁸² Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 253, 254. Eutropius, ix. 19. Victor Junior. The reign of Diocletian indeed was so long and prosperous, that it must have been very unfavourable to the reputation of Carinus.

⁸³ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 251. He calls him Carus, but the sense is sufficiently obvious, and the words were often confounded.

⁸⁴ See Calphurnius, Eclog. vii. 43. We may observe, that the spectacles of Probus were still recent, and that the poet is seconded by the historian.

⁸⁵ The philosopher Montaigne (*Essais*, l. iii. 6.) gives a very just and lively view of Roman magnificence in these spectacles.

⁸⁶ Vopiscus in *Hist. August.* p. 240.

⁸⁷ They are called *Onagri*; but the number is too inconsiderable for mere wild-asses. Cuper (*de Elephantis exercitat.* ii. 7.) has proved from Oppian, Dion, and an anonymous Greek, that zebras had been seen at Rome. They were brought from some island of the ocean, perhaps Madagascar.

⁸⁸ Carinus gave an hippopotamus (see Calphurn. *Eclog.* vii. 66.). In the latter spectacles, I do not recollect any crocodiles, of which Augustus once exhibited thirty-six. — Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 781.

⁸⁹ Capitolin. in *Hist. August.* p. 164, 165. We are not acquainted with the animals whom he calls *archeleontes*, some read *argoleontes*, others *agrioleontes*: both corrections are very nugatory.

⁹⁰ Plin. *Hist. Natur.* viii. 6. from the annals of Piso.

⁹¹ See Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, p. iv. l. i. c. 2.

⁹² Maffei, l. ii. c. 2. The height was very much exaggerated by the ancients. It reached almost to the heavens, according to Calphurnius (*Eclog.* vii. 23.) and surpassed the ken of human sight, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10.). Yet how trifling to the great pyramid of Egypt, which rises 500 feet perpendicular!

⁹³ According to different copies of Victor, we read 77,000, or 87,000 spectators; but Maffei (l. ii. c. 12.) finds room on the open seats for no more than 34,000. The remainder were contained in the upper covered galleries.

⁹⁴ See Maffei, l. ii. c. 5—12. He treats the very difficult subject with all possible clearness, and like an architect, as well as an antiquarian.

⁹⁵ Calphurn. *Eclog.* vii. 64. 73. These lines are curious, and the whole Eclogue has been of infinite use to Maffei. Calphurnius, as well as Martial (see his first book), was a poet; but when they described the amphitheatre, they both wrote from their own senses, and to those of the Romans.

⁹⁶ Consult. Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 16. xxxvii. 11.

⁹⁷ Balteus en gemmis, en inlita porticus auro
Certatim radiant, etc. Calphurn. vii.

⁹⁸ Et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse putavi, says Calphurnius; but John Malela, who had perhaps seen pictures of Carinus, describes him as thick, short, and white, tom. i. p. 403.

⁹⁹ With regard to the time when these Roman games were celebrated, Scaliger, Salmasius, and Cuper, have given themselves a great deal of trouble to perplex a very clear subject.

¹⁰⁰ Nemefianus (in the *Cynegeticons*) seems to anticipate in his fancy that auspicious day.

¹⁰¹ He won all the crowns from Nemefianus, with whom he vied in didactic poetry. The senate erected a statue to the son of Carus, with

a very ambiguous inscription, "To the most powerful of orators." See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 251.

¹⁰² A more natural cause, at least, than that assigned by Vopiscus (Hist. August. p. 251.), incessantly weeping for his father's death.

¹⁰³ In the Persian war, Aper was suspected of a design to betray Carus. Hist. August. p. 250.

¹⁰⁴ We are obliged to the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 274, for the knowledge of the time and place where Diocletian was elected emperor.

¹⁰⁵ Hist. August. p. 251. Eutrop. ix. 18. Hieronym. in Chron. According to these *Judicious* writers, the death of Numerian was discovered by the stench of his dead body. Could no aromatics be found in the Imperial household?

¹⁰⁶ Aurel. Victor. Eutropius, ix. 20. Hieronym. in Chron.

¹⁰⁷ Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 252. The reason why Diocletian killed *Aper* (a wild boar), was founded on a prophecy and a pun, as foolish as they are well known.

¹⁰⁸ Eutropius marks its situation very accurately; it was between the Mons Aureus and Viminacum. M. d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 304.) places Margus at Kastolatz in Servia, a little below Belgrade and Semendria.

¹⁰⁹ Hist. August. p. 254. Eutropius, ix. 20. Aurelius Victor. Victor in Epitome.

CHAP. XIII.

¹ Eutrop. ix. 19. Victor in Epitom. The town seems to have been properly called Doclia, from a small tribe of Illyrians (see Cellarius, Geograph. Antiqua, tom. i. p. 393.) and the original name of the fortunate slave was probably Docles; he first lengthened it to the Grecian harmony of Diocles, and at length to the Roman majesty of Diocletianus. He likewise assumed the Patrician name of Valerius, and it is usually given him by Aurelius Victor.

² See Dacier on the sixth satire of the second book of Horace. Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Eumen. c. 1.

³ Lactantius (or whoever was the author of the little treatise. De Mortibus Persecutorum) accuses Diocletian of *timidity* in two places, c. 7, 8. In chap. 9, he says of him, "erat in omni tumultu meticulosus et animi disiectus."

⁴ In this encomium, Aurelius Victor seems to convey a just, though indirect, censure of the cruelty of Constantius. It appears from the Fasti, that Aristobulus remained præfect of the city, and that he ended with Diocletian, the consulship which he had commenced with Carinus.

⁵ Aurelius Victor styles Diocletian, "Parentem potius quam Dominum." See Hist. August. p. 30.

⁶ The question of the time when Maximian received the honours of Cæsar and Augustus has divided modern critics, and given occasion to

a great deal of learned wrangling. I have followed M. de Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 500—505.), who has weighed the several reasons and difficulties with his scrupulous accuracy.

⁷ In an oration delivered before him (*Panegy. Vet.* ii. 8.), Mamertinus expresses a doubt whether his hero, in imitating the conduct of Hannibal and Scipio, had ever heard of their names. From thence we may fairly infer, that Maximian was more desirous of being considered as a soldier than as a man of letters: and it is in this manner that we can often translate the language of flattery into that of truth.

⁸ Lactantius de M. P. c. 8. Aurelius Victor. As among the Panegyrics, we find orations pronounced in praise of Maximian, and others which flatter his adversaries at his expence, we derive some knowledge from the contrast.

⁹ See the second and third Panegyrics, particularly iii. 3. 10. 14. but it would be tedious to copy the diffuse and affected expressions of their false eloquence. With regard to the titles, consult Aurel. Victor. Lactantius de M. P. c. 52. Spanheim de *Ufu Numismatum*, etc. *Dissertat.* xii. 8.

¹⁰ Aurelius Victor. Victor in *Epitome*. Eutrop. ix. 22. Lactant. de M. P. c. 8. Hieronym. in *Chron.*

¹¹ It is only among the modern Greeks that Tillemont can discover his appellation of Chlorus. Any remarkable degree of paleness seems inconsistent with the *rubor* mentioned in Panegyric. v. 19.

¹² Julian, the grandson of Constantius, boasts that his family was derived from the warlike Mæsiæns. *Misopogon*, p. 348. The Dardanians dwelt on the edge of Mæsia.

¹³ Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; if we speak with strictness, Theodora, the wife of Constantius, was daughter only to the wife of Maximian. Spanheim *Dissertat.* xi. 2.

¹⁴ This division agrees with that of the four præfectures; yet there is some reason to doubt whether Spain was not a province of Maximian. See Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 517.

¹⁵ Julian in *Cæsarib.* p. 315. Spanheim's notes to the French translation, p. 122.

¹⁶ The general name of *Bagaudæ* (in the signification of Rebels) continued till the fifth century in Gaul. Some critics derive it from a Celtic word *Bagad*, a tumultuous assembly. Scaliger ad Euseb. *Du Cange Glossar.*

¹⁷ *Chronique de Froissart*, vol. i. c. 182. ii. 73—79. The naïveté of his story is lost in our best modern writers.

¹⁸ Cæsar de *Bell. Gallic.* vi. 13. Orgetorix, the Helvetian, could arm for his defence a body of ten thousand slaves.

¹⁹ Their oppression and misery are acknowledged by Eumenius (*Panegy. vi.* 8.), *Gallias efferatas injuriis.*

²⁰ *Panegy. Vet.* ii. 4. Aurelius Victor.

²¹ Ælianus and Amandus. We have medals coined by them. Golzius in Thef. R. A. p. 117. 121.

²² Levibus præliis domuit. Eutrop. ix. 20.

²³ The fact rests indeed on very slight authority, a life of St. Babolinus, which is probably of the seventh century. See Duchesne Scriptores Rer. Francicar. tom. i. p. 662.

²⁴ Aurelius Victor calls them Germans. Eutropius (ix. 21.) gives them the name of Saxons. But Eutropius lived in the ensuing century, and seems to use the language of his own times.

²⁵ The three expressions of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and Eumenius, "vilissime natus," "Bataviæ alumnus," and "Menapiæ civis," give us a very doubtful account of the birth of Carausius. Dr. Stukely, however, (Hist. of Carausius, p. 61.) chuses to make him a native of St. David's, and a prince of the blood royal of Britain. The former idea he had found in Richard of Cirencester, p. 44.

²⁶ Panegy. v. 12. Britain at this time was secure, and slightly guarded.

²⁷ Panegy. Vet. v. 11. vii. 9. The orator Eumenius wished to exalt the glory of the hero (Constantius), with the importance of the conquest. Notwithstanding our laudable partiality for our native country, it is difficult to conceive, that, in the beginning of the fourth century, England deserved *all* these commendations. A century and a half before, it hardly paid its own establishment. See Appian in Proëm.

²⁸ As a great number of medals of Carausius are still preserved, he is become a very favourite object of antiquarian curiosity, and every circumstance of his life and actions has been investigated with sagacious accuracy. Dr. Stukely in particular has devoted a large volume to the British emperor. I have used his materials, and rejected most of his fanciful conjectures.

²⁹ When Mamertinus pronounced his first panegyric, the naval preparations of Maximian were completed; and the orator prefaged an assured victory. His silence in the second Panegyric, might alone inform us, that the expedition had not succeeded.

³⁰ Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and the medals (Pax Auggg.) inform us of this temporary reconciliation: though I will not presume (as Dr. Stukely has done, Medallie History of Carausius, p. 86, etc.) to insert the identical articles of the treaty.

³¹ With regard to the recovery of Britain, we obtain a few hints from Aurelius Victor and Eutropius.

³² John Malela, in Chron. Antiochen, tom. i. p. 408, 409.

³³ Zosim. l. i. p. 3. That partial historian seems to celebrate the vigilance of Diocletian, with a design of exposing the negligence of Constantine; we may, however, listen to an orator, "Nam quid ego alarum et cohortium castra percenseam, toto Rheni et Istri et Euphratis limite restituta." Panegy. Vet. iv. 18.

³⁴ Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi, quibus non contigit esse

Romanis, obstinatæque feritatis pœnas nunc sponte persolvunt. Panegyr. Vet. iii. 16. Mamertinus illustrates the fact, by the example of almost all the nations of the world.

³⁵ He complained, though not with the strictest truth; "Jam fluxisse annos quindecim in quibus, in Illyrico, ad ripam Danubii relegatus cum gentibus barbaris luctaret." Lactant. de M. P. c. 18.

³⁶ In the Greek text of Eusebius, we read six thousand, a number which I have preferred to the sixty thousand of Jerome, Orosius, Eutropius, and his Greek translator Pæanius.

³⁷ Panegyr. Vet. vii. 21.

³⁸ There was a settlement of the Sarmatians in the neighbourhood of Treves, which seems to have been deserted by those lazy Barbarians; Ausonius speaks of them in his Moselle.

Unde iter ingrediens nemorosa per avia solum,
Et nulla humani spectans vestigia cultus

.

Arvaque Sauromatûm nuper metata colonis.

There was a town of the Carpi in the Lower Mæsia.

³⁹ See the rhetorical exultation of Eumenius. Panegyr. vii. 9.

⁴⁰ Scaliger (Animadvers. ad Euseb. p. 243.) decides in his usual manner, that the *Quinque gentiani*, or five African nations, were the five great cities, the *Pentapolis* of the inoffensive province of Cyrene.

⁴¹ After his defeat, Julian stabbed himself with a dagger, and immediately leaped into the flames. Victor in Epitome.

⁴² Tu ferocissimos Mauritanix populos inaccessis montium jugis et naturali munitione fidentes, expugnasti, recepisti, transtulisti. Panegyr. Vet. vi. 8.

⁴³ See the description of Alexandria, in Hirtius de Bel. Alexandrin. c. 5.

⁴⁴ Eutrop. ix. 24. Orosius, vii. 25. John Malela in Chron. Antioch. p. 409, 410. Yet Eumenius assures us, that Egypt was pacified by the clemency of Diocletian.

⁴⁵ Eusebius (in Chron.) places their destruction several years sooner, and at a time when Egypt itself was in a state of rebellion against the Romans.

⁴⁶ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1. 172. Pomponius Mela, l. i. c. 4. His words are curious, "Intra, si credere libet, vix homines magisque semiferi; Ægipanes, et *Blemmyes*, et Satyri."

⁴⁷ Ausus sese inferere fortunæ et provocare arma Romana.

⁴⁸ See Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19.

⁴⁹ He fixed the public allowance of corn for the people of Alexandria, at two millions of *medimni*; about four hundred thousand quarters. Chron. Paschal. p. 276. Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 26.

⁵⁰ John Antioch in Excerpt. Valesian. p. 834. Suidas in Diocletian.

⁵¹ See a short history and confutation of Alchymy, in the works of that philosophical compiler, La Mothe le Vayer, tom. i. p. 327—353.

⁵² See the education and strength of Tiridates in the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 76. He could seize two wild bulls by the horns, and break them off with his hands.

⁵³ If we give credit to the younger Victor, who supposes that in the year 323, Licinius was only sixty years of age, he could scarcely be the same person as the patron of Tiridates; but we know from much better authority (Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. x. c. 8.), that Licinius was at that time in the last period of old age: sixteen years before, he is represented with grey hairs, and as the contemporary of Galerius. See Lactant. c. 32. Licinius was probably born about the year 250.

⁵⁴ See the sixty-second and sixty-third books of Dion Cassius.

⁵⁵ Moses of Chorene, Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 74. The statues had been erected by Valarfaces, who reigned in Armenia about 130 years before Christ, and was the first king of the family of Arfaces (see Moses. Hist. Armen. l. ii. 2, 3.). The deification of the Arfacides is mentioned by Justin (xli. 5.) and by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 6.).

⁵⁶ The Armenian nobility was numerous and powerful. Moses mentions many families which were distinguished under the reign of Valarfaces (l. ii. 7.), and which still subsisted in his own time, about the middle of the fifth century. See the preface of his Editors.

⁵⁷ She was named Chosroiduchta, and had not the *os patulum* like other women. (Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 79.) I do not understand the expression.

⁵⁸ In the Armenian History (l. ii. 78.) as well as in the Geography (p. 367.), China is called Zenia, or Zeneftan. It is characterized by the production of silk, by the opulence of the natives, and by their love of peace, above all the other nations of the earth.

⁵⁹ Vou-ti, the first emperor of the seventh dynasty, who then reigned in China, had political transactions with Fergana, a province of Sogdiana, and is said to have received a Roman embassy (Histoire des Huns, tom. i. p. 38.). In those ages the Chinese kept a garrison at Kashgar, and one of their generals, about the time of Trajan, marched as far as the Caspian sea. With regard to the intercourse between China and the western countries, a curious memoir of M. de Guignes may be consulted, in the Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. p. 355.

⁶⁰ See Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 81.

⁶¹ *Ipfos Perfes ipsumque Regem ascitis Saccis, et Ruffis, et Gellis, petit frater Ormies.* Panegyric. Vet. iii. 1. The Saccæ were a nation of wandering Scythians, who encamped towards the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The Gelli were the inhabitants of Ghilan along the Caspian sea, and who so long, under the name of Dilemites, infested the Persian monarchy. See d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale.

⁶² Moses of Chorene takes no notice of this second revolution, which I have been obliged to collect from a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xxiii. 5.). Lactantius speaks of the ambition of Narses, "*Concitatus domesticis exemplis avi sui Saporis ad occupandum orientem magnis copiis inhiabat.*" De Mort. Persecut. c. 9.

⁶³ We may readily believe, that Lactantius ascribes to cowardice the conduct of Diocletian. Julian, in his oration, says, that he remained with all the forces of the empire; a very hyperbolical expression.

⁶⁴ Our five abbreviators, Eutropius, Festus, the two Victors, and Orosius, all relate the last and great battle; but Orosius is the only one who speaks of the two former.

⁶⁵ The nature of the country is finely described by Plutarch, in the life of Crassus, and by Xenophon, in the first book of the Anabasis.

⁶⁶ See Foster's Dissertation in the second volume of the translation of the Anabasis by Spelman, which I will venture to recommend as one of the best versions extant.

⁶⁷ Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 76. I have transferred this exploit of Tiridates from an imaginary defeat to the real one of Galerius.

⁶⁸ Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. The mile, in the hands of Eutropius (ix. 24.), of Festus (c. 25.), and of Orosius (vii. 25.), easily increased to several miles.

⁶⁹ Aurelius Victor, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 21.

⁷⁰ Aurelius Victor says, "Per Armeniam in hostes contendit, quæ ferme sola, seu facilius vincendi via est." He followed the conduct of Trajan, and the idea of Julius Cæsar.

⁷¹ Xenophon's Anabasis, l. iii. For that reason the Persian cavalry encamped sixty stadia from the enemy.

⁷² The story is told by Ammianus, l. xxii. Instead of *saccum* some read *scutum*.

⁷³ The Persians confessed the Roman superiority in morals as well as in arms. Eutrop. ix. 24. But this respect and gratitude of enemies is very seldom to be found in their own accounts.

⁷⁴ The account of the negotiation is taken from the fragments of Peter the Patrician, in the Excerpta Legationum published in the Byzantine Collection. Peter lived under Justinian; but it is very evident, by the nature of his materials, that they are drawn from the most authentic and respectable writers.

⁷⁵ Adeo Victor (says Aurelius) ut nî Valerius, cujus nutu omnia gerebantur, abnuisset, Romani fasces in provinciam novam ferrentur. Verum pars terrarum tamen nobis utilior quæsitâ.

⁷⁶ He had been governor of Sumium (Pet. Patricius in Excerpt. Legat. p. 30.). This province seems to be mentioned by Moses of Chorene (Geograph. p. 360.), and lay to the East of Mount Ararat.

⁷⁷ By an error of the geographer Ptolemy, the position of Singara is removed from the Aboras to the Tigris, which may have produced the mistake of Peter, in assigning the latter river for the boundary, instead of the former. The line of the Roman frontier traversed, but never followed, the course of the Tigris.

⁷⁸ Procopius de Edificiis, l. ii. c. 6.

⁷⁹ Three of the provinces, Zabdicene, Arzanene, and Carduene, are allowed on all sides. But instead of the other two, Peter (in Excerpt. Leg. p. 30.) inserts Rehimene and Sophene. I have preferred

Ammianus (l. xxv. 7.), because it might be proved, that Sophene was never in the hands of the Persians, either before the reign of Diocletian, or after that of Jovian. For want of correct maps, like those of M. d'Anville, almost all the moderns, with Tillemont and Valesius at their head, have imagined, that it was in respect to Persia, and not to Rome, that the five provinces were situate beyond the Tigris.

⁸⁰ Xenophon's *Anabasis*, l. iv. Their bows were three cubits in length, their arrows two; they rolled down stones that were each a waggon load. The Greeks found a great many villages in that rude country.

⁸¹ According to Eutropius (vi. 9. as the text is represented by the best MSS.), the city of Tigranocerta was in Arzanene. The names and situation of the other three may be faintly traced.

⁸² Compare Herodotus, l. i. c. 97. with Moses Choronenf. *Hist. Armen.* l. ii. c. 84. and the map of Armenia given by his editors.

⁸³ *Hiberi, locorum potentes, Caspiâ viâ Sarmatum in Armenios raptim effundunt.* Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 34. See Strabon. *Geograph.* l. xi. p. 764.

⁸⁴ Peter Patricius (in *Excerpt. Leg.* p. 30.) is the only writer who mentions the Iberian article of the treaty.

⁸⁵ Euseb. in *Chron. Pagi ad annum.* Till the discovery of the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, it was not certain that the triumph and the Vicennalia were celebrated at the same time.

⁸⁶ At the time of the Vicennalia, Galerius seems to have kept his station on the Danube. See Lactant. *de M. P.* c. 38.

⁸⁷ Eutropius (ix. 27.) mentions them as a part of the triumph. As the *persons* had been restored to Narfes, nothing more than their *images* could be exhibited.

⁸⁸ Livy gives us a speech of Camillus on that subject (v. 51—55.), full of eloquence and sensibility, in opposition to a design of removing the seat of government from Rome to the neighbouring city of Veii.

⁸⁹ Julius Cæsar was reproached with the intention of removing the empire to Illium or Alexandria. See Sueton. in *Cæsar.* c. 79. According to the ingenious conjecture of Le Fevre and Dacier, the third ode of the third book of Horace was intended to divert Augustus from the execution of a similar design.

⁹⁰ See Aurelius Victor, who likewise mentions the buildings erected by Maximian at Carthage, probably during the Moorish war. We shall insert some verses of Ausonius *de Clar. Urb.* v.

Et Mediolani mira omnia : copia rerum ;
Innumeræ cultæque domus ; facunda virorum
Ingenia , et mores læti ; tum duplici muro
Amplificata loci species ; populique voluptas
Circus ; et inclusi moles cuneata Theatri,
Templa, Palatinæque arces, opulensque Moneta,

Et regio *Herculei* celebris sub honore lavacri;
 Cunctaque marmoreis ornata Peristyla signis;
 Mœniaque in valli formam circumdata labro,
 Omnia quæ magnis operum velut æmula formis
 Excellunt; nec junctæ premit vicinia Romæ.

⁹¹ Lactant. de M. P. c. 17. Libanius, Orat. viii. p. 203.

⁹² Lactant. de M. P. c. 17. On a similar occasion Ammianus mentions the *dicacitas plebis*, as not very agreeable to an Imperial ear. (See l. xvi. c. 10.).

⁹³ Lactantius accuses Maximian of destroying fictis criminationibus lumina senatûs (De M. P. c. 8.). Aurelius Victor speaks very doubtfully of the faith of Diocletian towards his friends.

⁹⁴ Truncatæ vires urbis, imminuto prætoriarum cohortium atque in armis vulgi numero. Aurelius Victor. Lactantius attributes to Galerius the prosecution of the same plan (c. 26.).

⁹⁵ They were old corps stationed in Illyricum; and according to the ancient establishment, they each consisted of six thousand men. They had acquired much reputation by the use of the *plumbata*, or darts loaded with lead. Each soldier carried five of these, which he darted from a considerable distance, with great strength and dexterity. See Vegetius, i. 17.

⁹⁶ See the Theodosian Code, l. vi. tit. ii. with Godefroy's commentary.

⁹⁷ See the 12th dissertation in Spanheim's excellent work de Ufu Numismatum. From medals, inscriptions, and historians, he examines every title separately, and traces it from Augustus to the moment of its disappearing.

⁹⁸ Pliny (in Panegy. c. 3. 55, etc.) speaks of *Dominus* with execration, as synonymous to Tyrant, and opposite to Prince. And the same Pliny regularly gives that title (in the tenth book of the epistles) to his friend rather than master, the virtuous Trajan. This strange contradiction puzzles the commentators, who think, and the translators, who can write.

⁹⁹ Synesius de Regno, Edit. Petav. p. 15. I am indebted for this quotation to the Abbé de la Bleterie.

¹⁰⁰ See Vendale de Consecratione, p. 354, etc. It was customary for the emperors to mention (in the preamble of laws) their *numen*, *sacred majesty*, *divine oracles*, etc. According to Tillemont, Gregory of Nazianzen, complains most bitterly of the profanation, especially when it was practised by an Arian emperor.

¹⁰¹ See Spanheim de Ufu Numismat. Dissertat. xii.

¹⁰² Aurelius Victor. Eutropius ix. 26. It appears by the Panegyrists, that the Romans were soon reconciled to the name and ceremony of adoration.

¹⁰³ The innovations introduced by Diocletian, are chiefly deduced, 1st, from some very strong passages in Lactantius; and, 2dly, from the new and various offices, which, in the Theodosian code, appear *already* established in the beginning of the reign of Constantine.

¹⁰⁴ Lactant. de M. P. c. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Indicta lex nova quæ fane illorum temporum modestiâ tolerabilis, in perniciem processit. Aurel. Victor, who has treated the character of Diocletian with good sense, though in bad Latin.

¹⁰⁶ Solus omnium, post conditum Romanum Imperium, qui ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatæ vitæ statum civilitatemque remearet. Eutrop. ix. 28.

¹⁰⁷ The particulars of the journey and illness are taken from Lactantius (c. 17.), who may *sometimes* be admitted as an evidence of public facts, though very seldom of private anecdotes.

¹⁰⁸ Aurelius Victor ascribes the abdication, which had been so variously accounted for, to two causes. 1st, Diocletian's contempt of ambition; and 2dly, His apprehension of impending troubles. One of the panegyrists (vi. 9.) mentions the age and infirmities of Diocletian, as a very natural reason for his retirement.

¹⁰⁹ The difficulties as well as mistakes attending the dates both of the year and of the day of Diocletian's abdication, are perfectly cleared up by Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 525. Note 19. and by Pagi ad annum.

¹¹⁰ See Panegyr. Veter. vi. 9. The oration was pronounced after Maximian had reassumed the purple.

¹¹¹ Eumenius pays him a very fine compliment: "At enim divinum illum virum, qui primus imperium et participavit et posuit, consilii et facti sui non pœnitet; nec amisisse se putat quod sponte transcripsit. Felix beatusque vere quem vestra, tantorum principum, colunt obsequia privatum." Panegyr. Vet. vii. 15.

¹¹² We are obliged to the younger Victor for this celebrated bon mot. Eutropius mentions the thing in a more general manner.

¹¹³ Hist. August. p. 223, 224. Vopiscus had learned this conversation from his father.

¹¹⁴ The younger Victor slightly mentions the report. But as Diocletian had disobliterated a powerful and successful party, his memory has been loaded with every crime and misfortune. It has been affirmed that he died raving mad, that he was condemned as a criminal by the Roman senate, etc.

¹¹⁵ See the Itiner. p. 269. 272. Edit. Wessel.

¹¹⁶ The Abbate Fortis, in his Viaggio in Dalmazia, p. 43. (printed at Venice in the year 1774, in two small volumes in quarto) quotes a MS. account of the antiquities of Salona, composed by Giambattista Giustiniani about the middle of the xvith century.

¹¹⁷ Adam's antiquities of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro, p. 6. We may add a circumstance or two from the Abbate Fortis: the little stream of the Hyader, mentioned by Lucan, produces most exquisite trout, which a sagacious writer, perhaps a monk, supposes to have been one of the principal reasons that determined Diocletian in the choice of his retirement. Fortis, p. 45. The same author (p. 38.) observes, that

that a taste for agriculture is reviving at Spalatro; and that an experimental farm has lately been established near the city, by a society of Gentlemen.

¹¹⁸ Constantin. Orat. ad Cœtum Sanct. c. 25. In this sermon, the emperor, or the bishop who composed it for him, affects to relate the miserable end of all the persecutors of the church.

¹¹⁹ Constantin. Porphy. de Statu Imper. p. 86.

¹²⁰ D'Anville, Géographie ancienne, tom. i. p. 162.

¹²¹ Messieurs Adam and Clerisseau, attended by two draughtsmen, visited Spalatro in the month of July 1757. The magnificent work which their journey produced, was published in London seven years afterwards.

¹²² I shall quote the words of the Abbate Fortis. “E bastevolmente nota agli amatori dell’ Architettura, e dell’ Antichità, l’opera del Signor ADAMS, che a donato molto a que’ superbi vestigi coll’ abituale eleganza del suo toccalapis e del bulino. In generale la rozzezza del scalpello, e’l cattivo gusto del secolo vi gareggiano colla magnificenza del fabricato.” See Viaggio in Dalmazia, p. 40.

¹²³ The orator Eumenius was secretary to the emperors Maximian and Constantius, and Professor of Rhetoric in the college of Autun. His salary was six hundred thousand sesterces, which, according to the lowest computation of that age, must have exceeded three thousand pounds a year. He generously requested the permission of employing it in rebuilding the college. See his Oration De restaurandis scholis; which, though not exempt from vanity, may atone for his panegyrics.

¹²⁴ Porphyry died about the time of Diocletian’s abdication. The life of his master Plotinus, which he composed, will give us the most complete idea of the genius of the sect, and the manners of its professors. This very curious piece is inserted in Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græca, tom. iv. p. 88—148.

CHAP. XIV.

¹ M. de Montesquieu (Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. 17.) supposes, on the authority of Orosius and Eusebius, that, on this occasion, the empire, for the first time, was really divided into two parts. It is difficult, however, to discover in what respect the plan of Galerius differed from that of Diocletian.

² Hic non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit; præcipue quod Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam, et Maximiani sanguinariam violentiam imperio ejus evaserant. Eutrop. Breviar. x. 1.

³ Divitiis Provincialium (mel. *provinciarum*) ac privatorum studens, fisci commoda non admodum affectans; ducensque melius publicas opes a privatis haberi, quam intra unum claustrum reservari. Id.

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ibid. He carried this maxim so far, that whenever he gave an entertainment, he was obliged to borrow a service of plate.

⁴ Lactantius de Mort. Persecutor. c. 18. Were the particulars of this conference more consistent with truth and decency, we might still ask, how they came to the knowledge of an obscure rhetorician? But there are many historians who put us in mind of the admirable saying of the great Condé to cardinal de Retz; "Ces coquins nous font parler et agir, comme ils auraient fait eux-mêmes à notre place."

⁵ Sublatus nuper a pecoribus et filvis (says Lactantius de M. P. c. 19.) statim Scutarius, continuo Protector, mox Tribunus, postriedie Cæsar, accepit Orientem. Aurelius Victor is too liberal in giving him the whole portion of Diocletian.

⁶ His diligence and fidelity are acknowledged even by Lactantius, de M. P. c. 18.

⁷ These schemes, however, rest only on the very doubtful authority of Lactantius, de M. P. c. 20.

⁸ This tradition, unknown to the contemporaries of Constantine, was invented in the darkness of monasteries, was embellished by Jeffrey of Monmouth, and the writers of the xiith century, has been defended by our antiquarians of the last age, and is seriously related in the ponderous history of England, compiled by Mr. Carte (vol. i. p. 147.). He transports, however, the kingdom of Coil, the imaginary father of Helena, from Essex to the wall of Antoninus.

⁹ Eutropius (x. 2.) expresses, in a few words, the real truth, and the occasion of the error, "*ex obscuriori matrimonio ejus filius.*" Zosimus (l. ii. p. 78.) eagerly seized the most unfavourable report, and is followed by Orosius (vii. 25.), whose authority is oddly enough overlooked by the indefatigable but partial Tillemont. By insisting on the divorce of Helena, Diocletian acknowledged her marriage.

¹⁰ There are three opinions with regard to the place of Constantine's birth. 1. Our English antiquarians were used to dwell with rapture on the words of his panegyrist; "Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti." But this celebrated passage may be referred with as much propriety to the accession as to the nativity of Constantine. 2. Some of the modern Greeks have ascribed the honour of his birth to Drepanum, a town on the gulph of Nicomedia (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 174.) which Constantine dignified with the name of Helenopolis, and Justinian adorned with many splendid buildings (Procop. de Ædificiis, v. 2.) It is indeed probable enough, that Helena's father kept an inn at Drepanum; and that Constantius might lodge there when he returned from a Persian embassy in the reign of Aurelian. But in the wandering life of a soldier, the place of his marriage, and the places where his children are born, have very little connection with each other. 3. The claim of Naillus is supported by the anonymous writer, published at the end of Ammianus, p. 710, and who in general copied very good

materials ; and it is confirmed by Julius Firmicius (*de Astrologiâ*, l. i. c. 4.), who flourished under the reign of Constantine himself. Some objections have been raised against the integrity of the text, and the application of the passage of Firmicius; but the former is established by the best MSS. and the latter is very ably defended by Lipsius *de Magnitudine Romanâ*, l. iv. c. 11. et Supplement.

¹¹ *Literis minus instructus*. Anonym. ad Ammian. p. 710.

¹² Galerius, or perhaps his own courage, exposed him to single combat with a Sarmatian (Anonym. p. 710.) and with a monstrous lion. See Praxagoras apud Phocium, p. 63. Praxagoras, an Athenian philosopher, had written a life of Constantine, in two books, which are now lost. He was a contemporary.

¹³ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 78, 79. Lactantius de M. P. c. 24. The former tells a very foolish story, that Constantine caused all the post-horses, which he had used, to be hamstrung. Such a bloody execution, without preventing a pursuit, would have scattered suspicions, and might have stopped his journey.

¹⁴ Anonym. p. 710. Panegy. Veter. vii. 4. But Zosimus, l. ii. p. 79. Eusebius de Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 21. and Lactantius de M. P. c. 24. suppose, with less accuracy, that he found his father on his death-bed.

¹⁵ *Cunctis qui aderant annitentibus, sed præcipue Croco (alii Eroco) Alamannorum Rege, auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitato, imperium capit*. Victor Junior, c. 41. This is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king, who assisted the Roman arms with an independent body of his own subjects. The practice grew familiar, and at last became fatal.

¹⁶ His panegyrist Eumenius (vii. 8.) ventures to affirm, in the presence of Constantine, that he put spurs to his horse, and tried, but in vain, to escape from the hands of his soldiers.

¹⁷ Lactantius de M. P. c. 25. Eumenius (vii. 8.) gives a rhetorical turn to the whole transaction.

¹⁸ The choice of Constantine, by his dying father, which is warranted by reason, and insinuated by Eumenius, seems to be confirmed by the most unexceptionable authority, the concurring evidence of Lactantius (de M. P. c. 24.) and of Libanius (Oration i.); of Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 18. 21.) and of Julian (Oration i.)

¹⁹ Of the three sisters of Constantine, Constantia married the emperor Licinius, Anastasia the Cæsar Bassianus, and Eutropia the consul Nepotianus. The three brothers were, Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, and Hannibalianus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

²⁰ See Gruter Inscip. p. 178. The six princes are all mentioned, Diocletian and Maximian as the senior Augusti and fathers of the emperors. They jointly dedicate, for the use of *their own* Romans, this magnificent edifice. The architects have delineated the ruins of these *Thermæ*; and the antiquarians, particularly Donatus and Nardini, have ascertained the ground which they covered. One of the great

rooms is now the Carthusian church; and even one of the porter's lodges is sufficient to form another church, which belongs to the Feuillans.

²¹ See Lactantius de M. P. c. 26. 31.

²² The vith Panegyric represents the conduct of Maximian in the most favourable light; and the ambiguous expression of Aurelius Victor, "retractante diu," may signify, either that he contrived, or that he opposed, the conspiracy. See Zosimus, l. ii. p. 79. and Lactantius de M. P. c. 26.

²³ The circumstances of this war, and the death of Severus, are very doubtfully and variously told in our ancient fragments (see Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part. i. p. 555.) I have endeavoured to extract from them a consistent and probable narration.

²⁴ The vith Panegyric was pronounced to celebrate the elevation of Constantine; but the prudent orator avoids the mention either of Galerius or of Maxentius. He introduces only one slight allusion to the actual troubles, and to the majesty of Rome.

²⁵ With regard to this negotiation, see the fragments of an anonymous Historian published by Valesius at the end of his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 711. These fragments have furnished us with several curious, and as it should seem authentic, anecdotes.

²⁶ Lactantius de M. P. c. 28. The former of these reasons is probably taken from Virgil's Shepherd; "Illam ego huic nostræ similem Meli-
"boëe putavi, etc." Lactantius delights in these poetical allusions.

²⁷ Castra super Tufci si ponere Tybridis undas, (*jubeas*)

Hesperios audax veniam metator in agros.

Tu quoscunque voles in planum effundere muros,

His aries actus disperget saxa lacertis;

Illa licet, penitus tolli quam jufferis urbem,

Roma sit.

Lucan. Pharsal. i. 387.

²⁸ Lactantius de M. P. c. 27. Zosim. l. ii. p. 82. The latter insinuates, that Constantine, in his interview with Maximian, had promised to declare war against Galerius.

²⁹ M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part i. p. 559.) has proved, that Licinius, without passing through the intermediate rank of Cæsar, was declared Augustus, the 11th of November, A. D. 307. after the return of Galerius from Italy.

³⁰ Lactantius de M. P. c. 32. When Galerius declared Licinius Augustus with himself, he tried to satisfy his younger associates, by inventing, for Constantine and Maximin (not Maxentius, see Baluze, p. 81.) the new title of sons of the Augusti. But when Maximin acquainted him that he had been saluted Augustus by the army, Galerius was obliged to acknowledge him, as well as Constantine, as equal associates in the Imperial dignity.

³¹ See Panegy. Vet. vi. 9. Audi doloris nostri liberam vocem, etc. The whole passage is imagined with artful flattery, and expressed with an easy flow of eloquence.

³² Lactantius de M. P. c. 28. Zosim. l. ii. p. 82. A report was spread, that Maxentius was the son of some obscure Syrian, and had been substituted by the wife of Maximian as her own child. See Aurelius Victor, Anonym. Valesian. and Panegyr. Vet. ix. 3, 4.

³³ Ab urbe pulsum, ab Italiâ fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum, tuis provinciis, tuis copiis, tuo palatio recepisti. Eumen. in Panegyr. Vet. vii. 14.

³⁴ Lactantius de M. P. c. 29. Yet after the resignation of the purple, Constantine still continued to Maximian the pomp and honours of the Imperial dignity; and on all public occasions gave the right-hand place to his father-in-law. Panegyr. Vet. vii. 15.

³⁵ Zosim. l. ii. p. 82. Eumenius in Panegyr. Vet. vii. 16—21. The latter of these has undoubtedly represented the whole affair in the most favourable light for his sovereign. Yet even from his partial narrative we may conclude, that the repeated clemency of Constantine, and the reiterated treasons of Maximian, as they are described by Lactantius (de M. P. c. 29, 30.), and copied by the moderns, are destitute of any historical foundation.

³⁶ Aurelius Victor, c. 40. But that lake was situated on the Upper Pannonia, near the borders of Noricum; and the province of Valeria (a name which the wife of Galerius gave to the drained country) undoubtedly lay between the Drave and the Danube (Sextus Rufus, c. 9.) I should therefore suspect that Victor has confounded the lake Pelfo with the Volocean marches, or, as they are now called, the lake Sabaton. It is placed in the heart of Valeria, and its present extent is not less than 12 Hungarian miles (about 70 English) in length, and two in breadth. See Severini Pannonia, l. i. c. 9.

³⁷ Lactantius (de M. P. c. 33.) and Eusebius (l. viii. c. 16.) describe the symptoms and progress of his disorder with singular accuracy and apparent pleasure.

³⁸ If any (like the late Dr. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 307—356.) still delight in recording the wonderful deaths of the persecutors, I would recommend to their perusal an admirable passage of Grotius (Hist. l. vii. p. 332.) concerning the last illness of Philip II. of Spain.

³⁹ See Eusebius, l. ix. 6. 10. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. Zosimus is less exact, and evidently confounds Maximian with Maximin.

⁴⁰ See the viiith Panegyr. in which Eumenius displays, in the presence of Constantine, the misery and the gratitude of the city of Autun.

⁴¹ Eutropius, x. 3. Panegyr. Veter. vii. 10, 11, 12. A great number of the French youth were likewise exposed to the same cruel and ignominious death.

⁴² Julian excludes Maxentius from the banquet of the Cæsars with abhorrence and contempt; and Zosimus (l. ii. p. 85.) accuses him of every kind of cruelty and profligacy.

⁴³ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 83—85. Aurelius Victor.

⁴⁴ The passage of Aurelius Victor should be read in the following manner. *Primus instituto pessimo, munerum specie, Patres Oratoresque pecuniam conferre prodigenti sibi cogeret.*

⁴⁵ Panegy. Vet. ix. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. viii. 14. et in Vit. Constant. i. 33, 34. Rufinus, c. 17. The virtuous matron, who stabbed herself to escape the violence of Maxentius, was a Christian, wife to the præfect of the city, and her name was Sophronia. It still remains a question among the casuists, whether, on such occasions, suicide is justifiable.

⁴⁶ *Prætorianis cædem vulgi quondam annueret*, is the vague expression of Aurelius Victor. See more particular, though somewhat different, accounts of a tumult and massacre, which happened at Rome, in Eusebius (l. viii. c. 14.) and in Zosimus (l. ii. p. 84.).

⁴⁷ See in the Panegyrics (ix. 14.), a lively description of the indolence and vain pride of Maxentius. In another place, the orator observes, that the riches which Rome had accumulated in a period of 1060 years, were lavished by the tyrant on his mercenary bands; *redemptis ad civile latrocinium manibus ingesserat.*

⁴⁸ After the victory of Constantine, it was universally allowed, that the motive of delivering the republic from a detested tyrant, would, at any time, have justified his expedition into Italy. Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 26. Panegy. Vet. ix. 2.

⁴⁹ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 84, 85. Nazarius in Panegy. x. 7—13.

⁵⁰ See Panegy. Vet. ix. 2. *Omnibus fere tuis Comitibus et Ducibus non solum tacite mustantibus, sed etiam aperte timentibus; contra consilia hominum, contra Haruspicum monita, ipse per temet liberandæ urbis tempus venisse sentires.* The embassy of the Romans is mentioned only by Zonaras (l. xiii.) and by Cedrenus (in Compend. Hist. p. 270.): but those modern Greeks had the opportunity of consulting many writers which have since been lost, among which we may reckon the life of Constantine by Praxagoras. Photius (p. 63.) has made a short extract from that historical work.

⁵¹ Zosimus (l. ii. p. 86.) has given us this curious account of the forces on both sides. He makes no mention of any naval armaments, though we are assured (Panegy. Vet. ix. 25.) that the war was carried on by sea as well as by land; and that the fleet of Constantine took possession of Sardinia, Corsica, and the ports of Italy.

⁵² Panegy. Vet. ix. 3. It is not surprising that the orator should diminish the numbers with which his sovereign achieved the conquest of Italy; but it appears somewhat singular, that he should esteem the tyrant's army at no more than 100,000 men.

⁵³ The three principal passages of the Alps between Gaul and Italy, are those of Mount St. Bernard, Mount Cenis, and Mount Genevre. Tradition and a resemblance of names (*Alpes Penninæ*), had assigned the first of these for the march of Hannibal (see Simler de Alpibus).

The Chevalier de Folard (Polybe, tom. iv.) and M. d'Anville have led him over Mount Genevre. But notwithstanding the authority of an experienced officer and a learned geographer, the pretensions of Mount Cenis are supported in a specious, not to say a convincing, manner by M. Grosley. Observations sur l'Italie, tom. i. p. 40, etc.

⁵⁴ La Brunette near Suse, Demont, Exiles, Fenestrelles, Coni, etc.

⁵⁵ See Ammian. Marcellin. xv. 10. His description of the roads over the Alps, is clear, lively, and accurate.

⁵⁶ Zosimus as well as Eusebius hasten from the passage of the Alps, to the decisive action near Rome. We must apply to the two Panegyrics, for the intermediate actions of Constantine.

⁵⁷ The Marquis Maffei has examined the siege and battle of Verona, with that degree of attention and accuracy, which was due to a memorable action that happened in his native country. The fortifications of that city, constructed by Gallienus, were less extensive than the modern walls, and the Amphitheatre was not included within their circumference. See Verona Illustrata, Part. i. p. 142. 150.

⁵⁸ They wanted chains for so great a multitude of captives; and the whole council was at a loss; but the sagacious conqueror imagined the happy expedient of converting into fetters the swords of the vanquished. Panegy. Vet. ix. 11.

⁵⁹ Panegy. Vet. ix. 10.

⁶⁰ Literas calamitatum suarum indices supprimebat. Panegy. Vet. ix. 15.

⁶¹ Remedia malorum potius quam mala differebat, is the fine censure which Tacitus passes on the supine indolence of Vitellius.

⁶² The Marquis Maffei has made it extremely probable that Constantine was still at Verona, the 1st of September, A. D. 312, and that the memorable æra of the indictions was dated from his conquest of the Cisalpine Gaul.

⁶³ See Panegy. Vet. ix. 16. Lactantius de M. P. c. 44.

⁶⁴ Illo die hostem Romanorum esse perituum. The vanquished prince became of course the enemy of Rome.

⁶⁵ See Panegy. Vet. ix. 16. x. 27. The former of these orators magnifies the hoards of corn, which Maxentius had collected from Africa and the Islands. And yet, if there is any truth in the scarcity mentioned by Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. i. 36.), the Imperial granaries must have been open only to the soldiers.

⁶⁶ Maxentius . . . tandem urbe in *Saxa Rubra*, millia ferme novem ægerrime progressus. Aurelius Victor. See Cellarius Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 463. *Saxa Rubra* was in the neighbourhood of the Cremera, a trifling rivulet, illustrated by the valour and glorious death of the three hundred Fabii.

⁶⁷ The post which Maxentius had taken, with the Tyber in his rear, is very clearly described by the two Panegyrists, ix. 16. x. 28.

⁶⁸ Exceptis latrocinii illius primis auctoribus, qui desperatâ veniâ,

locum quem pugnae sumptuerant texere corporibus. Panegy. Vet. ix. 17.

⁶⁹ A very idle rumour soon prevailed, that Maxentius, who had not taken any precaution for his own retreat, had contrived a very artful snare to destroy the army of the pursuers; but that the wooden bridge which was to have been loosened on the approach of Constantine, unluckily broke down under the weight of the flying Italians. M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part. i. p. 576.) very seriously examines whether, in contradiction to common sense, the testimony of Eusebius and Zosimus ought to prevail over the silence of Lactantius, Nazarius, and the anonymous, but contemporary orator, who composed the ninth panegyric.

⁷⁰ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 86—88, and the two Panegyrics, the former of which was pronounced a few months afterwards, afford the clearest notion of this great battle. Lactantius, Eusebius, and even the Epitomes, supply several useful hints.

⁷¹ Zosimus, the enemy of Constantine, allows (l. ii. p. 88.), that only a few of the friends of Maxentius were put to death; but we may remark the expressive passage of Nazarius (Panegy. Vet. x. 6.). Omnibus qui labefactare statum ejus poterant cum stirpe deletis. The other orator (Panegy. Vet. ix. 20, 21.) contents himself with observing, that Constantine, when he entered Rome, did not imitate the cruel massacres of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla.

⁷² See the two Panegyrics, and the laws of this and the ensuing year, in the Theodosian Code.

⁷³ Panegy. Vet. ix. 20. Lactantius de M. P. c. 44. Maximin, who was confessedly the eldest Cæsar, claimed, with some shew of reason, the first rank among the Augusti.

⁷⁴ Adhuc cuncta opera quæ magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum, atque basilicam, Flavii meritis patres sacravere. Aurelius Victor. With regard to the theft of Trajan's trophies, consult Flaminius Vacca, apud Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 250., and *l'Antiquité Expliquée* of the latter, tom. iv. p. 171.

⁷⁵ Prætoriarum legiones ac subsidia factionibus aptiora quam urbi Romæ, sublata penitus; simul arma atque usus indumenti militaris. Aurelius Victor. Zosimus (l. ii. p. 89.) mentions this fact as an historian; and it is very pompously celebrated in the ninth Panegyric.

⁷⁶ Ex omnibus provinciis optimates viros Curia tua pigneraveris; ut Senatus dignitas ex totius Orbis flore consisteret. Nazarius in Panegy. Vet. x. 35. The word *pigneraveris* might almost seem maliciously chosen. Concerning the senatorial tax, see Zosimus, l. ii. p. 115. the second title of the sixth book of the Theodosian code, with Godefroy's Commentary, and *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 726.

⁷⁷ From the Theodosian Code, we may now begin to trace the motions of the emperors; but the dates both of time and place have frequently been altered by the carelessness of transcribers.

⁷⁸ Zosimus (l. ii. p. 89.) observes, that before the war, the sister of Constantine had been betrothed to Licinius. According to the younger Victor, Diocletian was invited to the nuptials; but having ventured to plead his age and infirmities, he received a second letter filled with reproaches for his supposed partiality to the cause of Maxentius and Maximin.

⁷⁹ Zosimus mentions the defeat and death of Maximin as ordinary events: but Lactantius expatiates on them (de M. P. c. 45—50.), ascribing them to the miraculous interposition of Heaven. Licinius at that time was one of the protectors of the church.

⁸⁰ Lactantius de M. P. c. 50. Aurelius Victor touches on the different conduct of Licinius, and of Constantine, in the use of victory.

⁸¹ The sensual appetites of Maximin were gratified at the expence of his subjects. His eunuchs, who forced away wives and virgins, examined their naked charms with anxious curiosity, lest any part of their body should be found unworthy of the royal embraces. Coyness and disdain were considered as treason, and the obstinate fair one was condemned to be drowned. A custom was gradually introduced, that no person should marry a wife without the permission of the emperor, “ut ipse in omnibus nuptiis prægustator esset.” Lactantius de M. P. c. 38.

⁸² Lactantius de M. P. c. 39.

⁸³ Diocletian at last sent cognatum suum, quendam militarem ac potentem virum, to intercede in favour of his daughter (Lactantius de M. P. c. 41.). We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of these times, to point out the person who was employed.

⁸⁴ Valeria quoque per varias provincias quindecim mensibus plebeio cultu pervagata. Lactantius de M. P. c. 51. There is some doubt whether we should compute the fifteen months from the moment of her exile, or from that of her escape. The expression of *pervagata* seems to denote the latter; but in that case we must suppose, that the treatise of Lactantius was written after the first civil war between Licinius and Constantine. See Cuper, p. 254.

⁸⁵ Ita illis pudicitia et conditio exitio fuit. Lactantius de M. P. c. 51. He relates the misfortunes of the innocent wife and daughter of Diocletian with a very natural mixture of pity and exultation.

⁸⁶ The curious reader, who consults the Valesian Fragment, p. 713, will perhaps accuse me of giving a bold and licentious paraphrase; but if he considers it with attention, he will acknowledge that my interpretation is probable and consistent.

⁸⁷ The situation of Æmona, or, as it is now called, Laybach, in Carniola (d’Anville Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 187.), may suggest a conjecture. As it lay to the north-east of the Julian Alps, that important territory became a natural object of dispute between the sovereigns of Italy and of Illyricum.

⁸⁸ Cibalis or Cibala (whose name is still preserved in the obscure

ruins of Swilei) was situated about fifty miles from Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, and about one hundred from Taurunum, or Belgrade, and the conflux of the Danube and the Save. The Roman garrisons and cities on those rivers are finely illustrated by M. d'Anville, in a memoir inserted in l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii.

⁸⁹ Zosimus (l. ii. p. 90, 91.) gives a very particular account of this battle; but the descriptions of Zosimus are rhetorical rather than military.

⁹⁰ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 92, 93. Anonym. Valesian. p. 713. The Epitomes furnish some circumstances; but they frequently confound the two wars between Licinius and Constantine.

⁹¹ Petrus Patricius in Excerpt. Legat. p. 27. If it should be thought that *γαμβρος* signifies more properly a son-in-law, we might conjecture, that Constantine, assuming the name as well as the duties of a father, had adopted his younger brothers and sisters, the children of Theodora. But in the best authors *γαμβρος* sometimes signifies a husband, sometimes a father-in-law, and sometimes a kinsman in general. See Spanheim Observat. ad Julian. Orat. i. p. 72.

⁹² Zosimus, l. ii. p. 93. Anonym. Valesian. p. 713. Eutropius, x. 5. Aurelius Victor, Euseb. in Chron. Sozomen, l. i. c. 2. Four of these writers affirm that the promotion of the Cæsars was an article of the treaty. It is however certain, that the younger Constantine and Licinius were not yet born; and it is highly probable that the promotion was made the 1st of March, A. D. 317. The treaty had probably stipulated that two Cæsars might be created by the western, and one only by the eastern emperor; but each of them reserved to himself the choice of the persons.

⁹³ Codex Theodosian. l. xi. tit. 27. tom. iv. p. 188. with Godefroy's observations. See likewise, l. v. tit. 7—8.

⁹⁴ Omnia foris placita, domi prospera, annonæ ubertate, fructuum copiâ, etc. Panegy. Vet. x. 38. This oration of Nazarius was pronounced on the day of the Quinquennalia of the Cæsars, the 1st of March, A. D. 321.

⁹⁵ See the edict of Constantine, addressed to the Roman people, in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. 24. tom. iii. p. 189.

⁹⁶ His son very fairly assigns the true reason of the repeal, "Ne sub specie atrocioris judicii aliqua in ulciscendo crimine dilatio nasceretur." Cod. Theod. tom. iii. p. 193.

⁹⁷ Eusebius (in Vitâ Constant. l. iii. c. 1.) chooses to affirm, that in the reign of his hero, the sword of justice hung idle in the hands of the magistrates. Eusebius himself (l. iv. c. 29. 54.) and the Theodosian Code will inform us, that this excessive lenity was not owing to the want either of atrocious criminals or of penal laws.

⁹⁸ Nazarius in Panegy. Vet. x. The victory of Crispus over the Alemanni, is expressed on some medals.

⁹⁹ See Zosimus, l. ii. p. 93, 94; though the narrative of that historian

is neither clear nor consistent. The Panegyric of Optatianus (c. 23.) mentions the alliance of the Sarmatians with the Carpi and Getæ, and points out the several fields of battle. It is supposed, that the Sarmatian games, celebrated in the month of November, derived their origin from the success of this war.

¹⁰⁰ In the *Cæsars of Julian* (p. 329. *Commentaire de Spanheim*, p. 252.). Constantine boasts, that he had recovered the province (Dacia) which Trajan had subdued. But it is insinuated by Silenus, that the conquests of Constantine were like the gardens of Adonis, which fade and wither almost the moment they appear.

¹⁰¹ *Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*, c. 21. I know not whether we may entirely depend on his authority. Such an alliance has a very recent air, and scarcely is suited to the maxims of the beginning of the fourth century.

¹⁰² *Eusebius in Vit. Constantin.* l. i. c. 8. This passage, however, is taken from a general declamation on the greatness of Constantine, and not from any particular account of the Gothic war.

¹⁰³ *Constantinus tamen, vir ingens, et omnia efficere nitens quæ animo præparasset, simul principatum totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit.* *Eutropius*, x. 5. *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 89. The reasons which they have assigned for the first civil war may, with more propriety, be applied to the second.

¹⁰⁴ *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 94, 95.

¹⁰⁵ Constantine was very attentive to the privileges and comforts of his fellow-veterans (*Conveterani*), as he now began to style them. See the *Theodosian Code*, l. vii. tit. 20. tom. ii. p. 419. 429.

¹⁰⁶ Whilst the Athenians maintained the empire of the sea, their fleet consisted of three, and afterwards of four, hundred galleys of three ranks of oars, all completely equipped and ready for immediate service. The arsenal in the port of Piræus had cost the republic a thousand talents, about two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds. See *Thucydides de Bel. Peloponn.* l. ii. c. 13. and *Meursius de Fortunâ Atticâ*, c. 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 95, 96. This great battle is described in the *Valesian fragment* (p. 714.) in a clear though concise manner. "Licinius vero circum Hadrianopolin maximo exercitu latera ardui montis impleverat; illuc toto agmine Constantinus inflexit. Cum bellum terrâ marique traheretur, quamvis per arduum suis nitentibus, attamen disciplinâ militari et felicitate, Constantinus Licinii confusum et sine ordine agentem vicit exercitum, leviter femore sauciatus."

¹⁰⁸ *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 97, 98. The current always sets out of the Hellespont; and when it is assisted by a north wind, no vessel can attempt the passage. A south wind renders the force of the current almost imperceptible. See *Tournefort's Voyage au Levant*, Let. xi.

¹⁰⁹ *Aurelius Victor*, *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 98. According to the latter, Martinianus was *Magister Officiorum* (he uses the Latin appellation in

Greek). Some medals seem to intimate, that during his short reign he received the title of Augustus.

¹¹⁰ Eusebius (in *Vita Constantin.* l. ii. c. 16, 17.) ascribes this decisive victory to the pious prayers of the emperor. The *Valesian* fragment (p. 714.) mentions a body of Gothic auxiliaries, under their chief Aliquaca, who adhered to the party of Licinius.

¹¹¹ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 102. Victor Junior in *Epitome*. Anonym. *Valesian.* p. 714.

¹¹² *Contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicae privatus occisus est.* Eutropius, x. 6. and his evidence is confirmed by Jerome (in *Chronic.*) as well as by Zosimus, l. ii. p. 102. The *Valesian* writer is the only one who mentions the soldiers, and it is Zonaras alone who calls in the assistance of the senate. Eusebius prudently slides over this delicate transaction. But Sozomen, a century afterwards, ventures to assert the treasonable practices of Licinius.

¹¹³ See the *Theodosian Code*, l. 15. tit. 15. tom. v. p. 404, 405. These edicts of Constantine betray a degree of passion and precipitancy very unbecoming of the character of a lawgiver.

CHAP. XV.

¹ *Dum Assyrios penes, Medosque, et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium.* Tacit. *Hist.* v. 8. Herodotus, who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the last of those empires, slightly mentions the Syrians of Palestine, who, according to their own confession, had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision. See l. ii. c. 104.

² Diodorus Siculus, l. xl. Dion Cassius, l. xxxvii. p. 121. Tacit. *Hist.* v. 1—9. Justin, xxxvi. 2, 3.

³ Tradidit arcano quæcunque volumine Moses,
Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsitos ad fontes solos deducere verpas.

The letter of this law is not to be found in the present volume of Moses. But the wise, the humane Maimonides openly teaches, that if an idolater fall into the water, a Jew ought not to save him from instant death. See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 28.

⁴ A Jewish sect, which indulged themselves in a sort of occasional conformity, derived from Herod, by whose example and authority they had been seduced, the name of Herodians. But their numbers were so inconsiderable, and their duration so short, that Josephus has not thought them worthy of his notice. See Prideaux's *Connection*, vol. ii. p. 285.

⁵ Cicero pro Flacco, c. 23.

⁶ Philo de Legatione. Augustus left a foundation for a perpetual sacrifice. Yet he approved of the neglect which his grandson Caius expressed towards the temple of Jerusalem. See Sueton. in August. c. 93. and Casaubon's notes on that passage.

⁷ See, in particular, Joseph. Antiquitat. xvii. 6. xviii. 6. and De Bel. Judaic. i. 33. and ii. 9. Edit. Havercamp.

⁸ Jussi a Caio Cæsare, effigiem ejus in templo locare arma potius sumpserunt. Tacit. Hist. v. 9. Philo and Josephus gave a very circumstantial, but a very rhetorical, account of this transaction, which exceedingly perplexed the governor of Syria. At the first mention of this idolatrous proposal, King Agrippa fainted away; and did not recover his senses till the third day.

⁹ For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, it may be observed, that Milton has comprised in one hundred and thirty very beautiful lines, the two large and learned syntagmas, which Selden had composed on that abstruse subject.

¹⁰ "How long will this people provoke me? and how long will it be ere they believe me, for all the signs which I have shewn among them?" (Numbers, xiv. 11.) It would be easy, but it would be unbecoming, to justify the complaint of the Deity from the whole tenor of the Mosaic history.

¹¹ All that relates to the Jewish profelytes has been very ably treated by Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

¹² See Exod. xxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16. the commentators, and a very sensible note in the Universal History, vol. i. p. 603. edit. fol.

¹³ When Pompey, using or abusing the right of conquest, entered into the Holy of Holies, it was observed with amazement, "Nulla intus Deum effigie, vacuum sedem et inania arcana." Tacit. Hist. v. 9. It was a popular saying, with regard to the Jews.

Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant.

¹⁴ A second kind of circumcision was inflicted on a Samaritan or Egyptian profelyte. The sullen indifference of the Thalmudists, with respect to the conversion of strangers, may be seen in Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. vi. c. 6.

¹⁵ These arguments were urged with great ingenuity by the Jew Orobio, and refuted with equal ingenuity and candour by the Christian Limborch. See the Amica Collatio (it well deserves that name), or account of the dispute between them.

¹⁶ Jesus . . . circumciscus erat; cibis utebatur Judaicis; vestitū simili; purgatos scabie mittebat ad sacerdotes; Paschata et alios dies festos religiose observabat: Si quos sanavit sabatho, ostendit non tantum ex lege, sed ex receptis sententiis talia opera sabatho non interdicta. Grotius de veritate Religionis Christianæ, l. v. c. 7. A little afterwards (c. 12.), he expatiates on the condescension of the apostles.

¹⁷ Pæne omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant. Sulpicius Severus, ii. 31. See Eusebius, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. iv. c. 5.

¹⁸ Mosheim de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum Magnum, p. 153. In this masterly performance, which I shall often have occasion to quote, he enters much more fully into the state of the primitive church, than he has an opportunity of doing in his General History.

¹⁹ Eusebius, l. iii. c. 5. Le Clerc, Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 605. During this occasional absence, the bishop and church of Pella still retained the title of Jerusalem. In the same manner, the Roman pontiffs resided seventy years at Avignon; and the patriarchs of Alexandria have long since transferred their episcopal seat to Cairo.

²⁰ Dion Cassius, l. lxxix. The exile of the Jewish nation from Jerusalem is attested by Aristo of Pella (apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 6.), and is mentioned by several ecclesiastical writers; though some of them too hastily extend this interdiction to the whole country of Palestine.

²¹ Eusebius, l. iv. c. 6. Sulpicius Severus, ii. 31. By comparing their unsatisfactory accounts, Mosheim (p. 327. etc.) has drawn out a very distinct representation of the circumstances and motives of this revolution.

²² Le Clerc. (Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 477. 535.) seems to have collected from Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and other writers, all the principal circumstances that relate to the Nazarenes or Ebionites. The nature of their opinions soon divided them into a stricter and a milder sect; and there is some reason to conjecture, that the family of Jesus Christ remained members, at least, of the latter and more moderate party.

²³ Some writers have been pleased to create an Ebion, the imaginary author of their sect and name. But we can more safely rely on the learned Eusebius than on the vehement Tertullian, or the credulous Epiphanius. According to Le Clerc, the Hebrew word *Ebjonim* may be translated into Latin by that of *Pauperes*. See Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 477.

²⁴ See the very curious Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Tryphon. The conference between them was held at Ephesus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and about twenty years after the return of the church of Pella to Jerusalem. For this date consult the accurate note of Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. ii. p. 511.

²⁵ Of all the systems of Christianity, that of Abyssinia is the only one which still adheres to the Mosaic rites (Gedde's Church History of Æthiopia, and Dissertations de le Grand sur la Relation du P. Lobo.). The eunuch of the queen Candace might suggest some suspicions; but as we are assured (Socrates, i. 19. Sozomen, ii. 24. Ludolphus, p. 281.), that the Æthiopians were not converted till the fourth century; it is more reasonable to believe, that they respected the Sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats, in imitation of the Jews, who, in a very early period, were seated on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient Æthiopians, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. ii. p. 117.

²⁶ Beausobre, Histoire du Manichéisme, l. i. c. 3. has stated their objections, particularly those of Faustus, the adversary of Augustin, with the most learned impartiality.

²⁷ Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu: adversus

omnes alios hostile odium. Tacit. Hist. v. 4. Surely Tacitus had seen the Jews with too favourable an eye. The perusal of Josephus must have destroyed the antithesis.

²⁸ Dr. Burnet (Archæologia, l. ii. c. 7.) has discussed the first chapters of Genesis with too much wit and freedom.

²⁹ The milder Gnostics considered Jehovah, the Creator, as a Being of a mixed nature between God and the Dæmon. Others confounded him with the evil principle. Consult the second century of the general history of Mosheim, which gives a very distinct, though concise, account of their strange opinions on this subject.

³⁰ See Beaufobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, l. i. c. 4. Origen and St. Augustine were among the Allegorists.

³¹ Hegesippus, ap. Euseb. l. iii. 32. iv. 22. Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. vii. 17.

³² In the account of the Gnostics of the second and third centuries, Mosheim is ingenious and candid; Le Clerc dull, but exact; Beaufobre almost always an apologist; and it is much to be feared, that the primitive fathers are very frequently calumniators.

³³ See the catalogues of Irenæus and Epiphanius. It must indeed be allowed, that those writers were inclined to multiply the number of sects which opposed the *unity* of the church.

³⁴ Eusebius, l. iv. c. 15. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 32. See in Bayle, in the article of *Marcion*, a curious detail of a dispute on that subject. It should seem that some of the Gnostics (the Basilidians) declined, and even refused, the honour of martyrdom. Their reasons were singular and abstruse. See Mosheim, p. 359.

³⁵ See a very remarkable passage of Origen (Proem. ad Lucan.). That indefatigable writer, who had consumed his life in the study of the scriptures, relies for their authenticity on the inspired authority of the church. It was impossible that the Gnostics could receive our present gospels, many parts of which particularly in the resurrection of Christ are directly, and as it might seem designedly, pointed against their favourite tenets. It is therefore somewhat singular that Ignatius (Epist. ad. Smyrn. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 34.) should chuse to employ a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimony of the evangelists.

³⁶ Faciunt favos et vespæ; faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ, is the strong expression of Tertullian, which I am obliged to quote from memory. In the time of Epiphanius (advers. Hæreses, p. 302.) the Marcionites were very numerous in Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

³⁷ Augustine is a memorable instance of this gradual progress from reason to faith. He was, during several years, engaged in the Manichæan sect.

³⁸ The unanimous sentiment of the primitive church is very clearly explained by Justin Martyr. Apolog. Major, by Athenagoras Legat. c. 22, etc. and by Lactantius, Institut. Divin. ii. 14—19.

³⁹ Tertullian (Apolog. c. 23.) alleges the confession of the Demons themselves as often as they were tormented by the Christian exorcists.

⁴⁰ Tertullian has written a most severe treatise against idolatry, to caution his brethren against the hourly danger of incurring that guilt. *Recogita silvam, et quantæ latitant spinæ. De Coronâ Militis, c. 10.*

⁴¹ The Roman senate was always held in a temple or consecrated place (Aulus Gellius, xiv. 7.). Before they entered on business, every senator dropt some wine and frankincense on the altar. Sueton. in August. c. 35.

⁴² See Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*. This severe reformer shews no more indulgence to a tragedy of Euripides, than to a combat of gladiators. The dress of the actors particularly offends him. By the use of the lofty buskin, they impiously strive to add a cubit to their stature, c. 23.

⁴³ The ancient practice of concluding the entertainment with libations, may be found in every classic. Socrates and Seneca, in their last moments, made a noble application of this custom. *Postquam stagnum calidæ aquæ introiit, respergens proximos fervorum, additâ voce, libare se liquorem illum Jovi Liberatori. Tacit. Annal. xv. 64.*

⁴⁴ See the elegant but idolatrous hymn of Catullus, on the nuptials of Manlius and Julia. *O Hymen, Hymenæe Iô! Quis huic Deo compararier ausit?*

⁴⁵ The ancient funerals (in those of Misenus and Pallas) are no less accurately described by Virgil, than they are illustrated by his commentator Servius. The pile itself was an altar, the flames were fed with the blood of victims, and all the assistants were sprinkled with lustral water.

⁴⁶ Tertullian *de Idolatriâ, c. II.*

⁴⁷ See every part of Montfaucon's *Antiquities*. Even the reverses of the Greek and Roman coins were frequently of an idolatrous nature. Here indeed the scruples of the Christian were suspended by a stronger passion.

⁴⁸ Tertullian *de Idolatriâ, c. 20, 21, 22.* If a Pagan friend (on the occasion perhaps of sneezing) used the familiar expression of "Jupiter blest you," the Christian was obliged to protest against the divinity of Jupiter.

⁴⁹ Consult the most laboured work of Ovid, his imperfect *Fasti*. He finished no more than the first six months of the year. The compilation of Macrobius is called the *Saturnalia*, but it is only a small part of the first book that bears any relation to the title.

⁵⁰ Tertullian has composed a defence, or rather panegyric, of the rash action of a Christian soldier, who, by throwing away his crown of laurel, had exposed himself and his brethren to the most imminent danger. By the mention of the *emperors* (Severus and Caracalla) it is evident, notwithstanding the wishes of M. de Tillemont, that Tertullian composed his treatise *De Coronâ*, long before he was engaged in the errors of the Montanists. See *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. iii. p. 384.*

⁵¹ In

⁵¹ In particular, the first book of the Tusculan Questions, and the treatise De Senectute, and the Somnium Scipionis, contain, in the most beautiful language, every thing that Grecian philosophy, or Roman good sense, could possibly suggest on this dark but important subject.

⁵² The pre-existence of human souls, so far at least as that doctrine is compatible with religion, was adopted by many of the Greek and Latin fathers. See Beaufobre, Hist. du Manicheisme, l. vi. c. 4.

⁵³ See Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61. Cæsar ap. Sallust. de Bell. Catilin. c. 50. Juvenal. Satir. ii. 149.

Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,

Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.

⁵⁴ The xith book of the Odyssæy gives a very dreary and incoherent account of the infernal shades. Pindar and Virgil have embellished the picture; but even those poets, though more correct than their great model, are guilty of very strange inconsistencies. See Bayle, Réponses aux Questions d'un Provincial, part. iii. c. 22.

⁵⁵ See the xvth epistle of the first book of Horace, the xliith Satire of Juvenal, and the iid Satire of Persius: these popular discourses express the sentiment and language of the multitude.

⁵⁶ If we confine ourselves to the Gauls, we may observe, that they intrusted, not only their lives, but even their money, to the security of another world. Vetus ille mos Gallorum occurrit (says Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6. p. 10.), quos memoriâ proditum est, pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos. The same custom is more darkly insinuated by Mela, l. iii. c. 2. It is almost needless to add, that the profits of trade hold a just proportion to the credit of the merchant, and that the Druids derived from their holy profession a character of responsibility, which could scarcely be claimed by any other order of men.

⁵⁷ The right reverend author of the Divine Legation of Moses assigns a very curious reason for the omission, and most ingeniously retorts it on the unbelievers.

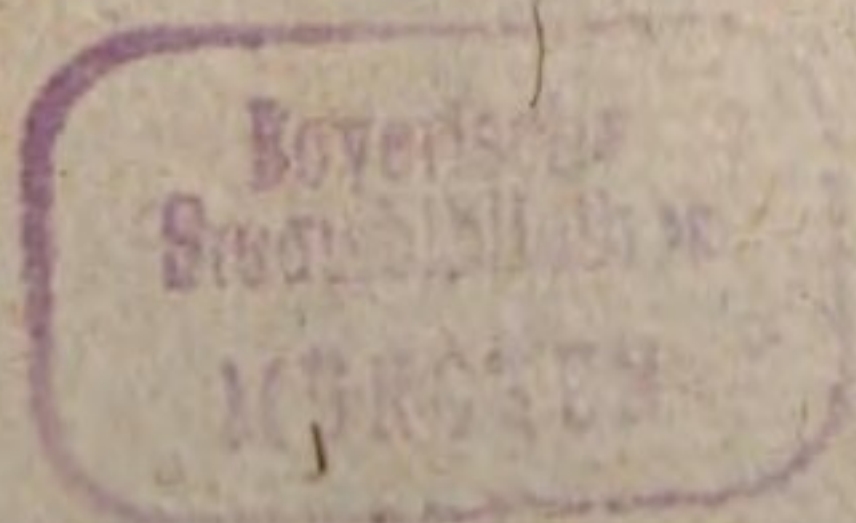
⁵⁸ See Le Clerc (Prolegomena ad Hist. Ecclesiast. c. i. sect. 8.). His authority seems to carry the greater weight, as he has written a learned and judicious commentary on the books of the Old Testament.

⁵⁹ Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xiii. c. 10. De Bell. Jud. ii. 8. According to the most natural interpretation of his words, the Sadducees admitted only the Pentateuch; but it has pleased some modern critics to add the prophets to their creed, and to suppose, that they contented themselves with rejecting the traditions of the Pharisees. Dr. Jortin has argued that point in his Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 103.

⁶⁰ This expectation was countenanced by the twenty fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and by the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

Notes.

G



Erasmus removes the difficulty by the help of allegory and metaphor; and the learned Grotius ventures to insinuate, that, for wise purposes, the pious deception was permitted to take place.

⁶¹ See Burnet's Sacred Theory, part iii. c. 5. This tradition may be traced as high as the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, who wrote in the first century, and who seems to have been half a Jew.

⁶² The primitive church of Antioch computed almost 6000 years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. Africanus, Lactantius, and the Greek church, have reduced that number to 5500, and Eusebius has contented himself with 5200 years. These calculations were formed on the Septuagint, which was universally received during the six first centuries. The authority of the Vulgate and of the Hebrew text has determined the moderns, Protestants as well as Catholics, to prefer a period of about 4000 years; though, in the study of profane antiquity, they often find themselves streightened by those narrow limits.

⁶³ Most of these pictures were borrowed from a misinterpretation of Isaiah, Daniel, and the Apocalypse. One of the grossest images may be found in Irenæus (l. v. p. 455.), the disciple of Papias, who had seen the apostle St. John.

⁶⁴ See the second dialogue of Justin with Tryphon, and the seventh book of Lactantius. It is unnecessary to allege all the intermediate fathers, as the fact is not disputed. Yet the curious reader may consult Daillé de Ufu Patrum, l. ii. c. 4.

⁶⁵ The testimony of Justin, of his own faith and that of his orthodox brethren, in the doctrine of a Millennium, is delivered in the clearest and most solemn manner (Dialog. cum Tryphonte Jud. p. 177, 178. Edit. Benedictin.). If in the beginning of this important passage there is any thing like an inconsistency, we may impute it as we think proper, either to the author or to his transcribers.

⁶⁶ Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 223. tom. ii. p. 366. and Mosheim, p. 720; though the latter of these learned divines is not altogether candid on this occasion.

⁶⁷ In the council of Laodicea (about the year 360) the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon, by the same churches of Asia to which it is addressed; and we may learn from the complaint of Sulpicius Severus, that their sentence had been ratified by the greater number of Christians of his time. From what causes, then is the Apocalypse at present so generally received by the Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant churches? The following ones may be assigned. 1. The Greeks were subdued by the authority of an impostor, who, in the sixth century, assumed the character of Dionysius the Areopagite. 2. A just apprehension, that the grammarians might become more important than the theologians, engaged the council of Trent to fix the seal of their infallibility on all the books of Scripture, contained in the Latin Vulgate, in the number of which the Apocalypse was

fortunately included. (Fra Paolo, Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, l. ii.) 3. The advantage of turning those mysterious prophecies against the See of Rome, inspired the protestants with uncommon veneration for so useful an ally. See the ingenious and elegant discourses of the present bishop of Lichfield on that unpromising subject.

⁶⁸ Lactantius (Institut. Divin. vii. 15, etc.) relates the dismal tale of futurity with great spirit and eloquence.

⁶⁹ On this subject every reader of taste will be entertained with the third part of Burnet's Sacred Theory. He blends philosophy, scripture, and tradition, into one magnificent system; in the description of which, he displays a strength of fancy not inferior to that of Milton himself.

⁷⁰ And yet whatever may be the language of individuals, it is still the public doctrine of all the Christian churches; nor can even our own refuse to admit the conclusions which must be drawn from the viiith and the xviith of her Articles. The Jansenists, who have so diligently studied the works of the fathers, maintain this sentiment with distinguished zeal, and the learned M. de Tillemont never dismisses a virtuous emperor without pronouncing his damnation. Zuinglius is perhaps the only leader of a party who has ever adopted the milder sentiment, and he gave no less offence to the Lutherans than to the Catholics. See Bossuet, Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, l. ii. c. 19—22.

⁷¹ Justin and Clemens of Alexandria allow that some of the philosophers were instructed by the Logos; confounding its double signification, of the human reason, and of the Divine Word.

⁷² Tertullian, De Spectaculis, c. 30. In order to ascertain the degree of authority which the zealous African had acquired, it may be sufficient to allege the testimony of Cyprian, the doctor and guide of all the western churches. (See Prudent. Hymn. xiii. 100.) As often as he applied himself to his daily study of the writings of Tertullian, he was accustomed to say, "*Da mihi magistrum*; Give me my master." (Hieronym. de Viris Illustribus, tom. i. p. 284.)

⁷³ Notwithstanding the evasion of Dr. Middleton, it is impossible to overlook the clear traces of visions and inspiration, which may be found in the apostolic fathers.

⁷⁴ Irenæus adv. Hæres. Proem. p. 3. Dr. Middleton (Free Inquiry, p. 96., etc.) observes, that as this pretension of all others was the most difficult to support by art, it was the soonest given up. The observation suits his hypothesis.

⁷⁵ Athenagoras in Legatione. Justin Martyr, Cohort. ad Gentes. Tertullian advers. Marcionit. l. iv. The descriptions are not very unlike the prophetic fury, for which Cicero (de Divinat. ii. 54.) expresses so little reverence.

⁷⁶ Tertullian (Apolog. c. 23.) throws out a bold defiance to the

Pagan magistrates. Of the primitive miracles, the power of exorcising, is the only one which has been assumed by Protestants.

⁷⁷ Irenæus *adv. Hæreses*, l. ii. 56, 57. l. v. c. 6. Mr Dodwell (*Dissert. ad Irenæum*, ii. 42.) concludes, that the second century was still more fertile in miracles than the first.

⁷⁸ Theophilus *ad Autolyicum*, l. i. p. 345. Edit. Benedictin. Paris, 1742.

⁷⁹ Dr. Middleton sent out his Introduction in the year 1747, published his Free Inquiry in 1749, and before his death, which happened in 1750, he had prepared a vindication of it against his numerous adversaries.

⁸⁰ The university of Oxford conferred degrees on his opponents. From the indignation of Mosheim (p. 221.), we may discover the sentiments of the Lutheran divines.

⁸¹ It may seem somewhat remarkable, that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St. Malachi, never takes any notice of his own, which, in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there exist a single instance of a saint, asserting that he himself possessed the gift of miracles?

⁸² The conversion of Constantine is the æra which is most usually fixed by protestants. The more rational divines are unwilling to admit the miracles of the ivth, whilst the more credulous are unwilling to reject those of the vth century.

⁸³ The imputations of Celsus and Julian, with the defence of the fathers, are very fairly stated by Spanheim, *Commentaire sur les Césars de Julien*, p. 468.

⁸⁴ Plin. *Epist.* x. 97.

⁸⁵ Tertullian, *apolog.* c. 44. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Aut si aliud, jam non Christianus."

⁸⁶ The philosopher Peregrinus (of whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an account) imposed, for a long time, on the credulous simplicity of the Christians of Asia.

⁸⁷ See a very judicious treatise of Barbeyrac *sur la Morale des Pères*.

⁸⁸ Lactant *Institut. Divin.* l. vi. c. 20, 21, 22.

⁸⁹ Consult a work of Clemens of Alexandria, intitled the *Pædagogus*, which contains the rudiments of ethics, as they were taught in the most celebrated of the Christian schools.

⁹⁰ Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. 23. Clemens Alexandrin. *Pædagog.* l. iii. c. 8.

⁹¹ Beaufobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, l. vii. c. 3. Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustin, etc. strongly inclined to this opinion.

⁹² Some of the Gnostic heretics were more consistent; they rejected the use of marriage.

⁹³ See a chain of tradition, from Justin Martyr to Jerome, in the *Morale des Pères*, c. iv. 6—26.

⁹⁴ See a very curious Dissertation on the Vestals, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. p. 161—227. Notwithstanding the honours and rewards which were bestowed on those virgins, it was difficult to procure a sufficient number; nor could the dread of the most horrible death always restrain their incontinence.

⁹⁵ Cupiditatem procreandi aut unam fecimus aut nullam. Minucius Fœlix, c. 31. Justin. Apolog. Major. Athenagoras in Legat. c. 28. Tertullian. de Cultu Fœmin. l. ii.

⁹⁶ Eusebius, l. vi. 8. Before the fame of Origen had excited envy and persecution, this extraordinary action was rather admired than censured. As it was his general practice to allegorize scripture; it seems unfortunate that, in this instance only, he should have adopted the literal sense.

⁹⁷ Cyprian. Epist. 4. and Dodwell Dissertat. Cyprianic. iii. Something like this rash attempt was long afterwards imputed to the founder of the order of Fontevrault. Bayle has amused himself and his readers on that very delicate subject.

⁹⁸ Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. i. p. 195.) gives a particular account of the dialogue of the ten virgins, as it was composed by Methodius, bishop of Tyre. The praises of virginity are excessive.

⁹⁹ The Ascetics (as early as the second century) made a public profession of mortifying their bodies, and of abstaining from the use of flesh and wine. Mosheim, p. 310.

¹⁰⁰ See the *Morale des Pères*. The same patient principles have been revived since the Reformation by the Socinians, the modern Anabaptists, and the Quakers. Barclay, the apologist of the Quakers, has protected his brethren, by the authority of the primitive Christians, p. 542—549.

¹⁰¹ Tertullian, Apolog. c. 21. De Idolatriâ, c. 17, 18. Origen contra Celsum, l. v. p. 253. l. vii. p. 348. l. viii. p. 423—428.

¹⁰² Tertullian (de Coronâ Militis, c. 11.) suggests to them the expedient of deserting; a counsel, which, if it had been generally known, was not very proper to conciliate the favour of the emperors towards the Christian sect.

¹⁰³ As well as we can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen (l. viii. p. 423.), his adversary, Celsus, had urged his objection with great force and candour.

¹⁰⁴ The Aristocratical party in France, as well as in England, has strenuously maintained the divine origin of bishops. But the Calvinistical presbyters were impatient of a superior; and the Roman Pontiff refused to acknowledge an equal. See Fra Paolo.

¹⁰⁵ In the history of the Christian hierarchy, I have, for the most part, followed the learned and candid Mosheim.

¹⁰⁶ For the prophets of the primitive church, see Mosheim, *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes*, tom. ii. p. 132—208.

¹⁰⁷ See the epistles of St. Paul, and of Clemens, to the Corinthians.

¹⁰⁸ Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, l. vii.

¹⁰⁹ See Jerome ad Titum, c. 1. and Epistol. 85. (in the Benedictine edition, 101.) and the elaborate apology of Blondel, pro sententiâ Hieronymi. The ancient state, as it is described by Jerome, of the bishop and presbyters of Alexandria, receives a remarkable confirmation from the patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 330. Verf. Pocock;) whose testimony I know not how to reject, in spite of all the objections of the learned Pearson in his Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, part i. c. 11.

¹¹⁰ See the introduction to the Apocalypse. Bishops, under the name of Angels, were already instituted in seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Clemens (which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.

¹¹¹ Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo, has been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus.

¹¹² After we have passed the difficulties of the first century, we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers.

¹¹³ See Mosheim in the first and second centuries. Ignatius (ad Smyrnæos, c. 3, etc.) is fond of exalting the episcopal dignity. Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 569.) very bluntly censures his conduct. Mosheim with a more critical judgment (p. 161.), suspects the purity even of the smaller epistles.

¹¹⁴ Nonne et Laici sacerdotes sumus? Tertullian, Exhort. ad Castitat. c. 7. As the human heart is still the same, several of the observations which Mr. Hume has made on Enthusiasm (Essays, vol. i. p. 76, quarto edit.), may be applied even to real inspiration.

¹¹⁵ Acta Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. Edit. Fell, p. 158. This council was composed of eighty seven bishops from the provinces of Mauritania, Numidia, and Africa; some presbyters and deacons assisted at the assembly; præsentis plebis maximâ parte.

¹¹⁶ Aguntur præterea per Græcias illas, certis in locis concilia, etc. Tertullian de Jejuniis, c. 13. The african mentions it as a recent and foreign institution. The coalition of the Christian churches is very ably explained by Mosheim, p. 164—170.

¹¹⁷ Cyprian, in his admired treatise De Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 75—86.

¹¹⁸ We may appeal to the whole tenor of Cyprian's conduct of his doctrine, and of his Epistles. Le Clerc, in a short life of Cyprian (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xii. p. 207—378.), has laid him open with great freedom and accuracy.

¹¹⁹ If Novatus, Felicissimus, etc. whom the bishop of Carthage expelled from his church, and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of wickedness, the zeal of Cyprian must occasionally

have prevailed over his veracity. For a very just account of these obscure quarrels, see Mosheim, p. 497—512.

¹²⁰ Mosheim, p. 269. 574. Dupin, *Antiquæ Eccles. Disciplin.* p. 19, 20.

¹²¹ Tertullian, in a distinct treatise, has pleaded against the heretics, the right of prescription, as it was held by the apostolic churches.

¹²² The journey of St. Peter to Rome is mentioned by most of the ancients (see Eusebius, ii. 25.), maintained by all the catholics, allowed by some protestants (see Pearson and Dodwell de Success. Episcop. Roman.), but has been vigorously attacked by Spanheim (*Miscellanea Sacra*, iii. 3.). According to father Hardouin, the monks of the thirteenth century, who composed the *Æneid*, represented St. Peter under the allegorical character of the Trojan hero.

¹²³ It is in French only, that the famous allusion to St. Peter's name is exact. Tu es *Pierre* et sur cette *pierre*.—The same is imperfect in Greek, Latin, Italian, etc. and totally unintelligible in our Teutonic languages.

¹²⁴ Irenæus adv. Hæreses, iii. 3. Tertullian de Præscription. c. 36, and Cyprian Epistol. 27. 55. 71. 75. Le Clerc (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 764.) and Mosheim (p. 258. 578.) labour in the interpretation of these passages. But the loose and rhetorical stile of the fathers often appears favourable to the pretensions of Rome.

¹²⁵ See the sharp epistle from Firmilianus bishop of Cæsarea, to Stephen bishop of Rome, ap. Cyprian. Epistol. 75.

¹²⁶ Concerning this dispute of the re-baptism of heretics, see the epistles of Cyprian, and the seventh book of Eusebius.

¹²⁷ For the origin of these words, see Mosheim, p. 141. Spanheim, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 633. The distinction of *Clerus* and *Laicus* was established before the time of Tertullian.

¹²⁸ The community instituted by Plato, is more perfect than that which Sir Thomas More had imagined for his Utopia. The community of women, and that of temporal goods, may be considered as inseparable parts of the same system.

¹²⁹ Joseph. *Antiquitat.* xviii. 2. Philo, de Vit. Contemplativ.

¹³⁰ See the Acts of the Apostles, c. 2. 4, 5. with Grotius's Commentary. Mosheim, in a particular dissertation, attacks the common opinion with very inconclusive arguments.

¹³¹ Justin Martyr, Apolog. Major, c. 89. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 39.

¹³² Irenæus ad Hæres. l. iv. c. 27. 34. Origen in Num. Hom. ii. Cyprian de Unitat. Eccles. Constitut. Apostol. l. ii. c. 34, 35. with the notes of Cotelerius. The Constitutions introduce this divine precept, by declaring that priests are as much above kings, as the soul is above the body. Among the tythable articles, they enumerate corn, wine, oil, and wool. On this interesting subject, consult Prideaux's *History of Tythes*, and Fra-Paolo delle *Materie Beneficiarie*; two writers of a very different character.

¹³³ The same opinion which prevailed about the year one thousand, was productive of the same effects. Most of the Donations express their motive, "appropinquante mundi fine." See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 457.

¹³⁴ Tum summa cura est fratribus
 (Ut fermo testatur loquax)
 Offerre, fundis venditis
 Sestertiorum millia.
 Addicta avorum prædia
 Fœdis sub auctionibus,
 Successor ex hæres gemit
 Sanctis egens Parentibus.
 Hæc occuluntur abditis
 Ecclesiarum in Angulis:
 Et summa pietas creditur
 Nudare dulces liberos.

Prudent. *περὶ Σεβασμῶν*. Hymn. 2.

The subsequent conduct of the deacon Laurence, only proves how proper a use was made of the wealth of the Roman church; it was undoubtedly very considerable; but Fra-Paolo (c. 3.) appears to exaggerate, when he supposes, that the successors of Commodus were urged to persecute the Christians by their own avarice, or that of their Prætorian præfects.

¹³⁵ Cyprian. Epistol. 62.

¹³⁶ Tertullian de Præscriptione, c. 30.

¹³⁷ Diocletian gave a rescript, which is only a declaration of the old law; "Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hæreditatem capere non posse, dubium non est." Fra-Paolo (c. 4.) thinks that these regulations had been much neglected since the reign of Valerian.

¹³⁸ Hist. August. p. 131. The ground had been public; and was now disputed between the society of Christians, and that of butchers.

¹³⁹ Constitut. Apostol. ii. 35.

¹⁴⁰ Cyprian de Lapsis, p. 89. Epistol. 65. The charge is confirmed by the 19th and 20th canon of the council of Illiberis.

¹⁴¹ See the apologies of Justin, Tertullian, etc.

¹⁴² The wealth and liberality of the Romans to their most distant brethren, is gratefully celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth, ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 23.

¹⁴³ See Lucian in Peregrin. Julian (Epist. 49.) seems mortified, that the Christian charity maintains not only their own, but likewise the heathen poor.

¹⁴⁴ Such, at least, has been the laudable conduct of more modern missionaries, under the same circumstances. Above three thousand new-born infants are annually exposed in the streets of Pekin. See

Le Comte Mémoires sur la Chine, and the Recherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens, tom. i. p. 61.

¹⁴⁵ The Montanists and the Novatians, who adhered to this opinion with the greatest rigour and obstinacy, found *themselves* at last in the number of excommunicated heretics. See the learned and copious Mosheim, *Secul.* ii. and iii.

¹⁴⁶ Dionysius ap. Euseb. iv. 23. Cyprian, *de Lapsis*.

¹⁴⁷ Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, part iii. c. 5. The admirers of antiquity regret the loss of this public penance.

¹⁴⁸ See in Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. ii. p. 304—313. a short but rational exposition of the canons of those councils, which were assembled in the first moments of tranquillity, after the persecution of Diocletian. This persecution had been much less severely felt in Spain than Galatia; a difference which may, in some measure, account for the contrast of their regulations.

¹⁴⁹ Cyprian. *Epist.* 69.

¹⁵⁰ The arts, the manners, and the vices of the priests of the Syrian goddess, are very humorously described by Apuleius, in the eighth book of his *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁵¹ The office of Asiarch was of this nature, and it is frequently mentioned in Aristides, the Inscriptions, etc. It was annual and elective. None but the vainest citizens could desire the honour; none but the most wealthy could support the expence. See in the *Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 200. with how much indifference Philip the Asiarch conducted himself in the martyrdom of Polycarp. There were likewise Bithyniarchs, Lyciarchs, etc.

¹⁵² The modern critics are not disposed to believe what the fathers almost unanimously assert, that St. Matthew composed a Hebrew gospel, of which only the Greek translation is extant. It seems, however, dangerous to reject their testimony.

¹⁵³ Under the reigns of Nero and Domitian, and in the cities of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Ephesus. See Mill. *Prolegomena ad Nov. Testament.* and Dr. Lardner's fair and extensive collection, vol. xv.

¹⁵⁴ The Alogians (Epiphanius *de Hæres.* 51.) disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, because the church of Thyatira was not yet founded. Epiphanius, who allows the fact, extricates himself from the difficulty, by ingeniously supposing, that St. John wrote in the spirit of prophecy. See Abauzit *Discours sur l'Apocalypse*.

¹⁵⁵ The epistles of Ignatius and Dionysius (ap. Euseb. iv. 23.) point out many churches in Asia and Greece. That of Athens seems to have been one of the least flourishing.

¹⁵⁶ Lucian in *Alexandro*, c. 25. Christianity however must have been very unequally diffused over Pontus; since in the middle of the third century there were no more than seventeen believers in the extensive diocese of Neo-Cæsarea. See M. de Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiast.* tom. iv. p. 675. from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who were themselves natives of Cappadocia.

¹⁵⁷ According to the ancients, Jesus Christ suffered under the consulship of the two Gemini, in the year 29 of our present æra. Pliny was sent into Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110.

¹⁵⁸ Plin. Epist. x. 97.

¹⁵⁹ Chrysostom. Opera, tom. vii. p. 658. 810.

¹⁶⁰ John Malela, tom. ii. p. 144. He draws the same conclusion with regard to the populousness of Antioch.

¹⁶¹ Chrysostom. tom. i. p. 592. I am indebted for these passages, though not for my inference, to the learned Dr. Lardner. Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. xii. p. 370.

¹⁶² Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. ii. c. 20, 21, 22, 23. has examined, with the most critical accuracy, the curious treatise of Philo, which describes the Therapeutæ. By proving that it was composed as early as the time of Augustus, Basnage has demonstrated, in spite of Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17.), and a crowd of modern Catholics, that the Therapeutæ were neither Christians nor monks. It still remains probable that they changed their name, preserved their manners, adopted some new articles of faith, and gradually became the fathers of the Egyptian Ascetics.

¹⁶³ See a letter of Hadrian, in the Augustan History, p. 245.

¹⁶⁴ For the succession of Alexandrian bishops, consult Renaudot's History, p. 24, etc. This curious fact is preserved by the patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 334. Vers. Pocock), and its internal evidence would alone be a sufficient answer to all the objections which Bishop Pearson has urged in the Vindiciæ Ignatianæ.

¹⁶⁵ Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.

¹⁶⁶ Origen contra Celsum, l. i. p. 40.

¹⁶⁷ Ingens multitudo is the expression of Tacitus, xv. 44.

¹⁶⁸ T. Liv. xxxix. 13. 15, 16, 17. Nothing could exceed the horror and consternation of the senate on the discovery of the Bacchanalians, whose depravity is described, and perhaps exaggerated, by Livy.

¹⁶⁹ Eusebius, l. vi. c. 43. The Latin translator (M. de Valois) has thought proper to reduce the number of presbyters to forty-four.

¹⁷⁰ This proportion of the presbyters and of the poor, to the rest of the people, was originally fixed by Burnet (Travels into Italy, p. 168.), and is approved by Moyle (vol. ii. p. 151.). They were both unacquainted with the passage of Chrysostom, which converts their conjecture almost into a fact.

¹⁷¹ Serius trans Alpes, religione Dei susceptâ. Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. These were the celebrated martyrs of Lyons. See Eusebius, v. 1. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. p. 316. According to the Donatists, whose assertion is confirmed by the tacit acknowledgment of Augustin, Africa was the last of the provinces which received the gospel. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. i. p. 754.

¹⁷² Tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa. Sulp. Severus, l. ii. With regard to Africa, see Tertullian ad Scapulam, c. 3. It is

imagined, that the Scyllitan martyrs were the first (*Acta Sincera* Ruinart. p. 34.). One of the adversaries of Apuleius seems to have been a Christian. *Apolog.* p. 496, 497. Edit. Delphin.

¹⁷³ *Raræ in aliquibus civitatibus ecclesiæ, paucorum Christianorum devotione, resurgerent.* *Acta Sincera*, p. 130. Gregory of Tours, l. i. c. 28. Mosheim, p. 207. 449. There is some reason to believe, that, in the beginning of the fourth century, the extensive dioceses of Liege, of Treves, and of Cologne, composed a single bishopric, which had been very recently founded. See *Mémoires de Tillemont*, tom. vi. part. i. p. 43. 411.

¹⁷⁴ The date of Tertullian's Apology is fixed, in a dissertation of Mosheim, to the year 198.

¹⁷⁵ In the fifteenth century, there were few who had either inclination or courage to question whether Joseph of Arimathea founded the monastery of Glastenbury, and whether Dionysius the Areopagite preferred the residence of Paris to that of Athens.

¹⁷⁶ The stupendous metamorphosis was performed in the ninth century. See Mariana (*Hist. Hispan.* l. vii. c. 13. tom. i. p. 285. edit. Hag. Bom. 1733.), who, in every sense, imitates Livy, and the honest detection of the legend of St. James by Dr. Geddes, *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 221.

¹⁷⁷ Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 341. Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* l. i. c. 10. Tertullian *adv. Jud.* c. 7. See Mosheim, p. 203.

¹⁷⁸ See the fourth century of Mosheim's *History of the Church*. Many, though very confused circumstances, that relate to the conversion of Iberia and Armenia, may be found in Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 78—89.

¹⁷⁹ According to Tertullian, the Christian faith had penetrated into parts of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms. About a century afterwards, Ossian, the son of Fingal, is *said* to have disputed, in his extreme old age, with one of the foreign missionaries, and the dispute is still extant, in verse, and in the Erse language. See Mr. Macpherson's *Dissertation on the antiquity of Ossian's Poems*, p. 10.

¹⁸⁰ The Goths, who ravaged Asia in the reign of Gallienus, carried away great numbers of captives; some of whom were Christians, and became missionaries. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiast.* tom. iv. p. 44.

¹⁸¹ The legend of Abgarus, fabulous as it is, affords a decisive proof, that many years before Eusebius wrote his history, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Edessa had embraced Christianity. Their rivals, the citizens of Carrhæ, adhered, on the contrary, to the cause of Paganism, as late as the sixth century.

¹⁸² According to Bardefanes (*ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evangel.*) there were some Christians in Persia before the end of the second century. In the time of Constantine (see his *Epistle to Sapor*, *Vit.* l. iv. c. 13.) they composed a flourishing church. Consult Beausobre, *Hist. Critique*

du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 180. and the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemani.

¹⁸³ Origen contra Celsum, l. viii. p. 424.

¹⁸⁴ Minucius Fœlix, c. 8. with Wowerus's notes. Celsus ap. Origen, l. iii. p. 138. 142 Julian, ap. Cyril. l. vi. p. 206. Edit. Spanheim.

¹⁸⁵ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. 3. Hieronym. Epist. 83.

¹⁸⁶ The story is prettily told in Justin's Dialogues. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. p. 334.), who relates it after him, is sure that the old man was a disguised angel.

¹⁸⁷ Eusebius, v. 28. It may be hoped, that none, except the heretics, gave occasion to the complaint of Celsus (ap. Origen, l. ii. p. 77), that the Christians were perpetually correcting and altering their Gospels.

¹⁸⁸ Plin. Epist. x. 97. Fuerunt alii similis amentix, cives Romani . . . Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus, etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur.

¹⁸⁹ Tertullian ad Scapulam. Yet even his rhetoric rises no higher than to claim a *tenth* part of Carthage.

¹⁹⁰ Cyprian. Epist. 79.

¹⁹¹ Dr. Lardner, in his first and second volume of Jewish and Christian testimonies, collects and illustrates those of Pliny the younger, of Tacitus, of Galen, of Marcus Antoninus, and perhaps of Epictetus (for it is doubtful whether that philosopher means to speak of the Christians). The new sect is totally unnoticed by Seneca, the elder Pliny, and Plutarch.

¹⁹² If the famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks had been alleged to a Roman philosopher, would he not have replied in the words of Cicero, "Quæ tandem ista auguratio est, annorum potius quam aut mensium aut dierum?" De Divinatione, ii. 30. Observe with what irreverence Lucian (in Alexandro, c. 13.) and his friend Celsus ap. Origen, (l. vii. p. 327.) express themselves concerning the Hebrew prophets.

¹⁹³ The Philosophers, who derided the more ancient predictions of the Sybils, would easily have detected the Jewish and Christian forgeries, which have been so triumphantly quoted by the fathers from Justin Martyr to Lactantius. When the Sibylline verses had performed their appointed task, they, like the system of the millennium, were quietly laid aside. The Christian Sibyl had unluckily fixed the ruin of Rome for the year 195, A. U. C. 948.

¹⁹⁴ The fathers, as they are drawn out in battle-array by Dom Calmet (Dissertations sur la Bible, tom. iii. p. 295—308., seem to cover the whole earth with darkness, in which they are followed by most of the moderns.

¹⁹⁵ Origen ad Matth. c. 27. and few modern critics, Beza, Le Clerc, Lardner, etc. are desirous of confining it to the land of Judea.

¹⁹⁶ The celebrated passage of Phlegon is now wisely abandoned.

When Tertullian assures the Pagans, that the mention of the prodigy is found in *Arcanis* (not *archivis*) *vestris* (see his *Apology*, c. 21.), he probably appeals to the Sibylline verses, which relate it exactly in the words of the Gospel.

¹⁹⁷ Seneca *Quæst. Natur.* i. i. 15. vi. i. vii. 17. Plin. *Hist. Natur.* i. ii.

¹⁹⁸ Plin. *Hist. Natur.* ii. 30.

¹⁹⁹ Virgil. *Georgic.* i. 466. Tibullus, l. i. *Eleg.* v. ver. 75. Ovid *Metamorph.* xv. 782. Lucan. *Pharsal.* i. 540. The last of these poets place this prodigy before the civil war.

²⁰⁰ See a public epistle of M. Antony in Joseph. *Antiquit.* xiv. 12. Plutarch in *Cæsar.* p. 471. Appian, *Bell. Civil.* l. iv. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. p. 431. Julius Obsequens, c. 128. His little treatise is an abstract of Livy's prodigies.

CHAP. XVI.

¹ In Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus, 240,000; in Egypt, a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawed asunder, according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round their bodies. See Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii. p. 1145.

² Without repeating the well-known narratives of Josephus, we may learn from Dion (l. lxxix. p. 1162.), that in Hadrian's war 580,000 Jews were cut off by the sword, besides an infinite number which perished by famine, by disease, and by fire.

³ For the sect of the Zealots, see Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. i. c. 17. for the characters of the Messiah, according to the Rabbis, l. v. c. 11, 12, 13. for the actions of Barchochebas, l. vii. c. 12.

⁴ It is to Modestinus, a Roman lawyer (l. vi. regular.), that we are indebted for a distinct knowledge of the Edict of Antoninus. See Casaubon ad *Hist. August.* p. 27.

⁵ See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. iii. c. 2, 3. The office of Patriarch was suppressed by Theodosius the younger.

⁶ We need only mention the purim, or deliverance of the Jews from the rage of Haman, which, till the reign of Theodosius, was celebrated with insolent triumph and riotous intemperance. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 17. l. viii. c. 6.

⁷ According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, king of Carthage. Another colony of Idumæans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.

⁸ From the arguments of Celsus, as they are represented and refuted by Origen (l. v. p. 247—259.), we may clearly discover the distinction that was made between the Jewish *people* and the Christian *sect*. See in the Dialogue of Minucius Fœlix (c. 5, 6.) a fair and not inelegant description of the popular sentiments, with regard to the desertion of the established worship.

⁹ Cur nullas aras habent? templa nulla? nulla nota simulacra? . . . Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi, Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus? Minucius Fœlix, c. 10. The Pagan interlocutor goes on to make a distinction in favour of the Jews, who had once a temple, altars, victims, etc.

¹⁰ It is difficult (says Plato) to attain, and dangerous to publish, the knowledge of the true God. See the *Théologie des Philosophes*, in the Abbé d'Olivet's French translation of Tully de *Naturâ Deorum*, tom. i. p. 275.

¹¹ The author of the *Philopatris* perpetually treats the Christians as a company of dreaming enthusiasts, δαίμονιοι, αἰθεριοί, αἰθεροβατῆντες, αεροβατῆντες, etc. and in one place, manifestly alludes to the vision, in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In another place, Triephon, who personates a Christian, after deriding the Gods of Paganism, proposes a mysterious oath,

Υψιμεδοντα θεον, μεγαν, αμωρον, χρονιωνα,
Υιον πατρὸς, πνευμα εκ πατρὸς εκπορευομενον
Εν εκ τριων, και εξ ἐνὸς τρια

Αριθμειν με διδασκεις, (is the profane answer of Critias), και ορκὸς ἡ αριθμητική. οκ οἶδα γαρ τι λεγεις· ἐν τρια, τρια ἐν!

¹² According to Justin Martyr (*Apolog. Major*, c. 70—85.), the dæmon, who had gained some imperfect knowledge of the prophecies, purposely contrived this resemblance, which might deter, though by different means, both the people and the philosophers from embracing the faith of Christ.

¹³ In the first and second books of Origen, Celsus treats the birth and character of our Saviour with the most impious contempt. The orator Libanius praises Porphyry and Julian for confuting the folly of a sect, which styled a dead man of Palestine, God, and the son of God. Socrates, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iii. 23.

¹⁴ The emperor Trajan refused to incorporate a company of 150 fire-men, for the use of the city of Nicomedia. He disliked all associations. See *Plin. Epist.* x. 42, 43.

¹⁵ The proconsul Pliny had published a general edict against unlawful meetings. The prudence of the Christians suspended their Agapæ; but it was impossible for them to omit the exercise of public worship.

¹⁶ As the prophecies of the Antichrist, approaching conflagration, etc. provoked those Pagans whom they did not convert, they were

mentioned with caution and reserve; and the Montanists were censured for disclosing too freely the dangerous secret. See Mosheim, p. 413.

¹⁷ Neque enim dubitabam, quodcunque esset quod faterentur (such are the words of Pliny), pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.

¹⁸ See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 101. and Spanheim, Remarques sur les Césars de Julien, p. 468, etc.

¹⁹ See Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. 35. ii. 14. Athenagoras in Legation. c. 27. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 7, 8, 9. Minucius Felix, c. 9, 10, 30, 31. The last of these writers relates the accusation in the most elegant and circumstantial manner. The answer of Tertullian is the boldest and most vigorous.

²⁰ In the persecution of Lyons, some Gentile slaves were compelled, by the fear of tortures, to accuse their Christian master. The church of Lyons, writing to their brethren of Asia, treat the horrid charge with proper indignation and contempt. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. 1.

²¹ See Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. 35. Irenæus adv. Hæres. i. 24. Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. l. iii. p. 438. Euseb. iv. 8. It would be tedious and disgusting to relate all that the succeeding writers have imagined, all that Epiphanius has received, and all that Tillemont has copied. M. de Beausobre (Hist. du Manichéisme, l. ix. c. 8, 9.) has exposed, with great spirit, the disingenuous arts of Augustin and Pope Leo I.

²² When Tertullian became a Montanist, he aspersed the morals of the church which he had so resolutely defended. "Sed majoris est Agape, quia per hanc Adolescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt, appendices scilicet gulæ lascivia et luxuria." De Jejuniiis, c. 17. The 35th canon of the council of Illiberis provides against the scandals which too often polluted the vigils of the church, and disgraced the Christian name, in the eyes of unbelievers.

²³ Tertullian (Apolog. c. 2.) expatiates on the fair and honourable testimony of Pliny, with much reason, and some declamation.

²⁴ In the various compilation of the Augustan History (a part of which was composed under the reign of Constantine), there are not six lines which relate to the Christians; nor has the diligence of Xiphilin discovered their name in the large history of Dion Cassius.

²⁵ An obscure passage of Suetonius (in Claud. c. 25.) may seem to offer a proof how strangely the Jews and Christians of Rome were confounded with each other.

²⁶ See in the xviiiith and xxvth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles the behaviour of Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, and of Festus, procurator of Judea.

²⁷ In the time of Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria, the glory of martyrdom was confined to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James. It was gradually bestowed on the rest of the apostles, by the more recent Greeks, who prudently selected for the theatre of their preaching and

sufferings, some remote country beyond the limits of the Roman empire. See Mosheim, p. 81. and Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. i. part. iii.

²⁸ Tacit. Annal. xv. 38—44. Sueton. in Neron. c. 38. Dion Cassius, l. lxii. p. 1014. Orosius, vii. 7.

²⁹ The price of wheat (probably of the *modius*) was reduced as low as *terni Nummi*; which would be equivalent to about fifteen shillings the English quarter.

³⁰ We may observe, that the rumour is mentioned by Tacitus with a very becoming distrust and hesitation, whilst it is greedily transcribed by Suetonius, and solemnly confirmed by Dion.

³¹ This testimony is alone sufficient to expose the anachronism of the Jews, who place the birth of Christ near a century sooner (Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. v. c. 14, 15.). We may learn from Josephus (*Antiquitat.* xviii. 3.), that the procuratorship of Pilate corresponded with the last ten years of Tiberius, A. D. 27—37. As to the particular time of the death of Christ, a very early tradition fixed it to the 25th of March, A. D. 29, under the consulship of the two Gemini (*Tertullian adv. Judæos*, c. 8.). This date, which is adopted by Pagi, cardinal Norris, and Le Clerc, seems, at least, as probable as the vulgar æra, which is placed (I know not from what conjectures) four years later.

³² *Odio humani generis convicti*. These words may either signify the hatred of mankind towards the Christians, or the hatred of the Christians towards mankind. I have preferred the latter sense, as the most agreeable to the style of Tacitus, and to the popular error, of which a precept of the Gospel (See Luke xiv. 26.) had been, perhaps, the innocent occasion. My interpretation is justified by the authority of Lipsius; of the Italian, the French, and the English translators of Tacitus; of Mosheim (p. 102.), of Le Clerc (*Historia Ecclesiast.* p. 427.), of Dr. Lardner (*Testimonies*, vol. i. p. 345.), and of the bishop of Gloucester (*Divine Legation*, vol. iii. p. 38.). But as the word *convicti* does not unite very happily with the rest of the sentence, James Gronovius has preferred the reading of *conjuncti*, which is authorised by the valuable MS. of Florence.

³³ Tacit. Annal. xv. 44.

³⁴ Nardini *Roma Antica*, p. 387. Donatus de *Româ Antiquâ*, l. iii. p. 449.

³⁵ Suet. in Nerone, c. 16. The epithet of *malefica*, which some sagacious commentators have translated *magical*, is considered by the more rational Mosheim as only synonymous to the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus.

³⁶ The passage concerning Jesus Christ, which was inserted into the text of Josephus, between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius, may furnish an example of no vulgar forgery. The accomplishment of the prophecies, the virtues, miracles, and resurrection of Jesus, are distinctly related. Josephus acknowledges that he was the Messiah, and

and hesitates whether he should call him a man. If any doubt can still remain concerning this celebrated passage, the reader may examine the pointed objections of Le Fevre (Havercamp. Joseph. tom. ii. p. 267—273.), the laboured answers of Daubuz (p. 187—232.), and the masterly reply (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. vii. p. 237—288.) of an anonymous critic, whom I believe to have been the learned Abbé de Longuerue.

³⁷ See the lives of Tacitus by Lipsius and the Abbé de la Bleterie, Dictionnaire de Bayle à l'article TACITE, and Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. tom. ii. p. 386. Edit. Ernest.

³⁸ Principatum Divi Nervæ, et imperium Trajani, uberiolem fecurioremque materiam senectuti seposui. Tacit. Hist. i.

³⁹ See Tacit. Annal. ii. 61. iv. 4.

⁴⁰ The player's name was Aliturus. Through the same channel, Josephus (de Vitâ suâ, c. 3.), about two years before, had obtained the pardon and release of some Jewish priests who were prisoners at Rome.

⁴¹ The learned Dr. Lardner (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. ii. p. 102, 103.) has proved that the name of Galileans, was a very ancient, and perhaps the primitive, appellation of the Christians.

⁴² Joseph. Antiquitat. xviii. 1, 2. Tillemont, Ruine des Juifs, p. 742. The sons of Judas were crucified in the time of Claudius. His grandson Eleazar, after Jerusalem was taken, defended a strong fortress with 960 of his most desperate followers. When the battering ram had made a breach, they turned their swords against their wives, their children, and at length against their own breasts. They died to the last man.

⁴³ See Dodwell, Paucitat. Mart. l. xiii. The Spanish Inscription in Gruter, p. 238. N°. 9, is a manifest and acknowledged forgery, contrived by that noted impostor Cyriacus of Ancona, to flatter the pride and prejudices of the Spaniards. See Ferraras, Histoire d'Espagne, tom. i. p. 192.

⁴⁴ The capitol was burnt during the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the 19th of December, A. D. 69. On the 10th of August, A. D. 70, the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the hands of the Jews themselves, rather than by those of the Romans.

⁴⁵ The new Capitol was dedicated by Domitian. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 5. Plutarch in Poplicola, tom. i. p. 230. Edit. Bryan. The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents (above two millions and a half). It was the opinion of Martial (l. ix. Epigram 3.), that if the emperor had called in his debts, Jupiter himself, even though he had made a general auction of Olympus, would have been unable to pay two shillings in the pound.

⁴⁶ With regard to the tribute, see Dion Cassius, l. lxvi. p. 1082, with Reimar's notes. Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, tom. ii. p. 571. and Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. vii. c. 2.

Notes.

H

⁴⁷ Suetonius (in Domitian. c. 12.) had seen an old man of ninety publicly examined before the procurator's tribunal. This is what Martial calls, *Mentula tributis damnata*.

⁴⁸ This appellation was at first understood in the most obvious sense, and it was supposed, that the brothers of Jesus were the lawful issue of Joseph and of Mary. A devout respect for the virginity of the mother of God, suggested to the Gnostics, and afterwards to the orthodox Greeks, the expedient of bestowing a second wife on Joseph. The Latins (from the time of Jerome) improved on that hint, asserted the perpetual celibacy of Joseph, and justified by many similar examples the new interpretation that Jude, as well as Simon and James, who are styled the brothers of Jesus Christ, were only his first cousins. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. i. part. iii. and Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, l. ii. c. 2.

⁴⁹ Thirty-nine *πλεθρα*, squares of an hundred feet each, which, if strictly computed, would scarcely amount to nine acres. But the probability of circumstances, the practice of other Greek writers, and the authority of M. de Valois, incline me to believe that the *πλεθρον* is used to express the Roman jugerum.

⁵⁰ Eusebius, iii. 20. The story is taken from Hegesippus.

⁵¹ See the death and character of Sabinus in Tacitus (*Hist.* iii. 74, 75.). Sabinus was the elder brother, and till the accession of Vespasian, had been considered as the principal support of the Flavian family.

⁵² *Flavium Clementem patruelem suum contemtissimæ inertiae . . . ex tenuissimâ suspicione interemit.* Sueton. in Domitian. c. 15.

⁵³ The isle of Pandataria, according to Dion. Bruttius Præfens (apud Euseb. iii. 18.) banishes her to that of Pontia, which was not far distant from the other. That difference, and a mistake, either of Eusebius, or of his transcribers, have given occasion to suppose two Domitillas, the wife and the niece of Clemens. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. ii. p. 224.

⁵⁴ Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1112. If the Bruttius Præfens, from whom it is probable that he collected this account, was the correspondent of Pliny (*Epistol.* vii. 3.), we may consider him as a contemporary writer.

⁵⁵ Suet. in Domit. c. 17. Philostratus in *Vir. Apollon.* l. viii.

⁵⁶ Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1118. Plin. *Epistol.* iv. 22.

⁵⁷ Plin. *Epistol.* x. 97. The learned Mosheim expresses himself (p. 147. 232.) with the highest approbation of Pliny's moderate and candid temper. Notwithstanding Dr. Lardner's suspicions (see *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. ii. p. 46.), I am unable to discover any bigotry in his language or proceedings.

⁵⁸ Plin. *Epist.* v. 8. He pleaded his first cause A. D. 81; the year after the famous eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, in which his uncle lost his life.

⁵⁹ Plin. *Epistol.* x. 98. Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 5.) considers this

rescript as a relaxation of the ancient penal laws, "quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est:" and yet Tertullian, in another part of his Apologists, exposes the inconsistency of prohibiting inquiries, and enjoining punishments.

⁶⁰ Eusebius (Hist. Ecclesiast. l. iv. c. 9.) has preserved the edict of Hadrian. He has likewise (c. 13.) given us one still more favourable under the name of Antoninus; the authenticity of which is not so universally allowed. The second Apology of Justin contains some curious particulars relative to the accusations of Christians.

⁶¹ See Tertullian (Apolog. c. 40.). The acts of the martyrdom of Polycarp exhibit a lively picture of these tumults, which were usually fomented by the malice of the Jews.

⁶² These regulations are inserted in the above-mentioned edicts of Hadrian and Pius. See the apology of Melito (apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 26.).

⁶³ See the rescript of Trajan, and the conduct of Pliny. The most authentic acts of the martyrs abound in these exhortations.

⁶⁴ In particular, see Tertullian (Apolog. c. 2, 3.), and Lactantius (Institut. Divin. v. 9.). Their reasonings are almost the same; but we may discover, that one of these apologists had been a lawyer, and the other a rhetorician.

⁶⁵ See two instances of this kind of torture in the Acta Sincera Martyrum, published by Ruinart, p. 160. 399. Jerome, in his Legend of Paul the Hermit, tells a strange story of a young man, who was chained naked on a bed of flowers, and assaulted by a beautiful and wanton courtesan. He quelled the rising temptation by biting off his tongue.

⁶⁶ The conversion of his wife provoked Claudius Herminianus, governor of Cappadocia, to treat the Christians with uncommon severity. Tertullian ad Scapulam, c. 3.

⁶⁷ Tertullian, in his epistle to the governor of Africa, mentions several remarkable instances of lenity and forbearance, which had happened within his knowledge.

⁶⁸ Neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest: an expression of Trajan, which gave a very great latitude to the governors of provinces.

⁶⁹ In Metalla damnatur, in insulas relegamur. Tertullian. Apolog. c. 12. The mines of Numidia contained nine bishops, with a proportionable number of their clergy and people, to whom Cyprian addressed a pious epistle of praise and comfort. See Cyprian. Epistol. 76, 77.

⁷⁰ Though we cannot receive with entire confidence, either the epistles, or the acts, of Ignatius (they may be found in the 2d volume of the Apostolic Fathers), yet we may quote that bishop of Antioch as one of these *exemplary* martyrs. He was sent in chains to Rome as a public spectacle: and when he arrived at Troas, he received the pleasing intelligence, that the persecution of Antioch was already at an end.

⁷¹ Among the martyrs of Lyons (Euseb. l. v. c. 1.), the slave Blandina was distinguished by more exquisite tortures. Of the five martyrs so much celebrated in the acts of Felicitas and Perpetua, two were of a fervile, and two others of a very mean, condition.

⁷² Origen. advers. Celsum, l. iii. p. 116. His words deserve to be transcribed. "Ολίγοι κατὰ καιρὸς, καὶ σφόδρα ευχαριστητοὶ περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας τεθνηκῆσι."

⁷³ If we recollect that *all* the Plebeians of Rome were not Christians, and that all the Christians were not saints and martyrs, we may judge with how much safety religious honours can be ascribed to bones or urns, indiscriminately taken from the public burial-place. After ten centuries of a very free and open trade, some suspicions have arisen among the more learned catholics. They now require, as a proof of sanctity and martyrdom, the letters BM, a viol full of red liquor, supposed to be blood, or the figure of a palm-tree. But the two former signs are of little weight, and with regard to the last, it is observed by the critics, 1. That the figure, as it is called, of a palm, is perhaps a cypress, and perhaps only a stop, the flourish of a comma, used in the monumental inscriptions. 2. That the palm was the symbol of victory among the Pagans. 3. That among the Christians it served as the emblem, not only of martyrdom, but in general of a joyful resurrection. See the epistle of P. Mabillon, on the worship of unknown saints, and Muratori sopra le Antichità Italiane, Dissertat. lviii.

⁷⁴ As a specimen of these legends, we may be satisfied with 10,000 Christian soldiers crucified in one day, either by Trajan or Hadrian, on mount Ararat. See Baronius ad Martyrologium Romanum. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. part. ii. p. 438. and Geddes's Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 203. The abbreviation of MIL. which may signify either *soldiers* or *thousands*, is said to have occasioned some extraordinary mistakes.

⁷⁵ Dionysius ap. Euseb. l. vi. c. 41. One of the seventeen was likewise accused of robbery.

⁷⁶ The letters of Cyprian exhibit a very curious and original picture, both of the *man* and of the *times*. See likewise the two lives of Cyprian, composed with equal accuracy, though with very different views; the one by Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xii. p. 208—378.), the other by Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. iv. part. i. p. 76—459.

⁷⁷ See the polite but severe epistle of the clergy of Rome, to the bishop of Carthage (Cyprian, Epist. 8, 9.) Pontius labours with the greatest care and diligence to justify his master against the general censure.

⁷⁸ In particular those of Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neo-Cæsarea. See Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vi. c. 40. and Mémoires de Tillemont, tom. iv. part. ii. p. 685.

⁷⁹ See Cyprian, Epist. 16. and his life by Pontius.

⁸⁰ We have an original life of Cyprian by the deacon Pontius, the companion of his exile, and the spectator of his death; and we likewise possess the ancient proconsular acts of his martyrdom. These two relations are consistent with each other, and with probability; and what is somewhat remarkable, they are both unfulfilled by any miraculous circumstances.

⁸¹ It should seem that these were circular orders, sent at the same time to all the governors. Dionysius (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 11.) relates the history of his own banishment from Alexandria, almost in the same manner. But as he escaped and survived the persecution, we must account him either more or less fortunate than Cyprian.

⁸² See Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 3. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. part. iii. p. 96. Shaw's Travels, p. 90.; and for the adjacent country (which is terminated by Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury) l'Afrique de Marmol. tom. ii. p. 474. There are the remains of an aqueduct, near Curubis, or Curbis, at present altered into Gurbes; and Dr. Shaw read an inscription, which styles that city, *Colonia Fulvia*. The deacon Pontius (in Vit. Cyprian. c. 12.) calls it "Apricum et competentem locum, hospitium pro voluntate secretum, et quicquid apponi eis ante promissum est, qui regnum et justitiam Dei quærunt."

⁸³ See Cyprian. Epistol. 77. Edit. Fell.

⁸⁴ Upon his conversion, he had sold those gardens for the benefit of the poor. The indulgence of God (most probably the liberality of some Christian friend) restored them to Cyprian. See Pontius, c. 15.

⁸⁵ When Cyprian, a twelvemonth before, was sent into exile, he dreamt that he should be put to death the next day. The event made it necessary to explain that word, as signifying a year. Pontius, c. 12.

⁸⁶ Pontius (c. 15.) acknowledges that Cyprian, with whom he supped, passed the night custodiâ delicatâ. The bishop exercised a last and very proper act of jurisdiction, by directing that the younger females, who watched in the street, should be removed from the dangers and temptations of a nocturnal crowd. Act. Proconsularia, c. 2.

⁸⁷ See the original sentence in the Acts, c. 4. and in Pontius, c. 17. The latter expresses it in a more rhetorical manner.

⁸⁸ Pontius, c. 19. M. de Tillemont (Mémoires, tom. iv. part i. p. 450. note 50.) is not pleased with so positive an exclusion of any former martyrs of the episcopal rank.

⁸⁹ Whatever opinion we may entertain of the character or principles of Thomas a Becket, we must acknowledge that he suffered death with a constancy not unworthy of the primitive martyrs. See Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 592, etc.

⁹⁰ See in particular the treatise of Cyprian de Lapsis, p. 87—98. Edit. Fell. The learning of Dodwell (Dissertat. Cyprianic. xii. xiii.),

and the ingenuity of Middleton (*Free Enquiry*, p. 162, etc.), have left scarcely any thing to add concerning the merit, the honours, and the motives of the martyrs.

⁹¹ Cyprian. *Epistol.* 5, 6, 7. 22 24. and *de Unitat. Ecclesiæ*. The number of pretended martyrs has been very much multiplied, by the custom which was introduced of bestowing that honourable name on confessors.

⁹² *Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc Episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.* Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. He might have omitted the word *nunc*.

⁹³ See *Epist. ad Roman.* c. 4, 5. ap. *Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 27. It suited the purpose of Bishop Pearson (see *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part. ii. c. 9.) to justify by a profusion of examples and authorities, the sentiments of Ignatius.

⁹⁴ The story of Polyenctes, on which Corneille has founded a very beautiful tragedy, is one of the most celebrated, though not perhaps the most authentic, instances of this excessive zeal. We should observe, that the 60th canon of the council of Illiberis refuses the title of martyrs to those who exposed themselves to death, by publicly destroying the idols.

⁹⁵ See Epictetus, l. iv. c. 7. (though there is some doubt whether he alludes to the Christians) Marcus Antoninus *de Rebus suis*, l. xi. c. 3. Lucian in *Peregrin.*

⁹⁶ Tertullian *ad Scapul.* c. 5. The learned are divided between three persons of the same name, who were all proconsuls of Asia. I am inclined to ascribe this story to Antoninus Pius, who was afterwards emperor; and who may have governed Asia, under the reign of Trajan.

⁹⁷ Mosheim, *de Rebus Christ. ante Constantin.* p. 235.

⁹⁸ See the *Epistle of the Church of Smyrna*, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. iv. c. 15.

⁹⁹ In the second apology of Justin, there is a particular and very curious instance of this legal delay. The same indulgence was granted to accused Christians, in the persecution of Decius; and Cyprian (*de Lapsis*) expressly mentions the "*Dies negantibus præstitutus.*"

¹⁰⁰ Tertullian considers flight from persecution, as an imperfect, but very criminal, apostacy, as an impious attempt to elude the will of God, etc. etc. He has written a treatise on this subject (see p. 536—544. *Edit. Rigalt.*), which is filled with the wildest fanaticism, and the most incoherent declamation. It is, however, somewhat remarkable, that Tertullian did not suffer martyrdom himself.

¹⁰¹ The *Libellatici*, who are chiefly known by the writings of Cyprian, are described with the utmost precision, in the copious commentary of Mosheim, p. 483—489.

¹⁰² Plin. *Epistol.* x. 97. Dionysius Alexandrin. ap. Euseb. l. vi. c. 41.

Ad pria statim verba minantis inimici maximus fratrum numerus fidem suam prodidit: nec prostratus est persecutionis impetu, sed voluntario lapsu seipsum prostravit. Cyprian. Opera, p. 89. Among these deserters were many priests, and even bishops.

¹⁰³ It was on this occasion that Cyprian wrote his treatise *De Lapsis*, and many of his epistles. The controversy concerning the treatment of penitent apostates, does not occur among the Christians of the preceding century. Shall we ascribe this to the superiority of their faith and courage, or to our less intimate knowledge of their history?

¹⁰⁴ See Mosheim, p. 97. Sulpicius Severus was the first author of this computation; though he seemed desirous of reserving the tenth and greatest persecution for the coming of the Antichrist.

¹⁰⁵ The testimony given by Pontius Pilate is first mentioned by Justin. The successive improvements which the story has acquired (as it passed through the hands of Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and the authors of the several editions of the acts of Pilate), are very fairly stated by Dom Calmet, *Dissertat. sur l'Ecriture*, tom. iii. p. 651, etc.

¹⁰⁶ On this miracle, as it is commonly called, of the thundering legion, see the admirable criticism of Mr. Moyle, in his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 81—390.

¹⁰⁷ Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin, l. lxxii. p. 1206. Mr. Moyle (p. 266.) has explained the condition of the church under the reign of Commodus.

¹⁰⁸ Compare the life of Caracalla in the *Augustan History*, with the epistle of Tertullian to Scapula. Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 5, etc.) considers the cure of Severus, by the means of holy oil, with a strong desire to convert it into a miracle.

¹⁰⁹ Tertullian *de Fugâ*, c. 13. The present was made during the feast of the Saturnalia; and it is a matter of serious concern to Tertullian, that the faithful should be confounded with the most infamous professions which purchased the connivance of the government.

¹¹⁰ Euseb. l. v. c. 23, 24. Mosheim, p. 435—447.

¹¹¹ *Judæos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.* *Hist. August.* p. 70.

¹¹² Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 384. This computation (allowing for a single exception) is confirmed by the history of Eusebius, and by the writings of Cyprian.

¹¹³ The antiquity of Christian churches is discussed by Tillemont (*Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. iii. part. ii. p. 68—72.), and by Mr. Moyle (vol. i. p. 378—398.). The former refers the first construction of them to the peace of Alexander Severus; the latter, to the peace of Gallienus.

¹¹⁴ See the *Augustan History*, p. 130. The emperor Alexander adopted their method of publicly proposing the names of those persons

who were candidates for ordination. It is true, that the honour of this practice is likewise attributed to the Jews.

¹¹⁵ Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vi. c. 21. Hieronym. de Script. Eccles. c. 54. Mammæa was stiled a holy and pious woman, both by the Christians and the Pagans. From the former, therefore, it was impossible that she should deserve that honourable epithet.

¹¹⁶ See the Augustan History, p. 123. Mosheim (p. 465.) seems to refine too much on the domestic religion of Alexander. His design of building a public temple to Christ (Hist. August. p. 129.), and the objection which was suggested either to him, or in similar circumstances to Hadrian, appear to have no other foundation than improbable report, invented by the Christians, and credulously adopted by an historian of the age of Constantine.

¹¹⁷ Euseb. l. vi. c. 28. It may be presumed, that the success of the Christians had exasperated the increasing bigotry of the Pagans. Dion Cassius, who composed his history under the former reign, had most probably intended for the use of his master those counsels of persecution, which he ascribes to a better age, and to the favourite of Augustus. Concerning this oration of Mæcenæ, or rather of Dion, I may refer to my own unbiassed opinion (vol. i. p. 55. Not. 25.), and to the Abbé de la Bleterie (Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxiv. p. 303. tom. xxv. p. 432.).

¹¹⁸ Orosius, l. vii. c. 19. mentions Origen as the object of Maximin's resentment; and Firmilianus, a Cappadocian bishop of that age, gives a just and confined idea of this persecution (apud Cyprian. Epist. 75.).

¹¹⁹ The mention of those princes who were publicly supposed to be Christians, as we find it in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 10.), evidently alludes to Philip and his family; and forms a contemporary evidence, that such a report had prevailed; but the Egyptian bishop, who lived at an humble distance from the court of Rome, expresses himself with a becoming diffidence concerning the truth of the fact. The epistles of Origen (which were extant in the time of Eusebius, see l. vi. c. 36.) would most probably decide this curious, rather than important, question.

¹²⁰ Euseb. l. vi. c. 34. The story, as is usual, has been embellished by succeeding writers, and is confuted, with much superfluous learning, by Frederick Spanheim (Opera Varia, tom. ii. p. 400, etc.).

¹²¹ Lactantius, de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 3, 4. After celebrating the felicity and increase of the church, under a long succession of good princes; he adds, "Extitit post annos plurimos, execrabile animal, Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam."

¹²² Euseb. l. vi. c. 39. Cyprian. Epistol. 55. The see of Rome remained vacant from the martyrdom of Fabianus, the 20th of January, A. D. 250, till the election of Cornelius, the 4th of June, A. D. 251. Decius had probably left Rome, since he was killed before the end of that year.

¹²³ Euseb. l. vii. c. 10. Mosheim (p. 548.) has very clearly shewn, that the Præfect Marianus, and the Egyptian *Magus*, are one and the same person.

¹²⁴ Eusebius (l. vii. c. 13.) gives us a Greek version of this Latin edict, which seems to have been very concise. By another edict, he directed, that the *Cœmeteria* should be restored to the Christians.

¹²⁵ Euseb. l. vii. c. 30. Lactantius de M. P. c. 6. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 177. Orosius, l. vii. c. 23. Their language is in general so ambiguous and incorrect, that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intentions before he was assassinated. Most of the modern (except Dodwell, Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. 64.) have seized the occasion of gaining a few extraordinary martyrs.

¹²⁶ Paul was better pleased with the title of *Ducenarius*, than with that of bishop. The *Ducenarius* was an Imperial procurator, so called from his salary of two hundred *Sestertia*, or 1,600 l. a year. (See Salmasius ad Hist. August. p. 124.) Some critics suppose, that the bishop of Antioch had actually obtained such an office from Zenobia, while others consider it only as a figurative expression of his pomp and influence.

¹²⁷ Simony was not unknown in those times; and the clergy sometimes bought what they intended to sell. It appears that the bishopric of Carthage was purchased by a wealthy matron, named Lucilla, for her servant Majorinus. The price was 400 *Folles* (Monument Antiq. ad calcem Optati, p. 263.) Every *Follis* contained 125 pieces of silver, and the whole sum may be computed at about 2,400 l.

¹²⁸ If we are desirous of extenuating the vices of Paul, we must suspect the assembled bishops of the East of publishing the most malicious calumnies in circular epistles addressed to all the churches of the empire (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 30.)

¹²⁹ His heresy like those of Noetus and Sabellius, in the same century tended to confound the mysterious distinctions of the divine persons. See Mosheim, p. 702, etc.

¹³⁰ Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vii. c. 30. We are entirely indebted to him for the curious story of Paul of Samosata.

¹³¹ The *Æra* of Martyrs, which is still in use among the Copts and the Abyssinians, must be reckoned from the 29th of August, A. D. 284; as the beginning of the Egyptian year was nineteen days earlier than the real accession of Diocletian. See Dissertation préliminaire à l'art de vérifier les Dates.

¹³² The expression of Lactantius (de M. P. c. 15.) "*sacrificio pollui coegit*," implies their antecedent conversion to the faith; but does not seem to justify the assertion of Mosheim (p. 912.), that they had been privately baptized.

¹³³ M. de Tillemont (Mémoires Ecclesiastiques, tom. v. part i. p. 11, 12.) has quoted from the *Spicilegium* of Dom. Luc d'Acheri.

a very curious instruction which bishop Theonas composed for the use of Lucian.

¹³⁴ Lactantius de M. P. c. 10.

¹³⁵ Eusebius, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. viii. c. 1. The reader who consults the original, will not accuse me of heightening the picture. Eusebius was about sixteen years of age at the accession of the emperor Diocletian.

¹³⁶ We might quote, among a great number of instances, the mysterious worship of Mythras, and the Taurobolia; the latter of which became fashionable in the time of the Antonines (See a Dissertation of M. de Boze, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 443.). The romance of Apuleius is as full of devotion as of satire.

¹³⁷ The impostor Alexander very strongly recommended the oracle of Trophonius at Mallos, and those of Apollo, at Claros and Miletus (Lucian, tom. ii. p. 236. Edit. Reitz). The last of these, whose singular history would furnish a very curious episode, was consulted by Diocletian before he published his edicts of persecution (Lactantius de M. P. c. 11.)

¹³⁸ Besides the ancient stories of Pythagoras and Aristeas, the cures performed at the shrine of Æsculapius, and the fables related of Apollonius of Tyana, were frequently opposed to the miracles of Christ; though I agree with Dr. Lardner (see Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 252. 352.), that when Philostratus composed the life of Apollonius, he had no such intention.

¹³⁹ It is seriously to be lamented, that the Christian fathers, by acknowledging the supernatural, or, as they deem it, the infernal, part of Paganism, destroy with their own hands the great advantage which we might otherwise derive from the liberal concessions of our adversaries.

¹⁴⁰ Julian (p. 301. Edit. Spanheim) expresses a pious joy, that the providence of the gods had extinguished the impious sects, and for the most part destroyed the books of the Pyrrhonians and Epicureans, which had been very numerous, since Epicurus himself composed no less than 300 volumes. See Diogenes Laertius, l. x. c. 26.

¹⁴¹ Cumque alios audiam mullitare indignanter, et dicere oportere statui per Senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana Religio comprobetur, et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Arnobius adversus Gentes, l. iii. p. 103, 104. He adds very properly, Erroris convincite Ciceronem . . . nam intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum defendere sed veritatis testimonium timere.

¹⁴² Lactantius (Divin. Institut. l. v. c. 2, 3.) gives a very clear and spirited account of two of these philosophic adversaries of the faith. The large treatise of Porphyry against the Christians consisted of thirty books, and was composed in Sicily about the year 270.

¹⁴³ See Socrates, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. i. c. 9. and Codex Justinian, l. i. tit. i. l. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Eusebius, l. viii. c. 4. c. 17. He limits the number of military martyrs, by a remarkable expression (σπανίως τούτων εἰς πρῶτον καὶ δευτέρου), of which neither his Latin nor French translator have rendered the energy. Notwithstanding the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose, Sulpicius, Orosius, etc. it has been long believed that the Theban legion, consisting of 6000 Christians, suffered martyrdom, by the order of Maximian, in the valley of the Penine Alps. The story was first published about the middle of the vth century, by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, who received it from certain persons, who received it from Isaac bishop of Geneva, who is said to have received it from Theodore bishop of Octodurum. The Abbey of St. Maurice still subsists, a rich monument of the credulity of Sigismund, king of Burgundy. See an excellent Dissertation in the xxxvith volume of the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, p. 427—454.

¹⁴⁵ See the Acta Sincera, p. 299. The accounts of his martyrdom, and of that of Marcellus, bear every mark of truth and authenticity.

¹⁴⁶ Acta Sincera, p. 302.

¹⁴⁷ De M. P. c. II. Lactantius (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) was, at that time, an inhabitant of Nicomedia; but it seems difficult to conceive how he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the Imperial cabinet.

¹⁴⁸ The only circumstance which we can discover, is the devotion and jealousy of the mother of Galerius. She is described by Lactantius, as Deorum montium cultrix; mulier admodum superstitiosa. She had a great influence over her son, and was offended by the disregard of some of her Christian servants.

¹⁴⁹ The worship and festival of the God Terminus are elegantly illustrated by M. de Boze, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions tom. i. p. 50.

¹⁵⁰ In our only MS. of Lactantius, we read *profectus*; but reason, and the authority of all the critics, allow us, instead of that word, which destroys the sense of the passage, to substitute *præfectus*.

¹⁵¹ Lactantius de M. P. c. 12, gives a very lively picture of the destruction of the church.

¹⁵² Mosheim (p. 922—926.), from many scattered passages of Lactantius and Eusebius, has collected a very just and accurate notion of this edict; though he sometimes deviates into conjecture and refinement.

¹⁵³ Many ages afterwards, Edward I. practised, with great success, the same mode of persecution against the clergy of England. See Hume's History of England, vol. ii. p. 300, 4to edition.

¹⁵⁴ Lactantius only calls him *quidam*, *et si non recte*, *magno tamen animo*, etc. c. 12. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 5.) adorns him with secular honours. Neither have condescended to mention his name; but the Greeks celebrate his memory under that of John. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. v. part. ii. p. 320.

¹⁵⁵ Lactantius de M. P. c. 13, 14. *Potentissimi quondam Eunuchi necati*, per quos Palatium et ipse constabat. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 6.) mentions the cruel executions of the eunuchs, Gorgonius and Dorotheus, and of Anthimius, bishop of Nicomedia; and both those writers describe, in a vague but tragical manner, the horrid scenes which were acted even in the Imperial presence.

¹⁵⁶ See Lactantius, Eusebius, and Constantine, *ad Cœtum Sanctorum*, c. 25. Eusebius confesses his ignorance of the cause of the fire.

¹⁵⁷ Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiast.* tom. v. part. i. p. 43.

¹⁵⁸ See the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 353; those of Fœlix of Thibara, or Tibiur, appear much less corrupted than in the other editions, which afford a lively specimen of legendary licence.

¹⁵⁹ See the first book of Optatus of Milevis against the Donatists at Paris, 1700. Edit. Dupin. He lived under the reign of Valens.

¹⁶⁰ The ancient monuments, published at the end of Optatus, p. 261, etc. describe, in a very circumstantial manner, the proceedings of the governors in the destruction of churches. They made a minute inventory of the plate, etc. which they found in them. That of the church of Cirta, in Numidia, is still extant. It consisted of two chalices of gold, and six of silver; six urns, one kettle, seven lamps, all likewise of silver; besides a large quantity of brass utensils, and wearing apparel.

¹⁶¹ Lactantius (*Institut Divin.* v. 11.) confines the calamity to the *conventiculum*, with its congregation. Eusebius (viii. 11.) extends it to a whole city, and introduces something very like a regular siege. His ancient Latin translator, Rufinus, adds the important circumstance of the permission given to the inhabitants of retiring from thence. As Phrygia reached to the confines of Isauria, it is possible that the restless temper of those independent Barbarians may have contributed to this misfortune.

¹⁶² Eusebius, l. viii. c. 6. M. de Valois (with some probability) thinks that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of Libanius; and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune Eugenius, who with only five hundred men seized Antioch, and might perhaps allure the Christians by the promise of religious toleration. From Eusebius (l. ix. c. 8.) as well as from Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* l. ii. c. 77., etc.) it may be inferred, that Christianity was already introduced into Armenia.

¹⁶³ See Mosheim, p. 938; the text of Eusebius very plainly shews, that the governors, whose powers were enlarged, not restrained, by the new laws, could punish with death the most obstinate Christians, as an example to their brethren.

¹⁶⁴ Athanasius, p. 833. ap. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. v. part. i. p. 90.

¹⁶⁵ Eusebius, l. viii. c. 13. Lactantius de M. P. c. 15. Dodwell (*Differtat. Cyprian.* xi. 75.) represents them as inconsistent with each other. But the former evidently speaks of Constantius in the station of Cæsar, and the latter of the same prince in the rank of Augustus.

¹⁶⁶ Datianus is mentioned in Gruter's *Inscriptions*, as having determined the limits between the territories of Pax Julia, and those of Eboræ, both cities in the southern part of Lusitania. If we recollect the neighbourhood of those places to Cape St. Vincent, we may suspect that the celebrated deacon and martyr of that name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius; etc. to Saragossa, or Valentia. See the pompous history of his sufferings, in the *Mémoires de Tillemont*, tom. v. part. ii. p. 58—85. Some critics are of opinion, that the department of Constantius, as Cæsar, did not include Spain, which still continued under the immediate jurisdiction of Maximian.

¹⁶⁷ Eusebius, l. viii. c. 11. Gruter, *Inscript.* p. 1171. N°. 18. Rufinus has mistaken the office of Adauctus, as well as the place of his martyrdom.

¹⁶⁸ Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14. But as Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, it suited the purpose of Lactantius to place his death among those of the persecutors.

¹⁶⁹ The epitaph of Marcellus is to be found in Gruter, *Inscript.* p. 1172. N°. 3. and it contains all that we know of his history. Marcellinus and Marcellus, whose names follow in the list of popes, are supposed by many critics to be different persons; but the learned Abbé de Longuerue was convinced that they were one and the same.

Veridicus Rector lapsis quia crimina flere

Prædixit miseris, fuit omnibus hostis amarus.

Hinc furor, hinc odium; sequitur discordia, lites,

Seditio, cædes; solvuntur fœdera pacis.

Crimen ob alterius, Christum qui in pace negavit

Finibus expulsus patriæ est feritate Tyranni.

Hæc breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre:

Marcelli populus meritum cognoscere posset.

We may observe that Damasus was made bishop of Rome, A. D. 366.

¹⁷⁰ Optatus contr. Donatist. l. i. c. 17, 18.

¹⁷¹ The Acts of the Passion of St. Boniface, which abound in miracles and declamation, are published by Ruinart (p. 283—291.), both in Greek and Latin, from the authority of very ancient manuscripts.

¹⁷² During the four first centuries, there exist few traces of either bishop or bishoprics in the western Illyricum. It has been thought probable that the primate of Milan extended his jurisdiction over Sirmium, the capital of that great province. See the *Geographia Sacra* of Charles de St. Paul, p. 68—76. with the observations of Lucas Holstærius.

¹⁷³ The viiith book of Eusebius, as well as the supplement concerning the martyrs of Palestine, principally relate to the persecution of Galerius and Maximin. The general lamentations with which Lactantius opens the vth book of his Divine Institutions, allude to their cruelty.

¹⁷⁴ Eusebius (l. viii. c. 17.) has given us a Greek version, and Lactantius (de M. P. c. 34.), the Latin original, of this memorable edict. Neither of these writers seem to recollect how directly it contradicts whatever they have just affirmed of the remorse and repentance of Galerius.

¹⁷⁵ Eusebius, l. ix. c. 1. He inserts the epistle of the præfect.

¹⁷⁶ See Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14. l. ix. c. 2—8. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. These writers agree in representing the arts of Maximin: but the former relates the execution of several martyrs, while the latter expressly affirms, occidi servos Dei vetuit.

¹⁷⁷ A few days before his death, he published a very ample edict of toleration, in which he imputes all the severities which the Christians suffered to the judges and governors, who had misunderstood his intentions. See the Edict in Eusebius, l. ix. c. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Such is the *fair* deduction from two remarkable passages in Eusebius, l. viii. c. 2. and de Martyr. Palestin, c. 12. The prudence of the historian has exposed his own character to censure and suspicion. It was well known that he himself had been thrown into prison; and it was suggested that he had purchased his deliverance by some dishonourable compliance. The reproach was urged in his lifetime, and even in his presence, at the council of Tyre. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. viii. part. i. p. 67.

¹⁷⁹ The ancient, and perhaps authentic, account of the sufferings of Tarachus, and his companions (Acta Sincera Ruinart, p. 419—448), is filled with strong expressions of resentment and contempt, which could not fail of irritating the magistrate. The behaviour of Ædesius to Hierocles, præfect of Egypt, was still more extraordinary, *λογοις τε και εργοις τον δικασην . . . περιπαλων*. Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 5.

¹⁸⁰ Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 13.

¹⁸¹ Augustin. Collat. Carthagin. Dei, iii. c. 13. ap. Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. v. part. i. p. 46. The controversy with the Donatists has reflected some, though perhaps a partial, light on the history of the African church.

¹⁸² Eusebius de Martyr. Palestin. c. 13. He closes his narration, by assuring us that these were the martyrdoms inflicted in Palestine, during the *whole* course of the persecution. The vth chapter of his viiith book, which relates to the province of Thebais in Egypt, may seem to contradict our moderate computation; but it will only lead us to admire the artful management of the historian. Choosing for the scene of the most exquisite cruelty, the most remote and sequestered country

of the Roman empire, he relates, that in Thebais, from ten to one hundred persons had frequently suffered martyrdom in the same day. But when he proceeds to mention his own journey into Egypt, his language insensibly becomes more cautious and moderate. Instead of a large, but definite number, he speaks of many Christians (πλειυς); and most artfully selects two ambiguous words (ἰσορησαμεν, and ὑπομειναντας) which may signify either what he had seen, or what he had heard; either the expectation, or the execution, of the punishment. Having thus provided a secure evasion, he commits the equivocal passage to his readers and translators; justly conceiving that their piety would induce them to prefer the most favourable sense. There was perhaps some malice in the remark of Theodorus Metochita, that all who, like Eusebius, had been conversant with the Egyptians, delighted in an obscure and intricate style. (See Valesius ad loc.).

¹⁸³ When Palestine was divided into three, the præfecture of the east contained forty-eight provinces. As the ancient distinctions of nations were long since abolished, the Romans distributed the provinces, according to a general proportion of their extent and opulence.

¹⁸⁴ Ut gloriari possint nullum se innocentium peremisse, nam et ipse audivi aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta. Lactant. Institut. Divin. v. II.

¹⁸⁵ Grot. Annal. de Rebus Belgicis, l. i. p. 12. Edit. fol.

¹⁸⁶ Fra-Paolo (Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, l. iii.) reduces the number of Belgic martyrs to 50,000. In learning and moderation, Fra-Paolo was not inferior to Grotius. The priority of time gives some advantage to the evidence of the former, which he loses on the other hand by the distance of Venice from the Netherlands.

N O T E S
T O T H E
T H I R D V O L U M E.

C H A P. X V I I.

¹ Polybius, l. iv. p. 423. edit. Casaubon. He observes that the peace of the Byzantines was frequently disturbed, and the extent of their territory contracted, by the inroads of the wild Thracians.

² The navigator Byzas, who was stiled the son of Neptune, founded the city 656 years before the Christian Æra. His followers were drawn from Argos and Megara. Byzantium was afterwards rebuilt and fortified by the Spartan general Pausanias. See Scaliger Animadvers. ad Euseb. p. 81. Ducange Constantinopolis, l. i. part. i. c. 15, 16. With regard to the wars of the Byzantines against Philip, the Gauls, and the kings of Bithynia, we should trust none but the ancient writers who lived before the greatness of the imperial city had excited a spirit of flattery and fiction.

³ The Bosphorus has been very minutely described by Dionysius of Byzantium, who lived in the time of Domitian (Hudson Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.), and by Gilles or Gyllius, a French traveller of the XVIth century. Tournefort (Lettre XV.) seems to have used his own eyes and the learning of Gyllius.

⁴ There are very few conjectures so happy as that of Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. i. p. 248.), who supposes that the harpies were only locusts. The Syriac or Phœnician name of those insects, their noisy flight, the stench and devastation which they occasion, and the north wind which drives them into the sea, all contribute to form this striking resemblance.

⁵ The residence of Amycus was in Asia, between the old and the new castles, at a place called Laurus Infana. That of Phineus was in Europe, near the village of Mauromole and the Black Sea. See Gyllius de Bosph. l. ii. c. 23. Tournefort, Lettre XV.

⁶ The deception was occasioned by several pointed rocks, alternately covered and abandoned by the waves. At present there are two small islands, one towards either shore: that of Europe is distinguished by the column of Pompey.

⁷ The ancients computed one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen Roman

Roman miles. They measured only from the new castles, but they carried the freights as far as the town of Chalcedon.

⁸ Ducas Hist. c. 34. Leunclavius Hist. Turcica Musulmanica, l. xv. p. 577. Under the Greek empire these castles were used as state prisons, under the tremendous name of Lethe, or towers of oblivion.

⁹ Darius engraved in Greek and Assyrian letters on two marble columns, the names of his subject nations, and the amazing numbers of his land and sea forces. The Byzantines afterwards transported these columns into the city, and used them for the altars of their tutelar deities. Herodotus, l. iv. c. 87.

¹⁰ Namque arctissimo inter Europam Asiamque divortio Byzantium in extrêmâ Europâ posuere Græci, quibus, Pythium Apollinem consulentibus ubi conderent urbem, redditum oraculum est, quærent sedem cæcorum terris adversam. Eâ ambage Chalcedonii monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advecti, prævisâ locorum utilitate pejora legissent. Tacit. Annal. xii. 62.

¹¹ Strabo, l. x. p. 492. Most of the antlers are now broke off; or to speak less figuratively, most of the recesses of the harbour are filled up. See Gyllius de Bosphoro Thracio, l. i. c. 5.

¹² Procopius de Ædificiis, l. i. c. 5. His description is confirmed by modern travellers. See Thevenot, Part. i. l. i. c. 15. Tournefort, Lettre XII. Niebuhr Voyage d'Arabie, p. 22.

¹³ See Ducange, C. P. l. i. part. i. c. 16. and his Observations sur Villehardouin, p. 289. The chain was drawn from the Acropolis, near the modern Kiosk, to the tower of Galata; and was supported at convenient distances by large wooden piles.

¹⁴ Thevenot (Voyages au Levant, part. i. l. i. c. 14.) contracts the measure to 125 small Greek miles. Belon, (Observations, l. ii. c. 1.) gives a good description of the Propontis, but contents himself with the vague expression of one day and one night's sail. When Sandys (Travels, p. 21.) talks of 150 furlongs in length as well as breadth, we can only suppose some mistake of the press in the text of that judicious traveller.

¹⁵ See an admirable dissertation of M. d'Anville upon the Hellespont or Dardanelles, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 318—346. Yet even that ingenious geographer is too fond of supposing new, and perhaps imaginary *measures*, for the purpose of rendering ancient writers as accurate as himself. The stadia employed by Herodotus in the description of the Euxine, the Bosphorus, etc. (l. iv. c. 85.) must undoubtedly be all of the same species: but it seems impossible to reconcile them either with truth or with each other.

¹⁶ The oblique distance between Sestus and Abydus was thirty stadia. The improbable tale of Hero and Leander is exposed by M. Mahudel, but is defended on the authority of poets and medals by M. de la Nauze. See the Académie des inscriptions, tom. vii. Hist. p. 74. Mém. p. 240.

Notes.

Λ

¹⁷ See the seventh book of Herodotus, who has erected an elegant trophy to his own fame and to that of his country. The review appears to have been made with tolerable accuracy: but the vanity, first of the Persians, and afterwards of the Greeks, was interested to magnify the armament and the victory. I should much doubt whether the *invaders* have ever outnumbered the *men* of any country which they attacked.

¹⁸ See Wood's Observations on Homer, p. 320. I have, with pleasure, selected this remark from an author who in general seems to have disappointed the expectation of the public as a critic, and still more as a traveller. He had visited the banks of the Hellespont; he had read Strabo; he ought to have consulted the Roman itineraries: how was it possible for him to confound Ilium and Alexandria Troas (Observations, p. 340, 341.), two cities which were sixteen miles distant from each other?

¹⁹ Demetrius of Scepsis wrote sixty books on thirty lines of Homer's Catalogue. The XIIIth Book of Strabo is sufficient for *our* curiosity.

²⁰ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595. The disposition of the ships which were drawn upon dry land, and the posts of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly described by Homer. See Iliad ix. 220.

²¹ Zosim. l. ii. p. 105. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Theophanes, p. 18. Nicephorus Callistus, l. vii. p. 48. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 6. Zosimus places the new city between Ilium and Alexandria, but this apparent difference may be reconciled by the large extent of its circumference. Before the foundation of Constantinople, Thessalonica is mentioned by Cedrenus (p. 283.), and Sardica by Zonaras, as the intended capital. They both suppose, with very little probability, that the Emperor, if he had not been prevented by a prodigy, would have repeated the mistake of the *blind* Chalcedonians.

²² Pocock's Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 127. His plan of the seven hills is clear and accurate. That traveller is seldom so satisfactory.

²³ See Belon, Observations, c. 72—76. Among a variety of different species, the Pelamides, a sort of Thunnies, were the most celebrated. We may learn from Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus, that the profits of the fishery constituted the principal revenue of Byzantium.

²⁴ See the eloquent description of Busbequius, epistol. i. p. 64. Est in Europâ, habet in conspectu Asiam, Ægyptum, Africamque à dextrâ: quæ tametsi contiguæ non sunt, maris tamen navigandique commoditate veluti junguntur. A sinistrâ verò Pontus est Euxinus, etc.

²⁵ Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. T. Liv. in proem.

²⁶ He says in one of his laws, pro commoditate Urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus. Cod. Theodof. l. xiii. tit. v. leg. 7.

²⁷ The Greeks, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, confine themselves to vague and general

expressions. For a more particular account of the vision, we are obliged to have recourse to such Latin writers as William of Malmshbury. See Ducange C. P. l. i. p. 24, 25.

²⁸ See Plutarch in Romul. tom. I. p. 49. edit. Bryan. Among other ceremonies, a large hole, which had been dug for that purpose, was filled up with handfuls of earth, which each of the settlers brought from the place of his birth, and thus adopted his new country.

²⁹ Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 9. This incident, though borrowed from a suspected writer, is characteristic and probable.

³⁰ See in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxxv. p. 747—758, a dissertation of M. d'Anville on the extent of Constantinople. He takes the plan inserted in the Imperium Orientale of Bandury as the most complete; but, by a series of very nice observations, he reduces the extravagant proportion of the scale, and instead of 9500, determines the circumference of the city as consisting of about 7800 French toises.

³¹ Codinus Antiquitat. Const. p. 12. He assigns the church of St. Antony as the boundary on the side of the harbour. It is mentioned in Ducange, l. iv. c. 6.; but I have tried, without success, to discover the exact place where it was situated.

³² The new wall of Theodosius was constructed in the year 413. In 447 it was thrown down by an earthquake, and rebuilt in three months by the diligence of the præfect Cyrus. The suburb of the Blachernæ was first taken into the city in the reign of Heraclius. Ducange Const. l. i. c. 10, 11.

³³ The measurement is expressed in the Notitia by 14,075 feet. It is reasonable to suppose that these were Greek feet; the proportion of which has been ingeniously determined by M. d'Anville. He compares the 180 feet with the 78 Hashemite cubits, which in different writers are assigned for the height of St. Sophia. Each of these cubits was equal to 27 French inches.

³⁴ The accurate Thevenot (l. i. c. 15.) walked in one hour and three quarters round two of the sides of the triangle, from the Kiosk of the Seraglio to the seven towers. D'Anville examines with care, and receives with confidence, this decisive testimony, which gives a circumference of ten or twelve miles. The extravagant computation of Tournefort (Lettre XI.) of thirty-four or thirty miles, without including Scutary, is a strange departure from his usual character.

³⁵ The sycæ, or fig trees, formed the thirteenth region, and were very much embellished by Justinian. It has since borne the names of Pera and Galata. The etymology of the former is obvious; that of the latter is unknown. See Ducange Const. l. i. c. 22. and Gyllius de Byzant. l. iv. c. 10.

³⁶ One hundred and eleven stadia, which may be translated into modern Greek miles each of seven stadia, or 660, sometimes only 600 French toises. See d'Anville Mesures Itinéraires, p. 53.

³⁷ When the ancient texts, which describe the size of Babylon and Thebes, are settled, the exaggerations reduced, and the measures ascertained, we find that those famous cities filled the great but not incredible circumference of about twenty-five or thirty miles. Compare d'Anville Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxviii. 235. with his Description de l'Égypte, p. 201, 202.

³⁸ If we divide Constantinople and Paris into equal squares of 50 French *toises*, the former contains 850, and the latter 1160 of those divisions.

³⁹ Six hundred centenaries, or sixty thousand pounds weight of gold. This sum is taken from Codinus Antiquit. Const. p. 11.; but unless that contemptible author had derived his information from some purer sources, he would probably have been unacquainted with so obsolete a mode of reckoning.

⁴⁰ For the forests of the Black Sea, consult Tournefort, Lettre XVI: for the marble quarries of Proconnesus, see Strabo, l. xiii. p. 588. The latter had already furnished the materials of the stately buildings of Cyzicus.

⁴¹ See the Codex Theodof. l. xiii. tit. iv. leg. 1. This law is dated in the year 334, and was addressed to the præfect of Italy, whose jurisdiction extended over Africa. The commentary of Godefroy on the whole title well deserves to be consulted.

⁴² Constantinopolis dedicatur pæne omnium urbium nuditate. Hieronym. Chron. p. 181. See Codinus, p. 8, 9. The author of the Antiquitat. Const. l. iii. (apud Banduri Imp. Orient. tom. i. p. 41.) enumerates Rome, Sicily, Antioch, Athens, and a long list of other cities. The provinces of Greece and Asia Minor may be supposed to have yielded the richest booty.

⁴³ Hist. Compend. p. 369. He describes the statue, or rather bust of Homer with a degree of taste which plainly indicates that Cedrenus copied the style of a more fortunate age.

⁴⁴ Zosim. l. ii. p. 106. Chron. Alexandrin. vel Paschal, p. 284. Ducange Const. l. i. c. 24. Even the last of those writers seems to confound the Forum of Constantine with the Augusteum, or court of the palace. I am not satisfied whether I have properly distinguished what belongs to the one and the other.

⁴⁵ The most tolerable account of this column is given by Pocock. Description of the East, vol. ii. part. ii. p. 131. But it is still in many instances perplexed and unsatisfactory.

⁴⁶ Ducange Const. l. i. c. 24. p. 76. and his Notes ad Alexiad. p. 382. The statue of Constantine or Apollo was thrown down under the reign of Alexis Comnenus.

⁴⁷ Tournefort (Lettre XII.) computes the Atmeidan at four hundred paces. If he means geometrical paces of five feet each, it was three hundred *toises* in length, about forty more than the great Circus of Rome. See d'Anville Mesures Itinéraires, p. 73.

⁴⁸ The guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alleged on this occasion. See Banduri ad Antiquitat. Const. p. 668. Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 13. 1. The original consecration of the tripod and pillar in the temple of Delphi may be proved from Herodotus and Pausanias. 2. The pagan Zosimus agrees with the three ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, that the sacred ornaments of the temple of Delphi were removed to Constantinople by the order of Constantine; and among these the serpentine pillar of the Hippodrome is particularly mentioned. 3. All the European travellers who have visited Constantinople, from Buondelmonte to Pocock, describe it in the same place, and almost in the same manner: the differences between them are occasioned only by the injuries which it has sustained from the Turks. Mahomet the Second broke the under-jaw of one of the serpents with a stroke of his battle-axe. Thevenot, l. i. c. 17.

⁴⁹ The Latin name *Cochlea* was adopted by the Greeks, and very frequently occurs in the Byzantine history. Ducange Const. l. ii. c. 1. p. 104.

⁵⁰ There are three topographical points which indicate the situation of the palace. 1. The stair-case, which connected it with the Hippodrome, or Atmeidan. 2. A small artificial port on the Propontis, from whence there was an easy ascent, by a flight of marble steps, to the gardens of the palace. 3. The Augusteum was a spacious court, one side of which was occupied by the front of the palace, and another by the church of St. Sophia.

⁵¹ Zeuxippus was an epithet of Jupiter, and the baths were a part of old Byzantium. The difficulty of assigning their true situation has not been felt by Ducange. History seems to connect them with St. Sophia and the palace; but the original plan, inserted in Banduri, places them on the other side of the city, near the harbour. For their beauties, see Chron. Paschal, p. 285, and Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 7. Christodorus (see Antiquitat. Const. l. vii.) composed inscriptions in verse for each of the statues. He was a Theban poet in genius as well as in birth;

Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum.

⁵² See the Notitia. Rome only reckoned 1780 large houses, *domus*; but the word must have had a more dignified signification. No *insulae* are mentioned at Constantinople. The old capital consisted of 424 streets, the new of 322.

⁵³ Liutprand, Legatio ad Imp. Nicephorum, p. 153. The modern Greeks have strangely disfigured the antiquities of Constantinople. We might excuse the errors of the Turkish or Arabian writers; but it is somewhat astonishing, that the Greeks, who had access to the authentic materials preserved in their own language, should prefer fiction to truth, and loose tradition to genuine history. In a single page of Codinus we may detect twelve unpardonable mistakes; the

reconciliation of Severus and Niger, the marriage of their son and daughter, the siege of Byzantium by the Macedonians, the invasion of the Gauls, which recalled Severus to Rome, the *sixty* years which elapsed from his death to the foundation of Constantinople, *etc.*

⁵⁴ Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, c. 17.

⁵⁵ Themist. Orat. iii. p. 48. edit. Hardouin. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Zosim. l. ii. p. 107. Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. If we could credit Codinus (p. 10.), Constantine built houses for the senators on the exact model of their Roman palaces, and gratified them, as well as himself, with the pleasure of an agreeable surprise, but the whole story is full of fictions and inconsistencies.

⁵⁶ The law by which the younger Theodosius, in the year 438, abolished this tenure, may be found among the *Novellæ* of that emperor at the head of the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. nov. 12. M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 371.) has evidently mistaken the nature of these estates. With a grant from the Imperial demesnes, the same condition was accepted as a favour which would justly have been deemed a hardship, if it had been imposed upon private property.

⁵⁷ The passages of Zosimus, of Eunapius, of Sozomen, and of Agathias, which relate to the increase of buildings and inhabitants at Constantinople, are collected and connected by Gyllius de Byzant. l. i. c. 3. Sidonius Apollinaris (in Panegy. Anthem. 56. p. 290. edit. Sirmond) describes the moles that were pushed forwards into the sea; they consisted of the famous Puzzolan sand, which hardens in the water.

⁵⁸ Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 9. Codin. *Antiquitat. Const.* p. 8. It appears by Socrates, l. ii. c. 13, that the daily allowance of the city consisted of eight myriads of *σῖτες*, which we may either translate with Valesius by the words *modii* of corn, or consider as expressive of the number of loaves of bread.

⁵⁹ See Cod. Theodof. l. xiii. and xiv. and Cod. Justinian. Edict. xii. tom. ii. p. 648. edit. Genev. See the beautiful complaint of Rome in the poem of Claudian de Bell. Gildonico, ver. 46—64.

Cum subiit par Roma mihi, divisaque sumsit

Æquales aurora togas; Ægyptia rura

In partem cessere novam.

⁶⁰ The regions of Constantinople are mentioned in the code of Justinian, and particularly described in the *Notitia* of the younger Theodosius; but as the four last of them are not included within the wall of Constantine, it may be doubted whether this division of the city should be referred to the founder.

⁶¹ *Senatum constituit secundi ordinis; Claros vocavit.* Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. The senators of old Rome were stiled *Clarissimi*. See a curious note of Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 9. From the eleventh epistle of Julian, it should seem that the place of senator

was considered as a burthen, rather than as an honour: but the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Vie de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 371.) has shewn that this epistle could not relate to Constantinople. Might we not read, instead of the celebrated name of Βυζαντιοίς, the obscure but more probable word Βισανθίνοις? Bislanthe or Rhædestus, now Rhodosto, was a small maritime city of Thrace. See Stephan. Byz. de Urbibus, p. 225. and Cellar. Geograph. tom. i. p. 849.

⁶² Cod. Theodof. l. xiv. 13. The Commentary of Godefroy (tom. v. p. 220.) is long, but perplexed; nor indeed is it easy to ascertain in what the Jus Italicum could consist, after the freedom of the city had been communicated to the whole empire.

⁶³ Julian (Orat. i. p. 8.) celebrates Constantinople as not less superior to all other cities, than she was inferior to Rome itself. His learned commentator (Spanheim, p. 75, 76.) justifies this language by several parallel and contemporary instances. Zosimus, as well as Socrates and Sozomen, flourished after the division of the empire between the two sons of Theodosius, which established a perfect equality between the old and the new capital.

⁶⁴ Codinus (Antiquitat. p. 8.) affirms, that the foundations of Constantinople were laid in the year of the world 5837 (A. D. 329), on the 20th of September, and that the city was dedicated the 11th of May 5838 (A. D. 330.). He connects these dates with several characteristic epochs, but they contradict each other; the authority of Codinus is of little weight, and the space which he assigns must appear insufficient. The term of ten years is given us by Julian (Orat. i. p. 8.), and Spanheim labours to establish the truth of it (p. 69—75), by the help of two passages from Themistius (Orat. iv. p. 58.) and Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 9.), which form a period from the year 324 to the year 334. Modern critics are divided concerning this point of chronology, and their different sentiments are very accurately discussed by Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 619—625.

⁶⁵ Themistius, Orat. iii. p. 47. Zosim. l. ii. p. 108. Constantine himself, in one of his laws (Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. i.), betrays his impatience.

⁶⁶ Cedrenus and Zonaras, faithful to the mode of superstition which prevailed in their own times, assure us, that Constantinople was consecrated to the Virgin Mother of God.

⁶⁷ The earliest and most complete account of this extraordinary ceremony may be found in the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 285. Tillemont, and the other friends of Constantine, who are offended with the air of Paganism which seems unworthy of a Christian prince, had a right to consider it as doubtful, but they were not authorized to omit the mention of it.

⁶⁸ Sozomen, l. ii. c. 2. Ducange C. P. l. i. c. 6. Velut ipsius Romæ filiam, is the expression of Augustin de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 25.

⁶⁹ Eutropius, l. x. c. 8. Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. Ducange C. P.

1. i. c. 5. The name of Constantinople is extant on the medals of Constantine.

⁷⁰ The lively Fontenelle (*Dialogues des Morts*, xii.) affects to deride the vanity of human ambition, and seems to triumph in the disappointment of Constantine, whose immortal name is now lost in the vulgar appellation of Istambol, a Turkish corruption of *εις την πολιν*. Yet the original name is still preserved, 1. By the nations of Europe. 2. By the modern Greeks. 3. By the Arabs, whose writings are diffused over the wide extent of their conquests in Asia and Africa. See d'Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 275. 4. By the more learned Turks, and by the emperor himself in his public mandates. Cantemir's *History of the Othman Empire*, p. 51.

⁷¹ The Theodosian code was promulgated A. D. 438. See the *Prolegomena* of Godefroy, c. 1. p. 185.

⁷² Pancirolus, in his elaborate Commentary, assigns to the *Notitia* a date almost similar to that of the Theodosian code; but his proofs, or rather conjectures, are extremely feeble. I should be rather inclined to place this useful work between the final division of the empire (A. D. 395), and the successful invasion of Gaul by the Barbarians (A. D. 407). See *Histoire des anciens Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. p. 40.

⁷³ *Scilicet externæ superbix fueto, non inerat notitia nostri (perhaps nostræ); apud quos vis Imperii valet, inania transmittuntur.* Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 31. The gradation from the style of freedom and simplicity, to that of form and servitude, may be traced in the Epistles of Cicero, of Pliny, and of Symmachus.

⁷⁴ The emperor Gratian, after confirming a law of precedence published by Valentinian, the father of his *Divinity*, thus continues: *Siquis igitur indebitum sibi locum usurpaverit, nullâ se ignorance defendat; sitque plane sacrilegii reus, qui divina præcepta neglexerit.* Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. v. leg. 2.

⁷⁵ Consult the *Notitia Dignitatum*, at the end of the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. p. 316.

⁷⁶ Pancirolus ad *Notitiam utriusque Imperii*, p. 39. But his explanations are obscure, and he does not sufficiently distinguish the painted emblems from the effective ensigns of office.

⁷⁷ In the Pandects, which may be referred to the reigns of the Antonines, *Clarissimus* is the ordinary and legal title of a senator.

⁷⁸ Pancirol. p. 12—17. I have not taken any notice of the two inferior ranks, *Perfectissimus*, and *Egregius*, which were given to many persons, who were not raised to the senatorial dignity.

⁷⁹ Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. vi. The rules of precedence are ascertained with the most minute accuracy by the emperors, and illustrated with equal prolixity by their learned interpreter.

⁸⁰ Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxii.

⁸¹ Ausonius (in *Gratiarum Actione*) basely expatiates on this unworthy topic, which is managed by Mamertinus (*Panegy. Vet.* xi. 16. 19.) with somewhat more freedom and ingenuity.

⁸⁴ Cum de Consulibus in annum creandis, solus mecum volutarem . . . te Consulem et designavi, et declaravi, et priorem nuncupavi: are some of the expressions employed by the emperor Gratian to his præceptor the poet Ausonius.

⁸⁵ Immanesque . . . dentes

Qui secti ferro in tabulas, auroque micantes,
Inscripti rutilum cælato Consule nomen
Per procères et vulgus eant.

Claud. in iii. Conf. Stilichon. 346.

Montfaucon has represented some of these tablets or dypticks; see Supplement à l'Antiquité expliquée, tom. iii. p. 220.

⁸⁶ Consule lætatur post plurima sæcula viso
Pallanteus apex: agnoscunt Rostra curules
Auditas quondam proavis: desuetaque cingit
Regius auratis Fora fascibus Ulpia lictor.

Claudian. in vi. Conf. Honorii. 643.

From the reign of Carus to the sixth consulship of Honorius, there was an interval of one hundred and twenty years, during which the emperors were always absent from Rome on the first day of January. See the Chronologie de Tillemont, tom. iii. iv. and v.

⁸⁷ See Claudian in Conf. Prob. et Olybrii 178, etc. and in iv. Conf. Honorii, 585, etc.; though in the latter it is not easy to separate the ornaments of the emperor from those of the consul. Ausonius received, from the liberality of Gratian, a *vestis palmata*, or robe of state, in which the figure of the emperor Constantius was embroidered.

⁸⁸ Cernis ut armorum procères legumque potentes
Patricios sumunt habitus, et more Gabino
Discolor incedit legio, positisque parumper
Bellorum signis, sequitur vexilla Quirini?
Lictori cedunt aquilæ, ridetque togatus
Miles, et in modiis effulget curia castris.

Claud. in iv. Conf. Honorii, 5.

— *strictasque procul radiare secures.*

In Conf. Prob. 229.

⁸⁹ See Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 7.

⁹⁰ Auspice mox læto sonuit clamore tribunal,
Te fastos ineunte quater solemnina ludit
Omina libertas: deductum Vindice morem
Lex celebrat, famulusque jugo laxatus herili
Ducitur, et grato remeat securior ictu.

Claudian in iv. Conf. Honorii, 611.

⁹¹ Celebrant quidem solemnes istos dies, omnes ubique urbes quæ sub legibus agunt; et Roma de more, et Constantinopolis de imitatione, et Antiochia pro luxu, et disincta Carthago, et domus fluminis Alexandria, sed Treviri Principis beneficio. Ausonius in Grat. Actione.

⁹⁰ Claudian (in *Conf. Mall. Theodori*, 279—331,) describes, in a lively and fanciful manner, the various games of the circus, the theatre, and the amphitheatre, exhibited by the new consul. The sanguinary combats of gladiators had already been prohibited.

⁹¹ Procopius in *Hist. Arcanâ*, c. 26.

⁹² *In Consulatu honos sine labore suscipitur.* (Mamertin. in *Panegy. Vet.* xi. 2.) This exalted idea of the consulship is borrowed from an Oration (iii. p. 107.) pronounced by Julian in the servile court of Constantius. See the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxiv. p. 289.), who delights to pursue the vestiges of the old constitution, and who sometimes finds them in his copious fancy.

⁹³ Intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians were prohibited by the laws of the XII Tables; and the uniform operations of human nature may attest that the custom survived the law. See in Livy (iv. 1—6.), the pride of family urged by the consul, and the rights of mankind asserted by the tribune Canuleius.

⁹⁴ See the animated pictures drawn by Sallust, in the Jugurthine war, of the pride of the nobles, and even of the virtuous Metellus, who was unable to brook the idea that the honour of the consulship should be bestowed on the obscure merit of his lieutenant Marius (c. 64.). Two hundred years before, the race of the Metelli themselves were confounded among the Plebeians of Rome; and from the etymology of their name of *Cacilius*, there is reason to believe that those haughty nobles derived their origin from a sutler.

⁹⁵ In the year of Rome 800, very few remained, not only of the old Patrician families, but even of those which had been created by Cæsar and Augustus. (Tacit. *Annal.* xi. 25.) The family of Scaurus (a branch of the Patrician *Æmilii*) was degraded so low that his father, who exercised the trade of a charcoal-merchant, left him only ten slaves, and somewhat less than three hundred pounds sterling. (Valerius Maximus, l. iv. c. 4. n. 11., Aurel. Victor, in *Scauro*), The family was saved from oblivion by the merit of the son.

⁹⁶ Tacit. *Annal.* xi. 25. Dion Cassius, l. lii. p. 693. The virtues of Agricola, who was created a Patrician by the emperor Vespasian, reflected honour on that ancient order; but his ancestors had not any claim beyond an Equestrian nobility.

⁹⁷ This failure would have been almost impossible if it were true, as Casaubon compels Aurelius Victor to affirm (ad Sueton. in *Cæsar.* c. 42. See *Hist. August.* p. 203. and Casaubon. *Comment.* p. 220.), that Vespasian created at once a thousand Patrician families. But this extravagant number is too much even for the whole Senatorial order, unless we should include all the Roman knights who were distinguished by the permission of wearing the laticlave.

⁹⁸ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 118.; and Godefroy ad *Cod. Theod.* l. vi. tit. vi.

⁹⁹ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 109, 110. If we had not fortunately possessed

this satisfactory account of the division of the power and provinces of the Prætorian præfects, we should frequently have been perplexed amidst the copious details of the Code, and the circumstantial minuteness of the Notitia.

¹⁰⁰ See a law of Constantine himself. A præfectis autem prætorio provocare, non finimus. Cod. Justinian. l. vii. tit. lxii. leg. 19. Charisius, a lawyer of the time of Constantine (Heinec. Hist. Juris Romani, p. 349.), who admits this law as a fundamental principle of jurisprudence, compares the Prætorian præfects to the masters of the horse of the ancient dictators. Pandect. l. i. tit. xi.

¹⁰¹ When Justinian, in the exhausted condition of the empire, instituted a Prætorian præfect for Africa, he allowed him a salary of one hundred pounds of gold. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xxvii. leg. 1.

¹⁰² For this, and the other dignities of the empire, it may be sufficient to refer to the ample commentaries of Pancirolus and Godefroy, who have diligently collected and accurately digested in their proper order all the legal and historical materials. From those authors, Dr. Howell (History of the World, vol. ii. p. 24—77.) had deduced a very distinct abridgment of the state of the Roman empire.

¹⁰³ Tacit. Annal. vi. 11. Euseb. in Chron. p. 155. Dion Cassius, in the oration of Mæcenas (l. vii. p. 675.), describes the prerogatives of the præfect of the city as they were established in his own time.

¹⁰⁴ The fame of Messalla has been scarcely equal to his merit. In the earliest youth he was recommended by Cicero to the friendship of Brutus. He followed the standard of the republic till it was broken in the fields of Philippi: he then accepted and deserved the favour of the most moderate of the conquerors; and uniformly asserted his freedom and dignity in the court of Augustus. The triumph of Messalla was justified by the conquest of Aquitain. As an orator, he disputed the palm of eloquence with Cicero himself. Messalla cultivated every muse, and was the patron of every man of genius. He spent his evenings in philosophic conversation with Horace; assumed his place at table between Delia and Tibullus; and amused his leisure by encouraging the poetical talents of young Ovid.

¹⁰⁵ Incivilem esse potestatem contestans, says the translator of Eusebius. Tacitus expresses the same idea in other words: quasi nescius exercendi.

¹⁰⁶ See Lipsius, Excursus D. ad 1. lib. Tacit. Annal.

¹⁰⁷ Heineccii Element. Juris Civilis secund. ordinem Pandect. tom. i. p. 70. See likewise Spanheim de Usu Numismatum, tom. ii. dissertat. x. p. 119. In the year 450, Marcian published a law, that *three* citizens should be annually created Prætors of Constantinople by the choice of the senate, but with their own consent. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Quidquid igitur intra urbem admittitur, ad P. U. videtur pertinere; sed et siquid intra centesimum milliariū. Ulpian in Pandect.

l. i. tit. xiii. n. 1. He proceeds to enumerate the various offices of the præfect, who, in the Code of Justinian (l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 3.), is declared to precede and command all city magistrates, *sine injuriâ ac detrimento honoris alieni*.

¹⁰⁹ Besides our usual guides, we may observe, that Felix Cantelorius has written a separate treatise, *De Præfecto Urbis*; and that many curious details concerning the police of Rome and Constantinople are contained in the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code.

¹¹⁰ Eunapius affirms, that the proconsul of Asia was independent of the præfect; which must, however, be understood with some allowance: the jurisdiction of the vice-præfect he most assuredly disclaimed. Pancirolus, p. 161.

¹¹¹ The proconsul of Africa had four hundred apparitors; and they all received large salaries, either from the treasury or the province. See Pancirol. p. 26, and Cod. Justinian, l. xii. tit. lvi. lvii.

¹¹² In Italy there was likewise the *Vicar of Rome*. It has been much disputed, whether his jurisdiction measured one hundred miles from the city, or whether it stretched over the ten southern provinces of Italy.

¹¹³ Among the works of the celebrated Ulpian, there was one in ten books, concerning the office of a proconsul, whose duties in the most essential articles were the same as those of an ordinary governor of a province.

¹¹⁴ The presidents, or consulars, could impose only two ounces; the vice-præfects, three; the proconsuls, count of the east, and præfect of Egypt, six. See Heineccii Jur. Civil. tom. i. p. 75. Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. xix. n. 8. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. liv. leg. 4. 6.

¹¹⁵ *Ut nulli patriæ suæ administratio sine speciali principis permisso permittatur.* Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xli. This law was first enacted by the emperor Marcus, after the rebellion of Cassius (Dion. l. lxxi.). The same regulation is observed in China; with equal strictness and with equal effect.

¹¹⁶ Pandect. l. xxiii. tit. ii. n. 38. 57. 63.

¹¹⁷ *In jure continetur, ne quis in administratione constitutus aliquid compararet.* Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. xv. leg. 1. This maxim of common law was enforced by a series of edicts (see the remainder of the title) from Constantine to Justin. From this prohibition, which is extended to the meanest officers of the governor, they except only clothes and provisions. The purchase within five years may be recovered; after which, on information, it devolves to the treasury.

¹¹⁸ *Cessent rapaces jam nunc officialium manus; cessent, inquam; nam si moniti non cessaverint, gladiis præcidentur, etc.* Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. vii. leg. 1. Zeno enacted, that all governors should remain in the province, to answer any accusations, fifty days after the expiration of their power. Cod. Justinian. l. ii. tit. xlix. leg. 1.

¹¹⁹ *Summâ igitur ope, et alacri studio has leges nostras accipite; et vosmetipsos sic eruditos ostendite, ut spes vos pulcherrima foveat;*

toto legitimo opere perfecto, posse etiam nostram rempublicam in partibus ejus vobis credendis gubernari. Justinian in proem. Institutionum.

¹²⁰ The splendor of the school of Berytus, which preserved in the east the language and jurisprudence of the Romans, may be computed to have lasted from the third to the middle of the sixth century. Heinecc. Jur. Rom. Hist. p. 351—356.

¹²¹ As in a former period I have traced the civil and military promotion of Pertinax, I shall here insert the civil honours of Mallius Theodorus. 1. He was distinguished by his eloquence, while he pleaded as an advocate in the court of the Prætorian præfect. 2. He governed one of the provinces of Africa, either as president or consular, and deserved, by his administration, the honour of a brass statue. 3. He was appointed vicar, or vice-præfect of Macedonia. 4. Quæstor. 5. Count of the sacred largesses. 6. Prætorian præfect of the Gauls; whilst he might yet be represented as a young man. 7. After a retreat, perhaps a disgrace of many years, which Mallius (confounded by some critics with the poet Manilius, see Fabricius Bibliothec. Latin, Edit. Ernest. tom. i. c. 18. p. 501.) employed in the study of the Grecian philosophy, he was named Prætorian præfect of Italy, in the year 397. 8. While he still exercised that great office, he was created, in the year 399, consul for the West; and his name, on account of the infamy of his colleague, the eunuch Eutropius, often stands alone in the Fasti. 9. In the year 408, Mallius was appointed a second time Prætorian præfect of Italy. Even in the venal panegyric of Claudian, we may discover the merit of Mallius Theodorus, who, by a rare felicity, was the intimate friend both of Symmachus and of St. Augustin. See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. v. p. 1110—1114.

¹²² Mamertinus in Panegy. vet. xi. 20. Asterius apud Photium, p. 1500.

¹²³ The curious passage of Ammianus (l. xxx. c. 4.) in which he paints the manners of contemporary lawyers, affords a strange mixture of sound sense, false rhetoric, and extravagant satire. Godefroy (Prolegom. ad Cod. Theod. c. i. p. 185.) supports the historian by similar complaints, and authentic facts. In the fourth century, many camels might have been laden with law-books. Eunapius in Vet. Edesii, p. 72.

¹²⁴ See a very splendid example in the Life of Agricola, particularly c. 20, 21. The lieutenant of Britain was entrusted with the same powers which Cicero, proconsul of Cilicia, had exercised in the name of the senate and people.

¹²⁵ The Abbé Dubos, who has examined with accuracy (see Hist. de la Monarchie Française, tom. i. p. 41—100. edit. 1742.) the institutions of Augustus and of Constantine, observes, that if Otho had been put to death the day before he executed his conspiracy, Otho would now appear in history as innocent as Corbulo.

¹²⁶ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 110. Before the end of the reign of Constantius, the *magistri militum* were already increased to four. See Valefius ad Ammian. l. xvi. c. 7.

¹²⁷ Though the military counts and dukes are frequently mentioned, both in history and the codes, we must have recourse to the Notitia for the exact knowledge of their number and stations. For the institution, rank, privileges, etc. of the counts in general, see Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xii—xx. with the Commentary of Godefroy.

¹²⁸ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 111. The distinction between the two classes of Roman troops is very darkly expressed in the historians, the laws, and the Notitia. Consult, however, the copious *paratitlon* or abstract, which Godefroy has drawn up of the seventh book, de Re Militari, of the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. i. leg. 18. L. viii. tit. i. leg. 10.

¹²⁹ Ferox erat in suos miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus. Ammian. l. xxii. c. 4. He observes that they loved downy beds and houses of marble; and that their cups were heavier than their swords.

¹³⁰ Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. i. leg. 1. tit. xii. leg. 1. See Howell's Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 19. That learned historian, who is not sufficiently known, labours to justify the character and policy of Constantine.

¹³¹ Ammian. l. xix. c. 2. He observes (c. 5.), that the desperate sallies of two Gallic legions were like an handful of water thrown on a great conflagration.

¹³² Pancirolus ad Notitiam, p. 96. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv. p. 491.

¹³³ Romana acies unius prope formæ erat et hominum et armorum genere. — Regia acies varia magis multis gentibus dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat. T. liv. l. xxxvii. c. 39, 40. Flaminius, even before the event, had compared the army of Antiochus to a supper, in which the flesh of one vile animal was diversified by the skill of the cooks. See the life of Flaminius in Plutarch.

¹³⁴ Agathias, l. v. p. 157. edit. Louvre.

¹³⁵ Valentinian (Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 3.) fixes the standard at five feet seven inches, about five feet four inches and a half English measure. It had formerly been five feet ten inches, and in the best corps six Roman feet. Sed tunc erat amplior multitudo, et plures sequebantur militiam armatam. Vegetius de Re militari, l. i. c. 5.

¹³⁶ See the two titles, De Veteranis, and de Filiis Veteranorum, in the seventh book of the Theodosian Code. The age at which their military service was required, varied from twenty-five to sixteen. If the sons of the veterans appeared with a horse, they had a right to serve in the cavalry; two horses gave them some valuable privileges.

¹³⁷ Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 7. According to the historian Socrates (see Godefroy ad loc.), the same emperor Valens sometimes required eighty pieces of gold for a recruit. In the following law is

is faintly expressed, that slaves shall not be admitted inter optimas lectissimorum militum turmas.

¹³⁸ The person and property of a Roman knight, who had mutilated his two sons, were sold at public auction by the order of Augustus. (Sueton. in August. c. 27.) The moderation of that artful usurper proves, that this example of severity was justified by the spirit of the times. Ammianus makes a distinction between the effeminate Italians and the hardy Gauls. (l. xv. c. 12.) Yet only fifteen years afterwards, Valentinian, in a law addressed to the præfect of Gaul, is obliged to enact that these cowardly deserters shall be burnt alive. (Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 5.) Their numbers in Illyricum were so considerable, that the province complained of a scarcity of recruits. (Id. leg. 10.)

¹³⁹ They were called *Murci*. *Murcidus* is found in Plautus and Festus, to denote a lazy and cowardly person, who, according to Arnobius and Augustin, was under the immediate protection of the goddess *Murcia*. From this particular instance of cowardice, *murcare*, is used as synonymous to *mutilare*, by the writers of the middle Latinity. See Lindenbrogius, and Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 12.

¹⁴⁰ Malarichus—adhibitis Francis quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius jam loquebatur tumultuabaturque. Ammian. l. xv. c. 5.

¹⁴¹ Barbaros omnium primus, ad usque fasces auxerat et trabeas consulares. Ammian. l. xx. c. 10. Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 7.) and Aurelius Victor seem to confirm the truth of this assertion; yet in the thirty-two consular Fasti of the reign of Constantine, I cannot discover the name of a single Barbarian. I should therefore interpret the liberality of that prince, as relative to the ornaments, rather than to the office, of the consulship.

¹⁴² Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 8.

¹⁴³ By a very singular metaphor, borrowed from the military character of the first emperors, the steward of their household was stiled the count of their camp (*comes castrensis*). Cassiodorus very seriously represents to him, that his own fame, and that of the empire, must depend on the opinion which foreign ambassadors may conceive of the plenty and magnificence of the royal table. (Variar. l. vi. epistol. 9.)

¹⁴⁴ Gutherius (de Officiis Domus Augustæ, l. ii. c. 20. l. iii.) has very accurately explained the functions of the master of the offices, and the constitution of his subordinate *scrinia*. But he vainly attempts, on the most doubtful authority, to deduce from the time of the Antonines, or even of Nero, the origin of a magistrate who cannot be found in history before the reign of Constantine.

¹⁴⁵ Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22.) says, that the first quaestors were elected by the people, sixty-four years after the foundation of the republic; but he is of opinion, that they had, long before that period, been

annually appointed by the consuls, and even by the kings. But this obscure point of antiquity is contested by other writers.

¹⁴⁶ Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22.) seems to consider twenty as the highest number of quæstors; and Dion (l. xliii. p. 374.) insinuates that if the dictator Cæsar once created forty, it was only to facilitate the payment of an immense debt of gratitude. Yet the augmentation which he made of prætors subsisted under the succeeding reigns.

¹⁴⁷ Sueton. in August. c. 65. and Torrent. ad loc. Dion. Caf. p. 755.

¹⁴⁸ The youth and inexperience of the quæstors, who entered on that important office in their twenty-fifth year (Lipf. Excurs. ad Tacit. l. iii. D.), engaged Augustus to remove them from the management of the treasury; and though they were restored by Claudius, they seem to have been finally dismissed by Nero. (Tacit. Annal. xxii. 29. Sueton. in Aug. c. 36. in Claud. c. 24. Dion. p. 696. 961, etc. Plin. Epistol. x. 20. et alib.) In the provinces of the Imperial division, the place of the quæstors was more ably supplied by the *procurators* (Dion. Caf. p. 707. Tacit. in Vit. Agricola. c. 15.); or, as they were afterwards called, *rationales*. (Hist. August. p. 130.) But in the provinces of the senate we may still discover a series of quæstors till the reign of Marcus Antoninus (See the inscriptions of Gruter, the Epistles of Pliny, and a decisive fact in the Augustan history, p. 64.) From Ulpian we may learn, (Pandect, l. i. tit. 13.) that under the government of the house of Severus, their provincial administration was abolished; and in the subsequent troubles, the annual or triennial elections of quæstors must have naturally ceased.

¹⁴⁹ Cum patris nomine et epistolas ipse dictaret, et edicta conscriberet, orationesque in senatu recitaret etiam quæstoris vice. Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. The office must have acquired new dignity, which was occasionally executed by the heir apparent of the empire. Trajan entrusted the same care to Hadrian his quæstor and cousin. See Dodwell Prælection. Cambden. x. xi. p. 362—394.

¹⁵⁰ ——— Terris edicta daturus,

Supplicibus responsa, venis. Oracula regis

Eloquio crevere tuo; nec dignius unquam

Majestas meminit sese Romana locutam.

Claudian in Consulat. Mall. Theodor. 33. See likewise Symmachus (Epistol. i. 17.) and Cassiodorus (Variar. vi. 5.)

¹⁵¹ Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 30. Cod. Justinian. l. xii. tit. 24.

¹⁵² In the departments of the two counts of the treasury, the eastern part of the *Notitia* happens to be very defective. It may be observed, that we had a treasury-chest in London, and a gynæceum or manufacture at Winchester. But Britain was not thought worthy either of a mint or of an arsenal. Gaul alone possessed three of the former, and eight of the latter.

¹⁵³ Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 2. and Godefroy ad loc.

¹⁵⁴ Strabon.

¹⁵⁴ Strabon. Geograph. l. xii. p. 809. The other temple of Comana, in Pontus, was a colony from that of Cappadocia, l. xii. p. 825. The president Des Broffes (see his *Saluste*, tom. ii. p. 21.) conjectures that the deity adored in both Comanas was Beltis, the Venus of the East, the goddess of generation; a very different being indeed from the goddess of war.

¹⁵⁵ Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. vi. de Grege Dominico. Godefroy has collected every circumstance of antiquity relative to the Cappadocian horses. One of the finest breeds, the Palmatian, was the forfeiture of a rebel, whose estate lay about sixteen miles from Tyana, near the great road between Constantinople and Antioch.

¹⁵⁶ Justinian (Novell. 30.) subjected the province of the count of Cappadocia, to the immediate authority of the favourite eunuch, who presided over the sacred bedchamber.

¹⁵⁷ Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 4, etc.

¹⁵⁸ Pancirolus, p. 102. 136. The appearance of these military domestics is described in the Latin poem of Corippus, *De Laudibus Justin.* l. iii. 157—179. P. 419, 420, of the Appendix Hist. Byzantin. Rom. 1777.

¹⁵⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus, who served so many years, obtained only the rank of a Protector. The first ten among these honourable soldiers were *Clarissimi*.

¹⁶⁰ Xenophon. *Cyropæd.* l. viii. Briffon, de Regno Persico, l. i. N° 190. p. 264. The emperors adopted with pleasure this Persian metaphor.

¹⁶¹ For the *Agentes in Rebus*, see Ammian. l. xv. c. 3. l. xvi. c. 5. l. xxii. c. 7. with the curious annotations of Valesius. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxvii, xxviii, xxix. Among the passages collected in the Commentary of Godefroy, the most remarkable is one from Libanius, in his discourse concerning the death of Julian.

¹⁶² The Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. xviii. contain the sentiments of the most celebrated civilians on the subject of torture. They strictly confine it to slaves; and Ulpian himself is ready to acknowledge, that *Res est fragilis, et periculosa, et quæ veritatem fallat*.

¹⁶³ In the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, Epicaris (libertina mulier) was the only person tortured; the rest were *intacti tormentis*. It would be superfluous to add a weaker, and it would be difficult to find a stronger, example. Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 57.

¹⁶⁴ Dicendum . . . de Institutis Atheniensium, Rhodiorum, doctissimorum hominum, apud quos etiam (id quod acerbissimum est) liberi civesque torquentur. Cicero. *Partit. Orat.* c. 34. We may learn from the trial of Philotas the practice of the Macedonians. (Diodor. *Sicul.* l. xvii. p. 604. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 11.)

¹⁶⁵ Heineccius (*Element. Jur. Civil.* part. vii. p. 81.) has collected these exemptions into one view.

¹⁶⁶ This definition of the sage Ulpian (*Pandect.* l. xlviii. tit. iv.)

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seems to have been adapted to the court of Caracalla, rather than to that of Alexander Severus. See the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian ad leg. Juliam majestatis.

¹⁶⁷ Arcadius Charisius is the oldest lawyer quoted in the Pandects to justify the universal practice of torture in all cases of treason; but this maxim of tyranny, which is admitted by Ammianus (l. xix. c. 12.) with the most respectful terror, is enforced by several laws of the successors of Constantine. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxxv. In majestatis crimine omnibus æqua est conditio.

¹⁶⁸ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xii. c. 13.

¹⁶⁹ Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 389.) has seen this important truth, with some degree of perplexity.

¹⁷⁰ The cycle of indictions, which may be traced as high as the reign of Constantius, or perhaps of his father Constantine, is still employed by the Papal court: but the commencement of the year has been very reasonably altered to the first of January. See *l'Art de Verifier les Dates*, p. xi; and *Dictionnaire Raison. de la Diplomatie*, tom. ii. p. 25; two accurate treatises, which come from the workshop of the Benedictines.

¹⁷¹ The first twenty-eight titles of the eleventh book of the Theodosian Code are filled with the circumstantial regulations on the important subject of tributes; but they suppose a clearer knowledge of fundamental principles than it is at present in our power to attain.

¹⁷² The title concerning the Decurions (l. xii. tit. i.) is the most ample in the whole Theodosian Code; since it contains not less than one hundred and ninety-two distinct laws to ascertain the duties and privileges of that useful order of citizens.

¹⁷³ *Habemus enim et hominum numerum qui delati sunt, et agrum modum.* Eumenius in Panegy. Vet. viii. 6. See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. x. xi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

¹⁷⁴ *Siquis sacrilegâ vitem falce succiderit, aut feracium ramorum fœtus hebetaverit, quo declinet fidem Censuum, et mentiatur callide paupertatis ingenium, mox detectus capitale subibit exitium, et bona ejus in Fisci jura migrabunt.* Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 1. Although this law is not without its studied obscurity, it is, however, clear enough to prove the minuteness of the inquisition, and the disproportion of the penalty.

¹⁷⁵ The astonishment of Pliny would have ceased. *Equidem miror P. R. victis gentibus argentum semper imperitasse non aurum.* Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 15.

¹⁷⁶ Some precautions were taken (see Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. ii. and Cod. Justinian. l. x. tit. xxvii. leg. 1, 2, 3.) to restrain the magistrates from the abuse of their authority, either in the exaction or in the purchase of corn: but those who had learning enough to read the orations of Cicero against Verres (iii. de Frumento), might instruct themselves in all the various arts of oppression, with regard to the

weight, the price, the quality, and the carriage. The avarice of an unlettered governor would supply the ignorance of precept or precedent.

¹⁷⁷ Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 2. published the 24th March, A. D. 395, by the emperor Honorius, only two months after the death of his father Theodosius. He speaks of 528,042 Roman jugera, which I have reduced to the English measure. The jugerum contained 28,800 square Roman feet.

¹⁷⁸ Godefroy (Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 116.) argues with weight and learning on the subject of the capitation; but while he explains the *caput*, as a share or measure of property, he too absolutely, excludes the idea of a personal assessment.

¹⁷⁹ Quid profuerit (*Julianus*) anhelantibus extremâ penuriâ Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingressus, pro *capitibus* singulis tributi nomine vicenos quinos aureos reperit flagitari; discedens vero septenos tantum munera universa complentes. Ammian. l. xvi. c. 5.

¹⁸⁰ In the calculation of any sum of money under Constantine and his successors, we need only refer to the excellent discourse of Mr. Greaves on the Denarius, for the proof of the following principles: 1. That the ancient and modern Roman pound, containing 5256 grains of Troy weight, is about one twelfth lighter than the English pound, which is composed of 5760 of the same grains. 2. That the pound of gold, which had once been divided into forty-eight *aurei*, was at this time coined into seventy-two smaller pieces of the same denomination. 3. That five of these aurei were the legal tender for a pound of silver, and that consequently the pound of gold was exchanged for fourteen pounds eight ounces of silver, according to the Roman, or about thirteen pounds according to the English, weight. 4. That the English pound of silver is coined into sixty-two shillings. From these elements we may compute the Roman pound of gold, the method of reckoning large sums, at forty pounds sterling; and we may fix the currency of the *aureus* at somewhat more than eleven shillings.

¹⁸¹ Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum,

Hic capita ut vivam; tu mihi tolle tria.

Sidon. Apollinar. Carm. xiii.

The reputation of Father Sirmond led me to expect more satisfaction than I have found in his note (p. 144.) on this remarkable passage. The words, *suo vel suorum nomine*, betray the perplexity of the commentator.

¹⁸² This assertion, however formidable it may seem, is founded on the original registers of births, deaths, and marriages, collected by public authority, and now deposited in the *Contrôle Général* at Paris. The annual average of births throughout the whole kingdom, taken in five years (from 1770 to 1774, both inclusive) is, 479,649 boys, and 449,269 girls, in all 928,918 children. The province of French Hainault alone furnishes 9906 births: and we are assured, by an

actual numeration of the people annually repeated from the year 1773 to the year 1776, that, upon an average, Hainault contains 257,097 inhabitants. By the rules of fair analogy, we might infer, that the ordinary proportion of annual births to the whole people, is about 1 to 26; and that the kingdom of France contains 24,151,568 persons of both sexes and of every age. If we content ourselves with the more moderate proportion of 1 to 25, the whole population will amount to 23,222,950. From the diligent researches of the French government (which are not unworthy of our own imitation), we may hope to obtain a still greater degree of certainty on this important subject.

¹⁸³ Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. ix, x, xi. Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. lxiii. Coloni appellantur qui conditionem debent genitili solo, propter agriculturam sub dominio possessorum. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. x. c. i.

¹⁸⁴ The ancient jurisdiction of (*Augustodunum*) Autun in Burgundy, the capital of the *Ædui*, comprehended the adjacent territory of (*Noviodunum*) Nevers. See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 491. The two dioceses of Autun and Nevers are now composed, the former of 610, and the latter of 160, parishes. The registers of birth, taken during eleven years, in 476 parishes of the same province of Burgundy, and multiplied by the moderate proportion of 25 (see Messange Recherches sur la Population, p. 142.), may authorise us to assign an average number of 656 persons of each parish, which being again multiplied by the 770 parishes of the dioceses of Nevers and Autun, will produce the sum of 505,120 persons for the extent of country which was once possessed by the *Ædui*.

¹⁸⁵ We might derive an additional supply of 301,750 inhabitants from the dioceses of Châlons (*Cabillonum*) and of Macon (*Mariseo*); since they contain, the one 200, and the other 260, parishes. This accession of territory might be justified by very specious reasons. 1. Châlons and Macon were undoubtedly within the original jurisdiction of the *Ædui*. (See d'Anville Notice, p. 187. 443.) 2. In the Notitia of Gaul, they are enumerated not as *Civitates*, but merely as *Castra*. 3. They do not appear to have been episcopal seats before the fifth and sixth centuries. Yet there is a passage in Eumenius (Panegy. Vet. viii. 7.) which very forcibly deters me from extending the territory of the *Ædui* in the reign of Constantine, along the beautiful banks of the navigable Saône.

¹⁸⁶ Eumenius in Panegy. Vet. viii. 11.

¹⁸⁷ L'Abbé du Bos, Hist. Critique de la M. F. tom. i. p. 121.

¹⁸⁸ See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. i. and iv.

¹⁸⁹ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 115. There is probably as much passion and prejudice in the attack of Zosimus, as in the elaborate defence of the memory of Constantine by the zealous Dr. Howell. Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 20.

¹⁹⁰ Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. vii. leg. 3.

¹⁹¹ See Lipsius de Magnitud. Romanâ. l. ii. c. 9. The Tarragoneſe Spain preſented the emperor Claudius with a crown of gold of ſeven, and Gaul with another of nine *hundred* pounds weight. I have followed the rational emendation of Lipsius.

¹⁹² Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. xiii. The ſenators were ſuppoſed to be exempt from the *Aurum Coronarium*; but the *Auri Oblatio*, which was required at their hands, was precisely of the ſame nature.

¹⁹³ The great Theodoſius, in his judicious advice to his ſon (Claudian in iv Conſulat. Honorii, 214, etc.), diſtinguiſhes the ſtation of a Roman prince from that of a Parthian monarch. Virtue was neceſſary for the one; birth might ſuffice for the other.

CHAP. XVIII.

¹ On ne ſe trompera point ſur Conſtantin, en croyant tout le mal qu'en dit Eufebe, et tout le bien qu'en dit Zoſime. Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique, tom. iii. p. 233. Eufebius and Zoſimus form indeed the two extremes of flattery and invective. The intermediate ſhades are expreſſed by thoſe writers, whoſe character or ſituation variously tempered the influence of their religious zeal.

² The virtues of Conſtantine are collected for the moſt part from Eutropius, and the younger Victor, two ſincere pagans, who wrote after the extinction of his family. Even Zoſimus, and the *Emperor* Julian, acknowledge his perſonal courage and military achievements.

³ See Eutropius x. 6. In primo Imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. From the ancient Greek verſion of Pœanius (edit. Havercamp. p. 97.), I am inclined to ſuſpect that Eutropius had originally written *vix* mediis; and that the offensive monosyllable was dropped by the wilful inadvertency of tranſcribers. Aurelius Victor expreſſes the general opinion by a vulgar and indeed obſcure proverb. *Trachala* decem annis præſtantiffimus; duodecim ſequentibus *latro*; decem noviffimis *pupillus* ob immodicas profuſiones.

⁴ Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. in a flattering diſcourſe pronounced before the ſon of Conſtantine; and Cæſares, p. 335. Zoſimus, p. 114, 115. The ſtately buildings of Conſtantinople, etc. may be quoted as a laſting and unexceptionable proof of the profuſeneſs of their founder.

⁵ The impartial Ammianus deſerves all our confidence. Proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Conſtantiuſ. L. xvi. c. 8. Eufebius himſelf confeſſes the abuſe (Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 29. 54.); and ſome of the Imperial laws ſeebly point out the remedy. See above, p. 38. of this volume.

⁶ Julian, in the Cæſars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His ſuſpicious teſtimony is confirmed however by the learned Spanheim, with the authority of medals (See Commentaire, p. 156. 299. 397. 459.) Eufebius (Orat. c. 5.) alleges, that Conſtantine dreſſed for the public, not for himſelf. Were this admitted, the vaineſt coxcomb could never want an excuſe.

⁷ Zosimus and Zonaras agree in representing Minervina as the concubine of Constantine: but Ducange has every gallantly rescued her character, by producing a decisive passage from one of the panegyrics: "Ab ipso sine pueritiæ te matrimonii legibus dedisti."

⁸ Ducange (*Familiæ Byzantinæ*, p. 44) bestows on him, after Zonaras, the name of Constantine; a name somewhat unlikely, as it was already occupied by the elder brother. That of Hannibalianus is mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle, and is approved by Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 527.

⁹ Jerom. in Chron. The poverty of Lactantius may be applied either to the praise of the disinterested philosopher, or to the shame of the unfeeling patron. See Tillemont. *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. vi. part. i. p. 345. Dupin *Bibliothèque Ecclésiast.* tom. i. p. 205. Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, part. ii. vol. vii. p. 66.

¹⁰ Euseb. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. x. c. 9. Eutropius (x. 6.) styles him, "egregium virum"; and Julian (*Orat.* i.) very plainly alludes to the exploits of Crispus in the civil war. See Spanheim. *Comment.* p. 92.

¹¹ Compare Idatius and the Paschal Chronicle, with Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 5.) The year in which Constantius was created Cæsar, seems to be more accurately fixed by the two chronologists; but the historian who lived in his court, could not be ignorant of the *day* of the anniversary. For the appointment of the new Cæsar to the provinces of Gaul, see Julian, *Orat.* i. p. 12. Godefroy, *Chronol. Legum*, p. 26. and Blondel de la Primauté de l'Eglise, p. 1183.

¹² Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. iv. Godefroy suspected the secret motives of this law. *Comment.* tom. iii. p. 9.

¹³ Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 28. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 610.

¹⁴ His name was Porphyrius Optatianus. The date of his panegyric, written according to the taste of the age in vile acrostics, is settled by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 250. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 607. and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin.* l. iv. c. 1.

¹⁵ Zosim. l. ii. p. 103. Godefroy *Chronol. Legum*, p. 28.

¹⁶ *Ἀνεπιτρώς*, without a trial, is the strong, and most probably the just expression of Suidas. The elder Victor, who wrote under the next reign, speaks with becoming caution. „Natu grandior incertum quâ causâ, patris „judicio occidisset." If we consult the succeeding writers, Eutropius, the younger Victor, Orosius, Jerom, Zosimus, Philostorgius, and Gregory of Tours; their knowledge will appear gradually to encrease, as their means of information must have diminished; a circumstance which frequently occurs in historical disquisition.

¹⁷ Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 11.) uses the general expression of *peremptum*. Codinus (p. 34.) beheads the young prince; But Sidonius Apollinaris, (*Epistol.* v. 8.) for the sake perhaps of an antithesis to Fausta's warm bath, chuses to administer a draught of cold poison.

¹⁸ Sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem. Eutropius x. 6. May I

not be permitted to conjecture, that Crispus had married Helena, the daughter of the emperor Licinius, and that on the happy delivery of the princess, in the year 322, a general pardon was granted by Constantine? See Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 47. and the law (l. ix. tit. xxxvii.) of the Theodosian Code, which has so much embarrassed the interpreters. Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 267.

¹⁹ See the Life of Constantine, particularly l. ii. c. 19, 20. Two hundred and fifty years afterwards Evagrius (l. iii. c. 41.) deduced from the silence of Eusebius a vain argument against the reality of the fact.

²⁰ *Histoire de Pierre le Grand*, par Voltaire, part. ii. c. x.

²¹ In order to prove that the statue was erected by Constantine, and afterwards concealed by the malice of the Arians, Codinus very readily creates (p. 34.) two witnesses, Hippolitus, and the younger Herodotus, to whose imaginary histories he appeals with unblushing confidence.

²² Zosimus (l. ii. p. 103.) may be considered as our original. The ingenuity of the moderns, assisted by a few hints from the ancients, has illustrated and improved his obscure and imperfect narrative.

²³ Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 4. Zosimus (l. ii. p. 104. 116.) imputes to Constantine the death of two wives, of the innocent Fausta, and of an adulteress who was the mother of his three successors. According to Jerom, three or four years elapsed between the death of Crispus and that of Fausta. The elder Victor is prudently silent.

²⁴ If Fausta was put to death, it is reasonable to believe that the private apartments of the palace were the scene of her execution. The orator Chrysostom indulges his fancy by exposing the naked empress on a desert mountain, to be devoured by wild beasts.

²⁵ Julian. *Orat.* i. He seems to call her the mother of Crispus. She might assume that title by adoption. At least, she was not considered as his mortal enemy. Julian compares the fortune of Fausta with that of Parysatis, the Persian queen. A Roman would have more naturally recollected the second Agrippina:

Et moi, qui sur le trône ai suivi mes ancêtres;

Moi, fille, femme, sœur et mère de vos maîtres.

²⁶ Monod. in Constant. Jun. c. 4. ad Calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp. The orator styles her the most divine and pious of queens.

²⁷ Interfecit numerosos amicos. Eutrop. xx. 6.

²⁸ Saturni aurea sæcula quis requirat;

Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Neroniana.

Sidon. Apollinar. v. 8.

It is somewhat singular, that these satirical lines should be attributed, not to an obscure libeller, or a disappointed patriot, but to Ablavius, prime minister and favourite of the emperor. We may now perceive that the imprecations of the Roman people were dictated by humanity, as well as by superstition. Zosim. l. ii. p. 105.

²⁹ Euseb. Orat. in Constantin. c. 3. These dates are sufficiently correct to justify the orator.

³⁰ Zosim. l. ii. p. 117. Under the predecessors of Constantine, *Nobilissimus* was a vague epithet, rather than a legal and determined title.

³¹ Adstruunt nummi veteres ac singulares. Spanheim de Ufu Numismat. Dissertat. xii. vol. ii. p. 357. Ammianus speaks of this Roman king (l. xiv. c. 1. and Valesius ad loc.). The Valesian fragment styles him King of kings; and the Paschal Chronicle (p. 286.) by employing the word *ΠῡΓΑ*, acquires the weight of Latin evidence.

³² His dexterity in martial exercises is celebrated by Julian (Orat. i. p. 11. Orat. ii. p. 53.), and allowed by Ammianus (l. xxi. c. 16.).

³³ Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 51. Julian. Orat. i. p. 11—16. with Spanheim's elaborate Commentary. Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 109. Constantius studied with laudable diligence; but the dulness of his fancy prevented him from succeeding in the art of poetry, or even of rhetoric.

³⁴ Eusebius (l. iv. c. 51, 52.), with a design of exalting the authority and glory of Constantine, affirms, that he divided the Roman empire as a private citizen might have divided his patrimony. His distribution of the provinces may be collected from Eutropius, the two Victors, and the Valesian fragment.

³⁵ Calocerus, the obscure leader of this rebellion, or rather tumult, was apprehended and burnt alive in the market-place of Tarsus, by the vigilance of Dalmatius. See the elder Victor, the Chronicle of Jerom, and the doubtful traditions of Theophanes and Cedrenus.

³⁶ Cellarius has collected the opinions of the ancients concerning the European and Asiatic Sarmatia; and M. d'Anville has applied them to modern geography with the skill and accuracy which always distinguishes that excellent writer.

³⁷ Ammian. l. xvii. c. 12. The Sarmatian horses were castrated, to prevent the mischievous accidents which might happen from the noisy and ungovernable passions of the males.

³⁸ Pausanias, l. i. p. 50. edit. Kuhn. That inquisitive traveller had carefully examined a Sarmatian cuirass, which was preserved in the temple of Æsculapius at Athens.

³⁹ Aspicias et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro,

Et telum causas mortis habere duas.

Ovid. ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7. ver. 7.

See in the *Recherches sur les Américains*, tom. ii. p. 236—271, a very curious dissertation on poisoned darts. The venom was commonly extracted from the vegetable reign; but that employed by the Scythians appears to have been drawn from the viper, and a mixture of human blood. The use of poisoned arms, which has been spread over both worlds, never preserved a savage tribe from the arms of a disciplined enemy.

⁴⁰ The nine books of Poetical Epistles, which Ovid composed

during the seven first years of his melancholy exile, possess, besides, the merit of elegance, a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very singular circumstances; and they contain many curious observations, which no Roman except Ovid, could have an opportunity of making. Every circumstance which tends to illustrate the history of the Barbarians, has been drawn together by the very accurate Count de Buat. *Hist. Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. iv. c. xvi. p. 286—317.

⁴¹ The Sarmatians Jazygæ were settled on the banks of the Pathissus or Tibiscus, when Pliny, in the year 79, published his *Natural History*. See l. iv. c. 25. In the time of Strabo and Ovid, sixty or seventy years before, they appear to have inhabited beyond the Getæ, along the coast of the Euxine.

⁴² *Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum penes quos civitatis regimen . . . plebem quoque et vim equitum quâ solâ valent offerebant.* Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 5. This offer was made in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian.

⁴³ This hypothesis of a Vandal king reigning over Sarmatian subjects, seems necessary to reconcile the Goth Jornandes with the Greek and Latin historians of Constantine. It may be observed that Isidore, who lived in Spain under the dominion of the Goths, gives them for enemies, not the Vandals, but the Sarmatians. See his *Chronicle* in Grotius, p. 709.

⁴⁴ I may stand in need of some apology for having used, without scruple, the authority of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in all that relates to the wars and negociations of the Chersonites. I am aware that he was a Greek of the tenth century, and that his accounts of ancient history are frequently confused and fabulous. But on this occasion his narrative is, for the most part, consistent and probable; nor is there much difficulty in conceiving that an emperor might have access to some secret archives, which had escaped the diligence of meaner historians. For the situation and history of Chersone, see Peyssonel, *des Peuples barbares qui ont habité les Bords du Danube*, c. xvi. p. 84—90.

⁴⁵ The Gothic and Sarmatian wars are related in so broken and imperfect a manner, that I have been obliged to compare the following writers, who mutually supply, correct and illustrate each other. Those who will take the same trouble, may acquire a right of criticising my narrative. Ammianus, l. xvii. c. 12. Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. Eutropius, x. 7. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 26. Julian. Orat. i. p. 9. and Spanheim Comment. p. 94. Hieronym. in Chron. Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 6. Socrates, l. i. c. 18. Sozomen. l. i. c. 8. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 108. Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 22. Isidorus in Chron. p. 709.; in *Hist. Gothorum* Grotii. Constantin. Porphyrogenitus de Administrat. Imperii, c. 53. p. 208. edit. Meursii.

⁴⁶ Eusebius (in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 50.) remarks three circumstances relative to these Indians. 1. They came from the shores of the eastern ocean; a description which might be applied to the coast of China or Coromandel. 2. They presented shining gems, and unknown animals. 3. They protested their kings had erected statues to represent the supreme majesty of Constantine.

⁴⁷ Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis, quod sane P. R. ægerrime tulit. Aurelius Victor. Constantine had prepared for himself a stately tomb in the church of the Holy Apostles. Euseb. l. iv. c. 60. The best, and indeed almost the only account of the sickness, death, and funeral of Constantine, is contained in the fourth book of his Life, by Eusebius.

⁴⁸ Eusebius (l. iv. c. 6.) terminates his narrative by this loyal declaration of the troops, and avoids all the invidious circumstances of the subsequent massacre.

⁴⁹ The character of Dalmatius is advantageously, though concisely drawn by Eutropius (x. 9.). Dalmatius Cæsar prosperrimâ indole, neque patruo absimilis, *haud multo* post, oppressus est factione militari. As both Jerom and the Alexandrian Chronicle mention the third year of the Cæsar, which did not commence till the 18th or 24th of September, A. D. 337, it is certain that these military factions continued above four months.

⁵⁰ I have related this singular anecdote on the authority of Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 16. But if such a pretext was ever used by Constantine and his adherents, it was laid aside with contempt, as soon as it had served their immediate purpose. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856.) mentions the oath which Constantius had taken for the security of his kinsmen.

⁵¹ Conjugia sobrinarum diu ignorata, tempore addito percrebuisse, Tacit. Annal. xii. 6. and Lipsius ad loc. The repeal of the ancient law, and the practice of five hundred years, were insufficient to eradicate the prejudices of the Romans; who still considered the marriages of cousins-german, as a species of imperfect incest (Augustin de Civitate Dei, xv. 6.); and Julian, whose mind was biased by superstition and resentment, stigmatizes these unnatural alliances between his own cousins with the opprobrious epithet of γαμων τε ου γαμων (Orat. vii. p. 228.). The jurisprudence of the canons has since revived and enforced this prohibition, without being able to introduce it either into the civil or the common law of Europe. See on the subject of these marriages, Taylor's Civil Law, p. 331. Brouer de Jure Connub. l. ii. c. 12. Hericourt des Loix Ecclésiastiques, part. iii. c. 5. Fleury Institutions du Droit Canonique, tom. i. p. 331. Paris, 1767, and Fra Paolo Istoria del Concilio Trident. l. viii.

⁵² Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 270.) charges his cousin Constantius with the whole guilt of a massacre, from which he himself so narrowly escaped. His assertion is confirmed by Athanasius, who,

for reasons of a very different nature, was not less an enemy of Constantius (tom. i. p. 856.). Zosimus joins in the same accusation. But the three abbreviators, Eutropius and the Victors, use very qualifying expressions; "*finente potius quam jubente*;" "*incertum quo suasore*;" "*vi militum*."

⁵³ Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 69. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 117. Idat. in Chron. See two notes of Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1086—1091. The reign of the eldest brother at Constantinople is noticed only in the Alexandrian Chronicle.

⁵⁴ Agathias, who lived in the sixth century, is the author of this story (l. iv. p. 135. edit. Louvre). He derived his information from some extracts of the Persian Chronicles, obtained and translated by the interpreter Sergius, during his embassy at that court. The coronation of the mother of Sapor is likewise mentioned by Schikard (Tarikh. p. 116.) and d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 763.)

⁵⁵ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 764.

⁵⁶ Sextus Rufus (c. 26.), who on this occasion is no contemptible authority, affirms, that the Persians sued in vain for peace, and that Constantine was preparing to march against them, yet the superior weight of the testimony of Eusebius, obliges us to admit the preliminaries, if not the ratification, of the treaty. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 420.

⁵⁷ Julian. Orat. i. p. 20.

⁵⁸ Julian. Orat. i. p. 20, 21. Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 89. l. iii. c. 1—9. p. 226—240. The perfect agreement between the vague hints of the contemporary orator, and the circumstantial narrative of the national historian, gives light to the former, and weight to the latter. For the credit of Moses it may be likewise observed, that the name of Antiochus is found a few years before in a civil office of inferior dignity. See Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 550.

⁵⁹ Ammianus (xiv. 4.) gives a lively description of the wandering and prædatory life of the Saracens, who stretched from the confines of Assyria to the cataracts of the Nile. It appears from the adventures of Malchus, which Jerom has related in so entertaining a manner, that the high road between Beræa and Edeffa was infested by these robbers. See Hieronym. tom. i. p. 256.

⁶⁰ We shall take from Eutropius the general idea of the war (x. 10.). *A Persis enim multa et gravia perpeffus, sæpe captis oppidis, obsessis urbibus, cæsis exercitibus, nullumque ei contra Saporem prosperum prælium fuit, nisi quod apud Singaram, etc.* This honest account is confirmed by the hints of Ammianus, Rufus, and Jerom. The two first orations of Julian, and the third oration of Libanius, exhibit a more flattering picture; but the recantation of both those orators, after the death of Constantinus, while it restores us to the possession of the truth, degrades their own character, and that of the emperor.

The commentary of Spanheim on the first oration of Julian is profusely learned. See likewise the judicious observations of Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 656.

⁶¹ *Acerrimâ nocturnâ concertatione pugnatum est, nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis.* Ammian. xviii. 5. See likewise Eutropius, x. 10. and S. Rufus, c. 27.

⁶² Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 133. with Julian. Orat. i. p. 24. and Spanheim's Commentary, p. 179.

⁶³ See Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Orat. ii. p. 62, etc. with the Commentary of Spanheim (p. 188—202.), who illustrates the circumstances, and ascertains the time of the three sieges of Nisibis. Their dates are likewise examined by Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 668. 671. 674.). Something is added from Zosimus, l. iii. p. 151. and the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 290.

⁶⁴ Sallust. Fragment. lxxxiv. edit. Broffes, and Plutarch in Lucull. tom. iii. p. 184. Nisibis is now reduced to one hundred and fifty houses; the marshy lands produce rice, and the fertile meadows as far as Mosul and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, *Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 300—309.

⁶⁵ The miracles which Theodoret (l. ii. c. 30.) ascribes to St. James, bishop of Edessa, were at least performed in a worthy cause, the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of the Roman emperor, and sent an army of gnats to sting the trunks of the elephants, and to discomfit the host of the new Senacherib.

⁶⁶ Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Though Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 307.) allows a very considerable swell to the Mygdonius, over which he saw a bridge of *twelve* arches; it is difficult, however, to understand this parallel of a trifling rivulet with a mighty river. There are many circumstances obscure, and almost unintelligible, in the description of these stupendous water-works.

⁶⁷ We are obliged to Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 11.) for this invasion of the Massagetæ, which is perfectly consistent with the general series of events, to which we are darkly led by the broken history of Ammianus.

⁶⁸ The causes and the events of this civil war are related with much perplexity and contradiction. I have chiefly followed Zonaras, and the younger Victor. The monody (ad calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp.) pronounced on the death of Constantine, might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engaged the orator to involve himself in vague declamation.

⁶⁹ *Quarum (gentium) obsides pretio quæsitos pueros venustiores, quod cultius habuerat, libidine hujusmodi arsisse pro certo habetur.* Had not the depraved taste of Constans been publicly avowed, the elder Victor, who held a considerable office in his brother's reign, would not have asserted it in such positive terms.

⁷⁰ Julian. Orat. i. and ii. Zosim. l. ii. p. 134. Victor in Epitome.

There is reason to believe that Magnentius was born in one of those Barbarian colonies which Constantius Chlorus had established in Gaul (See this History, vol. ii. p. 114.). His behaviour may remind us of the patriot earl of Leicester, the famous Simon de Montfort, who could persuade the good people of England, that he, a Frenchman by birth, had taken arms to deliver them from foreign favourites.

⁷¹ This ancient city had once flourished under the name of Illiberis (Pomponius Mela, ii. 5.). The munificence of Constantine gave it new splendor, and his mother's name, Helena (it is still called Elne) became the seat of a bishop, who long afterwards transferred his residence to Perpignan, the capital of modern Roussillon. See d'Anville Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 380. Longuerue Description de la France, p. 223. and the Marca Hispanica, l. i. c. 2.

⁷² Zosimus, l. ii. p. 119, 120. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 13. and the Abbreviators.

⁷³ Eutropius (x. 10.) describes Vetrano with more temper, and probably with more truth, than either of the two Victors. Vetrano was born of obscure parents in the wildest parts of Mæsia; and so much had his education been neglected, that, after his elevation, he studied the alphabet.

⁷⁴ The doubtful, fluctuating conduct of Vetrano is described by Julian in his first oration, and accurately explained by Spanheim, who discusses the situation and behaviour of Constantina.

⁷⁵ See Peter the Patrician, in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 27.

⁷⁶ Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 16. The position of Sardica, near the modern city of Sophia, appears better suited to this interview than the situation of either Naïssus or Sirmium, where it is placed by Jerom, Socrates, and Sozomen.

⁷⁷ See the two first orations of Julian, particularly p. 31.; and Zosimus, l. ii. p. 122. The distinct narrative of the historian serves to illustrate the diffuse, but vague, descriptions of the orator.

⁷⁸ The younger Victor assigns to his exile the emphatical appellation of "Voluptarium otium." Socrates (l. ii. c. 28.) is the voucher for the correspondence with the emperor, which would seem to prove, that Vetrano was, indeed, prope ad stultitiam simplicissimus.

⁷⁹ Eum Constantius facundiæ vi dejectum Imperio in privatum otium removit. Quæ gloria post natum Imperium soli processit eloquio clementiæque, etc. Aurelius Victor. Julian, and Themistius (Orat. iii. and iv.), adorn this exploit with all the artificial and gaudy colouring of their rhetoric.

⁸⁰ Busbequius (p. 112.) traversed the Lower Hungary and Slavonia at a time when they were reduced almost to a desert, by the reciprocal hostilities of the Turks and Christians. Yet he mentions with admiration the unconquerable fertility of the soil; and observes, that the height of the grass was sufficient to conceal a loaded waggon from his sight. See likewise Brown's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 762, etc.

⁸¹ Zosimus gives a very large account of the war, and the negotiation (l. ii. p. 123—130.). But as he neither shews himself a foldier nor a politician, his narrative must be weighed with attention, and received with caution.

⁸² This remarkable bridge, which is flanked with towers, and supported on large wooden piles, was constructed, A. D. 1566, by Sultan Soliman, to facilitate the march of his armies into Hungary. See Browne's Travels, and Busching's System of Geography, vol. ii. p. 90.

⁸³ This position, and the subsequent evolutions, are clearly, though concisely, described by Julian, Orat. i. p. 36.

⁸⁴ Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 405. The emperor passed the day in prayer with Valens, the Arian bishop of Murfa, who gained his confidence by announcing the success of the battle. M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1110.) very properly remarks the silence of Julian with regard to the personal prowess of Constantius in the battle of Murfa. The silence of flattery is sometimes equal to the most positive and authentic evidence.

⁸⁵ Julian Orat. i. p. 36, 37.; and Orat. ii. p. 59, 60. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 17. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 130—133. The last of these celebrates the dexterity of the archer Menelaus, who could discharge three arrows at the same time; an advantage which, according to his apprehension of military affairs, materially contributed to the victory of Constantius.

⁸⁶ According to Zonaras, Constantius, out of 80,000 men, lost 30,000.; and Magnentius lost 24,000 out of 36,000. The other articles of this account seem probable and authentic; but the numbers of the tyrant's army must have been mistaken, either by the author or his transcribers. Magnentius had collected the whole force of the West, Romans and Barbarians, into one formidable body, which cannot fairly be estimated at less than 100,000 men. Julian. Orat. i. p. 34, 35.

⁸⁷ *Ingentes R. I. vires eâ dimicatione consumptæ sunt, ad quælibet bella externa idoneæ, quæ multum triumphorum possent securitatisque conferre.* Eutropius, x. 13. The younger Victor expresses himself to the same effect.

⁸⁸ On this occasion, we must prefer the unsuspected testimony of Zosimus and Zonaras to the flattering assertions of Julian. The younger Victor paints the character of Magnentius in a singular light: "*Sermonis acer, animi tumidi, et immodice timidus; artifex tamen ad occultandam audaciæ specie formidinem.*" Is it most likely that in the battle of Murfa his behaviour was governed by nature or by art? I should incline for the latter.

⁸⁹ Julian, Orat. i. p. 38, 39. In that place, however, as well as in Oration. ii. p. 97., he insinuates the general disposition of the senate, the people, and the soldiers of Italy, towards the party of the emperor.

⁹⁰ The elder Victor describes in a pathetic manner the miserable

condition of Rome : " Cujus stolidum ingenium adeo P. R. patribusque exitio fuit, uti passim domus, fora, viæ, templaque, cruore, cadaveribusque opplerentur bustorum modo. " Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677.) deploras the fate of several illustrious victims, and Julian (Orat. ii. p. 58.) execrates the cruelty of Marcellinus, the implacable enemy of the house of Constantine.

⁹¹ Zosim. l. ii. p. 133. Victor in Epitome. The panegyrists of Constantius, with their usual candour, forget to mention this accidental defeat.

⁹² Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 17. Julian, in several places of the two orations, expatiates on the clemency of Constantius to the rebels.

⁹³ Zosim. l. ii. p. 133. Julian, Orat. i. p. 40. ii. p. 74.

⁹⁴ Ammian. xv. 6. Zosim. l. ii. p. 133. Julian, who (Orat. i. p. 40.) inveighs against the cruel effects of the tyrant's despair, mentions (Orat. i. p. 34.) the oppressive edicts which were dictated by his necessities, or by his avarice. His subjects were compelled to purchase the Imperial demesnes; a doubtful and dangerous species of property, which, in case of a revolution, might be imputed to them as a treasonable usurpation.

⁹⁵ The medals of Magnentius celebrate the victories of the *two* Augusti, and of the Cæsar. The Cæsar was another brother, named Desiderius. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 757.

⁹⁶ Julian. Orat. i. p. 40. ii. p. 74. with Spanheim, p. 263. His Commentary illustrates the transactions of this civil war. Mons Seleuci was a small place in the Cottian Alps, a few miles distant from Vapincum, or Gap, an episcopal city of Dauphiné. See d'Anville Notice de la Gaule, p. 464.; and Longuerue Description de la France, p. 327.

⁹⁷ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 134. Liban. Orat. x. p. 268, 269. The latter most vehemently arraigns this cruel and selfish policy of Constantius.

⁹⁸ Julian. Orat. i. p. 40. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 134. Socrates, l. ii. c. 32. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 7. The younger Victor describes his death with some horrid circumstances : Transfosso latere, ut erat vasti corporis, vulnere naribusque et ore cruorem effundens, expiravit. If we can give credit to Zonaras, the tyrant, before he expired, had the pleasure of murdering with his own hands his mother and his brother Desiderius.

⁹⁹ Julian (Orat. i. p. 58, 59.) seems at a loss to determine, whether he inflicted on himself the punishment of his crimes, whether he was drowned in the Drave, or whether he was carried by the avenging dæmons from the field of battle to his destined place of eternal tortures.

¹⁰⁰ Ammian. xiv. 5. xxi. 16.

CHAP. XIX.

¹ Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6.) imputes the first practice of castration to the cruel ingenuity of Semiramis, who is supposed to have reigned above nineteen hundred years before Christ. The use of eunuchs is of high antiquity, both in Asia and Egypt. They are mentioned in the law of Moses, Deuteron. xxiii. 1. See Goguet, Origine des Loix, etc. Part i. l. i. c. 3.

² Eunuchum dixit velle te;

Quia solæ utuntur his reginæ—

Terent. Eunuch. act. i. scene 2.

This play is translated from Menander, and the original must have appeared soon after the eastern conquests of Alexander.

³ Miles . . spadonibus

Servire rugosis potest.

Horat. Carm. v. 9. and Dacier ad loc.

By the word *spado*, the Romans very forcibly expressed their abhorrence of this mutilated condition. The Greek appellation of eunuchs, which insensibly prevailed, had a milder sound, and a more ambiguous sense.

⁴ We need only mention Posides, a freedman and eunuch of Claudius, in whose favour the emperor prostituted some of the most honourable rewards of military valour. See Sueton. in Claudio, c. 28. Posides employed a great part of his wealth in building.

Ut *Spado* vincebat Capitolia nostra

Posides.

Juvenal. Sat. xiv.

⁵ Castrari mares vetuit. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 7. See Dion Cassius, l. lxxvii. p. 1107. l. lxxviii. p. 1119.

⁶ There is a passage in the Augustan history, p. 137, in which Lampridius, whilst he praises Alexander Severus and Constantine for restraining the tyranny of the eunuchs, deploras the mischiefs which they occasioned in other reigns. Huc accedit quod eunuchos nec in consiliis nec in ministeriis habuit; qui soli principes perdunt, dum eos more gentium aut regum Persarum volunt vivere; qui a populo etiam amicissimum femovent; qui internuntii sunt, aliud quam respondetur referentes; claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.

⁷ Xenophon (Cyropædia, l. viii. p. 540.) has stated the specious reasons which engaged Cyrus to entrust his person to the guard of eunuchs. He had observed in animals, that although the practice of castration might tame their ungovernable fierceness, it did not diminish their strength or spirit; and he persuaded himself, that those who were separated from the rest of human kind, would be more firmly attached to the person of their benefactor. But a long experience has contradicted the judgment of Cyrus. Some particular instances may occur of eunuchs distinguished by their fidelity, their valour, and their abilities; but if we examine the general history of Persia, India, and China,

China we shall find that the power of the eunuchs has uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynasty.

⁸ See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxi. c. 16. l. xxii. c. 4. The whole tenor of his impartial history serves to justify the invectives of Mamertinus, of Libanius, and of Julian himself, who have insulted the vices of the court of Constantius.

⁹ Aurelius Victor censures the negligence of his sovereign in chusing the governors of the provinces, and the generals of the army, and concludes his history with a very bold observation; as it is much more dangerous under a feeble reign to attack the ministers than the master himself. “Uti verum absolvam brevi, ut Imperatore ipso clarius ita apparitorum, plerisque magis atrox nihil.”

¹⁰ Apud quem (si verè dici debeat) multum Constantius potuit. Ammian. l. xviii. c. 4.

¹¹ Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 90.) reproaches the apostate with his ingratitude towards Mark, bishop of Arethusa, who had contributed to save his life; and we learn, though from a less respectable authority (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 916.), that Julian was concealed in the sanctuary of a church.

¹² The most authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian, is contained in the epistle or manifesto which he himself addressed to the senate and people of Athens. Libanius (Orat. Parentalis), on the side of the Pagans, and Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), on that of the Christians, have preserved several interesting circumstances.

¹³ For the promotion of Gallus, see Idatius, Zosimus, and the two Victors. According to Philostorgius (l. iv. c. 1.), Theophilus, an Arian bishop, was the witness, and, as it were, the guarantee, of this solemn engagement. He supported that character with generous firmness; but M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1120.) thinks it very improbable that an heretic should have possessed such virtue.

¹⁴ Julian was at first permitted to pursue his studies at Constantinople, but the reputation which he acquired soon excited the jealousy of Constantius; and the young prince was advised to withdraw himself to the less conspicuous scenes of Bithynia and Ionia.

¹⁵ See Julian ad S. P. Q. A. p. 271. Jerom. in Chron. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, x. 14. I shall copy the words of Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment about fifteen years after the death of Gallus, when there was no longer any motive either to flatter or to depreciate his character. “Multis incivilibus gestis Gallus Cæsar . . . vir naturâ ferox et ad tyrannidem pronior, si suo jure imperare licuisset.”

¹⁶ Megæra quidem mortalis, inflammatrix sævientis assidua, humani cruoris avida, etc. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 1. The sincerity of Ammianus would not suffer him to misrepresent facts or characters, but his love of *ambitious* ornaments frequently betrayed him into an unnatural vehemence of expression.

Notes.

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¹⁷ His name was Clematius of Alexandria, and his only crime was a refusal to gratify the desires of his mother-in-law; who solicited his death, because she had been disappointed of his love. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 1.

¹⁸ See in Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 1. 7.) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian (p. 272.) insinuates, that a secret conspiracy had been formed against him; and Zosimus names (l. ii. p. 135.) the persons engaged in it; a minister of considerable rank, and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make their fortune.

¹⁹ Zonaras, l. xiii. tom. ii. p. 17, 18. The assassins had seduced a great number of legionaries; but their designs were discovered and revealed by an old woman in whose cottage they lodged.

²⁰ In the present text of Ammianus, we read, *Asper quidem, sed ad lenitatem propensior*; which forms a sentence of contradictory nonsense. With the aid of an old manuscript, Valesius has rectified the first of these corruptions, and we perceive a ray of light in the substitution of the word *vaser*. If we venture to change *lenitatem* into *levitatem*, this alteration of a single letter will render the whole passage clear and consistent.

²¹ Instead of being obliged to collect scattered and imperfect hints from various sources, we now enter into the full stream of the history of Ammianus, and need only refer to the seventh and ninth chapters of his fourteenth book. Philostorgius, however (l. iii. c. 28.), though partial to Gallus, should not be entirely overlooked.

²² She had preceded her husband; but died of a fever on the road, at a little place in Bithynia, called Cœnum Gallicanum.

²³ The Thebæan legions, which were then quartered at Hadrianople, sent a deputation to Gallus, with a tender of their services. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The Notitia (f. 6. 20. 38. edit. Labb.) mentions three several legions which bore the name of Thebæan. The zeal of M. de Voltaire, to destroy a despicable though celebrated legend, has tempted him on the slightest grounds to deny the existence of a Thebæan legion in the Roman armies. See Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 414. quarto edition.

²⁴ See the complete narrative of the journey and death of Gallus in Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 11. Julian complains that his brother was put to death without a trial; attempts to justify, or at least to excuse, the cruel revenge which he had inflicted on his enemies; but seems at last to acknowledge that he might justly have been deprived of the purple.

²⁵ Philostorgius, l. iv. c. 1. Zonaras, l. xiii. tom. ii. p. 19. But the former was partial towards an Arian monarch, and the latter transcribed, without choice or criticism, whatever he found in the writings of the ancients.

²⁶ See Ammianus Marcellin. l. xv. c. 1. 3. 8. Julian himself, in his epistle to the Athenians, draws a very lively and just picture of his own danger, and of his sentiments. He shews, however, a tendency

to exaggerate his sufferings, by insinuating, though in obscure terms, that they lasted above a year; a period which cannot be reconciled with the truth of chronology.

²⁷ Julian has worked the crimes and misfortunes of the family of Constantine into an allegorical fable, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the conclusion of the seventh Oration, from whence it has been detached and translated by the Abbé de la Bletterie. *Vie de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 385—408.

²⁸ She was a native of Thessalonica in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter as well as sister of consuls. Her marriage with the emperor may be placed in the year 352. In a divided age, the historians of all parties agree in her praises. See their testimonies collected by Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 750—754.

²⁹ Libanius and Gregory Nazianzen have exhausted the arts as well as the powers of their eloquence, to represent Julian as the first of heroes, or the worst of tyrants. Gregory was his fellow-student at Athens: and the symptoms, which he so tragically describes, of the future wickedness of the apostate, amount only to some bodily imperfections, and to some peculiarities in the speech and manner. He protests, however, that he *then* foresaw and foretold the calamities of the church and state (Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iv. p. 121, 122.)

³⁰ Succumbere tot necessitatibus tamque crebris unum se quod nunquam fecerat apertè demonstrans. Ammian l. xv. c. 8. He then expresses, in their own words, the flattering assurances of the courtiers.

³¹ Tantum a temperatis moribus Juliani differens frâtris quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit, Domitianum et Titum. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The circumstances and education of the two brothers were so nearly the same, as to afford a strong example of the innate difference of characters.

³² Ammianus, l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 137, 138.

³³ Julian. ad S. P. Q. A. p. 275, 276. Libanius *Orat.* x. p. 268. Julian did not yield till the Gods had signified their will by repeated visions and omens. His piety then forbade him to resist.

³⁴ Julian himself relates (p. 274.), with some humour, the circumstances of his own metamorphosis, his downcast looks, and his perplexity at being thus suddenly transported into a new world, where every object appeared strange and hostile.

³⁵ See Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 139. Aurelius Victor. Victor Junior in *Epitom.* Eutrop. x. 14.

³⁶ Militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes; quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum hastis clypei feriuntur, iræ documentum est et doloris. . . . Ammianus adds, with a nice distinction, Eumque ut potiori reverentiâ servaretur, nec supra modum laudabant nec infra quam decebat.

³⁷ Ἑλλάδε πόρφυρος θανάτος, καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη. The word *purple*, which Homer had used as a vague but common epithet for death, was

applied by Julian to express, very aptly, the nature and object of his own apprehensions.

³⁸ He represents, in the most pathetic terms (p. 277.), the distress of his new situation. The provision for his table was however so elegant and sumptuous, that the young philosopher rejected it with disdain. Quum legeret libellum assidue, quem Constantius ut privignum ad studia mittens manū suā conscripserat, prælicenter disponens quid in convivio Cæsaris impendi deberet, Phasianum, et vulvam et fumen exigi vetuit et inferri. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvi. c. 5.

³⁹ If we recollect that Constantine, the father of Helena, died above eighteen years before in a mature old age, it will appear probable, that the daughter, though a virgin, could not be very young at the time of her marriage. She was soon afterwards delivered of a son, who died immediately, quod obstetrix corrupta mercede, mox natum præfecto plusquam convenerat umbilico necavit. She accompanied the emperor and empress in their journey to Rome, and the latter, quæsitum venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotiesque concepisset, immaturum abjiceret partum. Ammian. l. xvi. c. 10. Our physicians will determine whether there exists such a poison. For my own part, I am inclined to hope that the public malignity imputed the effects of accident as the guilt of Eusebia.

⁴⁰ Ammianus (xv. 5.) was perfectly well informed of the conduct and fate of Sylvanus. He himself was one of the few followers who attended Ursicinus in his dangerous enterprise.

⁴¹ For the particulars of the visit of Constantius to Rome, see Ammianus, l. xvi. c. 10. We have only to add, that Themistius was appointed deputy from Constantinople, and that he composed his fourth Oration for this ceremony.

⁴² Hormisdas, a fugitive prince of Persia, observed to the emperor, that if he made such a horse, he must think of preparing a similar stable (the Forum of Trajan). Another saying of Hormisdas is recorded, "that one thing only had *displeased* him, to find that men died at Rome as well as elsewhere." If we adopt this reading of the text of Ammianus (*displicuisse* instead of *placuisse*), we may consider it as a reproof of Roman vanity. The contrary sense would be that of a misanthrope.

⁴³ When Germanicus visited the ancient monuments of Thebes, the eldest of the priests explained to him the meaning of these hieroglyphics. Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 60. But it seems probable, that before the useful invention of an alphabet, these natural or arbitrary signs were the common characters of the Egyptian nation. See Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, vol. iii. p. 69—243.

⁴⁴ See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxvi. c. 14, 15.

⁴⁵ Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 4. He gives us a Greek interpretation of the hieroglyphics, and his commentator Lindenbrogius adds a Latin inscription, which, in twenty verses of the age of Constantius, contains a short history of the obelisk.

⁴⁶ See Donat. *Roma Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 14. l. iv. c. 12. and the learned, though confused, Dissertation of Bargæus on Obelisks, inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 1897—1936. This Dissertation is dedicated to pope Sixtus V. who erected the obelisk of Constantius in the square before the patriarchal church of St. John Lateran.

⁴⁷ The events of this Quadian and Sarmatian war are related by Ammianus, xvi. 10. xvii. 12, 13. xix. 11.

⁴⁸ *Genti Sarmatarum magno decori confidens apud eos regem dedit.* Aurelius Victor. In a pompous oration pronounced by Constantius himself, he expatiates on his own exploits with much vanity, and some truth.

⁴⁹ Ammian. xvi. 9.

⁵⁰ Ammianus (xvii. 5.) transcribes the haughty letter. Themistius (*Orat.* iv. p. 57. edit. Petav.) takes notice of the silk covering. Idatius and Zonaras mention the journey of the ambassador; and Peter the Patrician (in *Excerpt. Legat.* p. 28.) has informed us of his conciliating behaviour.

⁵¹ Ammianus, xvii. 5. and Valesius ad loc. The sophist, or philosopher (in that age these words were almost synonymous), was Eustathius the Cappadocian, the disciple of Jamblichus, and the friend of St. Basil. Eunapius (in *Vit. Ædesii*, p. 44—47.) fondly attributes to this philosophic ambassador the glory of enchanting the Barbarian king by the persuasive charms of reason and eloquence. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 828. 1132.

⁵² Ammian. xviii. 5, 6. 8. The decent and respectful behaviour of Antoninus towards the Roman general sets him in a very interesting light; and Ammianus himself speaks of the traitor with some compassion and esteem.

⁵³ This circumstance, as it is noticed by Ammianus, serves to prove the veracity of Herodotus (l. i. c. 133.), and the permanency of the Persian manners. In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance, and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet. Briffon de *Regno Pers.* l. ii. p. 462—472. and Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iii. p. 90.

⁵⁴ Ammian. l. xviii. 6, 7, 8. 10.

⁵⁵ For the description of Amida, see d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 108. *Histoire de Timur Rec*, par Cherefeddin Ali, l. iii. c. 41. Ahmed Arabiades, tom. i. p. 331. c. 43. *Voyages de Tavernier*, tom. i. p. 301. *Voyages d'Otter*, tom. ii. p. 273. and *Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. ii. p. 324—328. The last of these travellers, a learned and accurate Dane, has given a plan of Amida, which illustrates the operations of the siege.

⁵⁶ Diarbekir, which is styled Amid, or Kara-Amid, in the public writings of the Turks, contains above 16,000 houses, and is the residence of a pasha with three tails. The epithet of *Kara* is derived

from the *blackness* of the stone which composes the strong and ancient wall of Amida.

⁵⁷ The operations of the siege of Amida are very minutely described by Ammianus (xix. 1—9.), who acted an honourable part in the defence, and escaped with difficulty when the city was stormed by the Persians.

⁵⁸ Of these four nations, the Albanians are too well known to require any description. The Segeftians inhabited a large and level country, which still preserves their name, to the south of Khorasan, and the west of Hindostan. (See *Geographia Nubienfis*, p. 133. and d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 797.). Notwithstanding the boasted victory of Bahram (vol. i. p. 410.), the Segeftians, above fourscore years afterwards, appear as an independent nation, the ally of Persia. We are ignorant of the situation of the Vertæ and Chionites, but I am inclined to place them (at least the latter) towards the confines of India and Scythia. See Ammian. xvi. 9.

⁵⁹ Ammianus has marked the chronology of this year by three signs, which do not perfectly coincide with each other, or with the series of the history. 1. The corn was ripe when Sapor invaded Mesopotamia; "Cum jam stipulâ flavente turgent;" a circumstance, which, in the latitude of Aleppo, would naturally refer us to the month of April or May. See Harmer's *Observations on Scripture*, vol. i. p. 41. Shaw's *Travels*, p. 335. edit. 4to. 2. The progress of Sapor was checked by the overflowing of the Euphrates, which generally happens in July and August. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 21. *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, tom. i. p. 696. 3. When Sapor had taken Amida, after a siege of seventy-three days, the autumn was far advanced. "Autumno, præcipiti hædorumque improbo fidere exorto." To reconcile these apparent contradictions, we must allow for some delay in the Persian king, some inaccuracy in the historian, and some disorder in the seasons.

⁶⁰ The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus, xx. 6, 7.

⁶¹ For the identity of Virtha and Tecrit, see d'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 201. For the siege of that castle by Timur Beg, or Tamerlane, see Cherefeddin, l. iii. c. 33. The Persian biographer exaggerates the merit and difficulty of this exploit, which delivered the caravans of Bagdad from a formidable gang of robbers.

⁶² Ammianus (xviii. 5, 6. xix. 3. xx. 2.) represents the merit and disgrace of Ursicinus with that faithful attention which a soldier owed to his general. Some partiality may be suspected, yet the whole account is consistent and probable.

⁶³ Ammian. xx. 11. Omissio vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiæ redit in Syriam ærumnosam, perpeffus et ulcerum sed et atrociam, diuque deflenda. It is *thus* that James Gronovius has restored an obscure passage; and he thinks that this correction alone would have deserved a new edition of his author; whose sense may now be darkly

perceived. I expected some additional light from the recent labours of the learned Ernesti (Lipsiæ, 1773).

⁶⁴ The ravages of the Germans, and the distress of Gaul, may be collected from Julian himself. Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 277. Ammian. xv. 11. Libanius, Orat. x. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 140. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 1.

⁶⁵ Ammianus (xvi. 8.). This name seems to be derived from the Toxandri of Pliny, and very frequently occurs in the histories of the middle age. Toxandria was a country of woods and morasses, which extended from the neighbourhood of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine. See Valesius, Notit. Galliar. p. 558.

⁶⁶ The paradox of P. Daniel, that the Franks never obtained any permanent settlement on this side of the Rhine before the time of Clovis, is refuted with much learning and good sense by M. Biet, who has proved, by a chain of evidence, their uninterrupted possession of Toxandria one hundred and thirty years before the accession of Clovis. The Dissertation of M. Biet was crowned by the Academy of Soissons, in the year 1736, and seems to have been justly preferred to the discourse of his more celebrated competitor, the Abbé le Bœuf, an antiquarian, whose name was happily expressive of his talents,

⁶⁷ The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the severe discipline which he embraced, are displayed by Ammianus (xvi. 5.), who professes to praise, and by Julian himself, who affects to ridicule (Misopogon, p. 340.); a conduct, which, in a prince of the house of Constantine, might justly excite the surprise of mankind.

⁶⁸ Aderat Latine quoque differenti sufficiens sermo. Ammianus, xvi. 5. But Julian, educated in the schools of Greece, always considered the language of the Romans as a foreign and popular dialect, which he might use on necessary occasions.

⁶⁹ We are ignorant of the actual office of this excellent minister, whom Julian afterwards created præfect of Gaul. Sallust was speedily recalled by the jealousy of the emperor; and we may still read a sensible but pedantic discourse (p. 240—252), in which Julian deploras the loss of so valuable a friend, to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for his reputation. See La Bletterie, Préface à la Vie de Jovien, p. 20.

⁷⁰ Ammianus (xvi. 2, 3.) appears much better satisfied with the success of this first campaign than Julian himself; who very fairly owns that he did nothing of consequence, and that he fled before the enemy.

⁷¹ Ammian. xvi. 7. Libanius speaks rather more advantageously of the military talents of Marcellus, Orat. x. p. 272. And Julian insinuates, that he would not have been so easily recalled, unless he had given other reasons of offence to the court, p. 278.

⁷² Severus, non discors, non arrogans, sed longa militiæ frugalitate compertus; et eum recta præeuntem secuturus, ut ductorem morigerus miles. Ammian. xvi. 11. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 140.

⁷³ On the design and failure of the co-operation between Julian and Barbatio, see Ammianus (xvi. 11.), and Libanius, Orat. x. p. 273.

⁷⁴ Ammianus (xvi. 12.) describes, with his inflated eloquence, the figure and character of Chnodomar. *Audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor prælii sperabatur immanis, equo spumante, sublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus: antea strenuus et miles, et utilis præter cæteros ductor.... Decentium Cæsarem superavit æquo Marte congressus.*

⁷⁵ After the battle, Julian ventured to revive the rigour of ancient discipline, by exposing these fugitives in female apparel to the derision of the whole camp. In the next campaign, these troops nobly retrieved their honour. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 142.

⁷⁶ Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 279.) speaks of the battle of Strasburgh with the modesty of conscious merit; *εμαχεσάμην ἔκ ἀκλεως, ἰσως καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφικέτο ἡ τοιαυτή μάχη.* Zosimus compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius; and yet we are at a loss to discover any of those strokes of military genius which fix the attention of ages on the conduct and success of a single day.

⁷⁷ Ammianus, xvi. 12. Libanius adds 2000 more to the number of the slain (Orat. x. p. 274.). But these trifling differences disappear before the 60,000 Barbarians; whom Zosimus has sacrificed to the glory of his hero (l. iii. p. 141.). We might attribute this extravagant number to the carelessness of transcribers, if this credulous or partial historian had not swelled the army of 35,000 Alemanni to an innumerable multitude of barbarians, *πληθος ἀπειρον βαρβάρων.* It is our own fault if this detection does not inspire us with proper distrust on similar occasions.

⁷⁸ Ammian. xvi. 12. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 276.

⁷⁹ Libanius (Orat. iii. p. 137.) draws a very lively picture of the manners of the Franks.

⁸⁰ Ammianus, xvii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. The Greek orator, by misapprehending a passage of Julian, has been induced to represent the Franks as consisting of a thousand men; and as his head was always full of the Peloponnesian war, he compares them to the Lacedæmonians, who were besieged and taken in the island of Sphacteria.

⁸¹ Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. According to the expression of Libanius, the emperor *δωρα ἀνομάζει*, which la Bletterie understands (Vie de Julien, p. 118.) as an honest confession, and Valesius (ad Ammian. xvii. 2.) as a mean evasion, of the truth. Dom. Bouquet (Historiens de France, tom. i. p. 733.) by substituting another word, *ενομίσε*, would suppress both the difficulty and the spirit of this passage.

⁸² Ammian. xvii. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 146—150. (his narrative is darkened by a mixture of fable); and Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. His expression, *ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοῖραν τῶν Σαλίων ἐθνῶς, χαμαὶ δὲ ἐξήλασα.* This difference of treatment confirms the opinion, that

the Salian Franks were permitted to retain the settlements in Toxandria.

⁸³ This interesting story, which Zosimus has abridged, is related by Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legationum, p. 15, 16, 17.), with all the amplifications of Grecian rhetoric: but the silence of Libanius, of Ammianus, and of Julian himself, renders the truth of it extremely suspicious.

⁸⁴ Libanius, the friend of Julian, clearly insinuates (Orat. iv. p. 178.) that his hero had composed the history of his Gallic campaigns. But Zosimus (l. iii. p. 140.) seems to have derived his information only from the Orations (*λογιοι*) and the Epistles of Julian. The discourse which is addressed to the Athenians contains an accurate, though general, account of the war against the Germans.

⁸⁵ See Ammian. xvii. l. 10. xviii. 2. and Zosim. l. iii. p. 144. Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280.

⁸⁶ Ammian. xviii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 279, 280. Of these seven posts, four are at present towns of some consequence; Bingen, Andernach, Bonn, and Nuyfs. The other three, Tricesimæ, Quadriburgium, and Castra Herculis, or Heraclea, no longer subsist; but there is room to believe, that, on the ground of Quadriburgium, the Dutch have constructed the fort of Schenk, a name so offensive to the fastidious delicacy of Boileau. See d'Anville Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 183. Boileau, Epître iv. and the notes.

⁸⁷ We may credit Julian himself, Orat. ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 280. who gives a very particular account of the transaction. Zosimus adds two hundred vessels more, l. iii. p. 145. If we compute the 600 corn ships of Julian at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters (See Arbuthnot's Weights and Measures, p. 237.); and the country, which could bear so large an exportation, must already have attained an improved state of agriculture.

⁸⁸ The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately before the second passage of the Rhine. Ammian. xvii. 9.

⁸⁹ Ammian. xvi. 5. xviii. 1. Mamertinus in Panegy. Vet. xi. 4.

⁹⁰ Ammian. xvii. 3. Julian. Epistol. xv. edit. Spanheim. Such a conduct almost justifies the encomium of Mamertinus. Ita illi anni spatia divisa sunt, ut aut Barbaros domitet, aut civibus jura restituat; perpetuum professus, aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia, certamen.

⁹¹ Libanius, Orat. Parental. in Imp. Julian. c. 38. in Fabricius Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 263, 264.

⁹² See Julian. in Misopogon. p. 340, 341. The primitive state of Paris is illustrated by Henry Valesius (ad Ammian. xx. 4.), his brother Hadrian Valesius, or de Valois, and M. d'Anville (in their respective Notitias of ancient Gaul), the Abbé de Longuerue Description de la France, tom. i. p. 12, 13. and M. Bonamy (in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 656—691.).

²³ Τὴν Φίλην Λευκετιαν. Julian, in Misopogon. p. 340. Leucetia, or Lutetia, was the ancient name of the city which, according to the fashion of the fourth century, assumed the territorial appellation of *Parisi*.

²⁴ Julian. in Misopogon. p. 359, 360.

CHAP. XX.

¹ The date of the Divine Institutions of Lactantius has been accurately discussed, difficulties have been started, solutions proposed, and an expedient imagined of two *original* editions; the former published during the persecution of Diocletian, the latter under that of Licinius. See Dufresnoy, Prefat. p. v. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. vi. p. 465—470. Lardner's Credibility, part. ii. vol. vii. p. 78—86. For my own part, I am *almost* convinced that Lactantius dedicated his Institutions to the sovereign of Gaul, at a time when Galerius, Maximin, and even Licinius, persecuted the Christians; that is, between the years 306 and 311.

² Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. i. vii. 27. The first and most important of these passages is indeed wanting in twenty-eight manuscripts; but it is found in nineteen. If we weigh the comparative value of those manuscripts, one of 900 years old, in the king of France's library, may be alleged in its favour; but the passage is omitted in the correct manuscript of Bologna, which the P. de Montfaucon ascribes to the sixth or seventh century (Diarium Italic. p. 409.). The taste of most of the editors (except Isæus, see Lactant. edit. Dufresnoy, tom. i. p. 596,) has felt the genuine style of Lactantius.

³ Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 27—32.

⁴ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104.

⁵ That rite was *always* used in making a catechumen (see Bingham's Antiquities, l. x. c. i. p. 419. Dom. Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, tom. i. p. 62.), and Constantine received it for the *first* time (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61.) immediately before his baptism and death. From the connection of these two facts, Valesius (ad loc. Euseb.) has drawn the conclusion which is reluctantly admitted by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 628.), and opposed with feeble arguments by Mosheim (p. 968.).

⁶ Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome, thirteen years before his death, was invented in the eighth century, as a proper motive for his *donation*. Such has been the gradual progress of knowledge, that a story, of which Cardinal Baronius (Annal. Ecclesiast. A. D. 324. N°. 43—49.) declared himself the unblushing advocate, is now feebly supported, even within the verge of the Vatican. See the Antiqui-

tates Christianæ, tom. ii. p. 232. ; a work published with six approbations at Rome, in the year 1751., by Father Mamachi, a learned Dominican.

⁷ The quæstor, or secretary, who composed the law of the Theodosian Code, makes his master say with indifference, “hominibus supradictæ religionis” (l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 1.). The minister of ecclesiastical affairs was allowed a more devout and respectful style, *της ενθεσμου και αγιωτατης καθολικης θρησκειας*; the legal, most holy, and Catholic worship. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 6.

⁸ Cod. Theodof. l. ii. tit. viii. leg. 1. Cod. Justinian. l. iii. tit. xii. leg. 3. Constantine styles the Lord's day *dies solis*, a name which could not offend the ears of his Pagan subjects.

⁹ Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 1. Godefroy, in the character of a commentator, endeavours (tom. vi. p. 257.) to excuse Constantine, but the more zealous Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 321. N°. 18.) censures his profane conduct with truth and asperity.

¹⁰ Theodoret (l. i. c. 18.) seems to insinuate that Helena gave her son a Christian education; but we may be assured, from the superior authority of Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 47.), that she herself was indebted to Constantine for the knowledge of Christianity.

¹¹ See the medals of Constantine in Ducange and Banduri. As few cities had retained the privilege of coining, almost all the medals of that age issued from the mint under the sanction of the Imperial authority.

¹² The panegyric of Eumenius (vii. inter Panegy. Vet.), which was pronounced a few months before the Italian war, abounds with the most unexceptionable evidence of the Pagan superstition of Constantine, and of his particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun; to which Julian alludes (Orat. vii. p. 228. *απολειπων σε*). See Commentaire de Spanheim sur les Césars, p. 317.

¹³ Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 25. But it might easily be shewn, that the Greek translator has improved the sense of the Latin original; and the aged emperor might recollect the persecution of Diocletian with a more lively abhorrence than he had actually felt in the days of his youth and Paganism.

¹⁴ See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. viii. 13. l. ix. 9. and in Vit. Const. l. i. c. 16, 17. Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1. Cæcilius de Mort. Persecut. c. 25.

¹⁵ Cæcilius (de Mort. Persecut. c. 48.) has preserved the Latin original; and Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 5.) has given a Greek translation of this perpetual edict, which refers to some provisional regulations.

¹⁶ A panegyric of Constantine, pronounced seven or eight months after the edict of Milan (see Gothofred. Chronolog. Legum, p. 7. and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 246.), uses the following remarkable expression: “Summe rerum factor, cujus tot

„ nomina sunt, quot linguas gentium esse voluisti, quem enim te „ ipse dici velis, scire non possumus. ” Panegy. Vet. ix. 26. In explaining Constantine's progress in the faith, Mosheim (p. 271, etc.) is ingenious, subtle, prolix.

¹⁷ See the elegant description of Lactantius (Divin. Institut. v. 8.), who is much more perspicuous and positive than it becomes a discreet prophet.

¹⁸ The political system of the Christians is explained by Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. i. c. 3, 4. Grotius was a republican and an exile, but the mildness of his temper inclined him to support the established powers.

¹⁹ Tertullian. Apolog. c. 32. 34, 35, 36. Tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani. Ad Scapulam, c. 2. If this assertion be strictly true, it excludes the Christians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the service of their respective governors. See Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 349.

²⁰ See the artful Bossuet (Hist. des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, tom. iii. p. 210—258.), and the malicious Bayle (tom. ii. p. 620.). I name Bayle, for he was certainly the author of the Avis aux Réfugiés; consult the Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepié, tom. i. part. ii. p. 145.

²¹ Buchanan is the earliest, or at least the most celebrated, of the reformers, who has justified the theory of resistance. See his Dialogue de Jure Regni apud Scotos, tom. ii. p. 28, 30. edit. fol. Ruddiman.

²² Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. l. Eusebius, in the course of his history, his life, and his oration, repeatedly inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire.

²³ Our imperfect knowledge of the persecution of Licinius is derived from Eusebius. (Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 8. Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 49—56. l. ii. c. 1, 2.). Aurelius Victor mentions his cruelty in general terms.

²⁴ Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 24—42. 48—60.

²⁵ In the beginning of the last century, the Papists of England were only a *thirtieth*, and the Protestants of France only a *fifteenth* part of the respective nations, to whom their spirit and power were a constant object of apprehension. See the relations which Bentivoglio (who was then nuncio at Brussels, and afterwards cardinal) transmitted to the court of Rome.) Relazione, tom. ii. p. 211. 241.). Bentivoglio was curious, well-informed, but somewhat partial.

²⁶ This careless temper of the Germans appears almost uniformly in the history of the conversion of each of the tribes. The legions of Constantine were recruited with Germans (Zosimus, l. ii. p. 86.); and the court even of his father had been filled with Christians. See the first book of the life of Constantine, by Eusebius.

²⁷ De his qui arma projiciunt in *pace*, placuit eos abstinere a communione. Concil. Arelat. Canon. iii. The best critics apply these words to the *peace of the church*.

²⁸ Eusebius always considers the second civil war against Licinius as a sort of religious crusade. At the invitation of the tyrant, some Christian officers had resumed their *zones*; or, in other words, had returned to the military service. Their conduct was afterwards censured by the 12th canon of the council of Nice; if this particular application may be received, instead of the loose and general sense of the Greek interpreters, Balsamon, Zonaras, and Alexis Aristenus. See Beveridge, Pandect. Eccles. Græc. tom. i. p. 72. tom. ii. p. 78. Annotation.

²⁹ Nomen ipsum *crucis* absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. Cicero pro Rabirio, c. 5. The Christian writers, Justin, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Jerom, and Maximus of Turin, have investigated with tolerable success the figure or likeness of a cross in almost every object of nature or art; in the intersection of the meridian and equator, the human face, a bird flying, a man swimming, a mast and yard, a plough, a *standard*, etc. etc. etc. See Lipsius de Cruce, l. i. c. 9.

³⁰ See Aurelius Victor, who considers this law as one of the examples of Constantine's piety. An edict so honourable to Christianity deserved a place in the Theodosian code, instead of the indirect mention of it, which seems to result from the comparison of the vth and xviiiith titles of the ixth book.

³¹ Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 40. This statue, or at least the cross and inscription, may be ascribed with more probability to the second, or even the third, visit of Constantine to Rome. Immediately after the defeat of Maxentius, the minds of the senate and people were scarcely ripe for this public monument.

³² Agnoscas regina libens mea signa necesse est;
In quibus effigies *crucis* aut gemmata refulget
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis.
Hoc signo invictus, transmissis Alpibus Ultor
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus

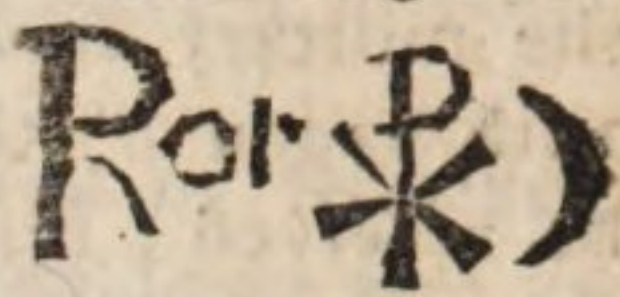
* * * * *

Christus *purpureum* gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat *Labarum*, clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat; ardebat summis *crux* addita cristis.

Prudent. in Symmachum, l. ii. 464. 486.

³³ The derivation and meaning of the word *Labarum*, or *Laborum*, which is employed by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Prudentius, etc. still remain totally unknown; in spite of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, etc. in search of an etymology. See Ducange, in Gloss. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. sub voce *Labarum*, and Godefroy, ad Cod. Theodof. tom. ii. p. 143.

³⁴ Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 30, 31. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 312. N^o. 26.) has engraved a representation of the Labarum.

³⁵ Transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat. Cæcilius de M. P. c. 44. Cuper (ad M. P. in edit. Lactant. tom. ii. p. 500.) and Baronius (A. D. 312. N^o. 25.) have engraved from ancient monuments several specimens (as thus ) of these monograms, which became extremely fashionable in the Christian world.

³⁶ Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 7, 8, 9. He introduces the Labarum before the Italian expedition; but his narrative seems to indicate that it was never shewn at the head of an army, till Constantine, above ten years afterwards, declared himself the enemy of Licinius, and the deliverer of the church.

³⁷ See Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxv. Sozomen, l. i. c. 2. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 11. Theophanes lived towards the end of the eighth century, almost five hundred years after Constantine. The modern Greeks were not inclined to display in the field the standard of the empire and of Christianity; and though they depended on every superstitious hope of *defence*, the promise of *victory* would have appeared too bold a fiction.

³⁸ The Abbé du Voisin, p. 103, etc. alleges several of these medals, and quotes a particular dissertation of a Jesuit, the Père de Grainville, on this subject.

³⁹ Tertullian, de Coronâ, c. 3. Athanasius, tom. i. p. 101. The learned jesuit Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. l. xv. c. 9, 10.) has collected many similar passages on the virtues of the cross, which in the last age embarrassed our Protestant disputants.

⁴⁰ Cæcilius, de M. P. c. 44. It is certain, that this historical declamation was composed and published, while Licinius, sovereign of the East, still preserved the friendship of Constantine, and of the Christians. Every reader of taste must perceive, that the style is of a very different and inferior character to that of Lactantius; and such indeed is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 438. Credibility of the Gospel, etc. part. ii. vol. vii. p. 94.) Three arguments from the title of the book, and from the names of Donatus and Cæcilius, are produced by the advocates for Lactantius (See the P. Lestocq, tom. ii. p. 46—60.). Each of these proofs is singly weak and defective; but their concurrence has great weight. I have often fluctuated, and shall *tamely* follow the Colbert MS. in calling the author (whoever he was) Cæcilius.

⁴¹ Cæcilius, de M. P. c. 46. There seems to be some reason in the observation of M. de Voltaire (Oeuvres, tom. xiv. p. 307.), who ascribes to the success of Constantine the superior fame of his Labarum above the angel of Licinius. Yet even this angel is favourably

entertained by Pagi, Tillemont, Fleury, etc. who are fond of entreating their stock of miracles.

⁴² Besides these well-known examples, Tollius (Preface to Boileau's translation of Longinus) has discovered a vision of Antigonus, who assured his troops that he had seen a pentagon the symbol of safety) with these words, "In this conquer." But Tollius has most inexcusably omitted to produce his authority; and his own character, literary as well as moral, is not free from reproach (See *Chauffepié Dictionnaire Critique*, tom. iv. p. 400.). Without insisting on the silence of Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, etc. it may be observed that Polyænus, who in a separate chapter (l. iv. c. 6.) has collected nineteen military stratagems of Antigonus, is totally ignorant of this remarkable vision.

⁴³ *Instinctû Divinitatis, mentis magnitudine.* The inscription on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which has been copied by Baronius, Gruter, etc. may still be perused by every curious traveller.

⁴⁴ *Habes profecto aliquid cum illâ mente divinâ secretum; quæ delegatâ nostrâ Diis Minoribus curâ uni se tibi dignatur ostendere.* Panegy. Vet. ix. 2.

⁴⁵ M. Fréret (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. p. 411—437.) explains, by physical causes, many of the prodigies of antiquity; and Fabricius, who is abused by both parties, vainly tries to introduce the celestial cross of Constantine among the solar Halos. *Bibliothec. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 8—29.

⁴⁶ Nazarius inter Panegy. Vet. x. 14, 15. It is unnecessary to name the moderns, whose undistinguishing and ravenous appetite has swallowed even the Pagan bait of Nazarius.

⁴⁷ The apparitions of Castor and Pollux, particularly to announce the Macedonian victory, are attested by historians and public monuments. See Cicero de *Naturâ Deorum*, ii. 2. iii. 5, 6. Florus, ii. 12. Valerius Maximus, l. i. c. 8. N°. 1. Yet the most recent of these miracles is omitted, and indirectly denied by Livy (xlv. 1.).

⁴⁸ Eusebius, l. i. c. 28, 29, 30. The silence of the same Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, is deeply felt by those advocates for the miracle who are not absolutely callous.

⁴⁹ The narrative of Constantine seems to indicate, that he saw the cross in the sky before he passed the Alps against Maxentius. The scene has been fixed by provincial vanity at Treves, Besançon, etc. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 573.

⁵⁰ The pious Tillemont (*Mém. Eccléf.* tom. vii. p. 1317.) rejects with a sigh the useful Acts of Artemius, a veteran and a martyr, who attests as an eye-witness the vision of Constantine.

⁵¹ Gelasius Cyzic. in Act. Concil. Nicen. l. i. c. 4.

⁵² The advocates for the vision are unable to produce a single testimony from the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who, in their voluminous writings, repeatedly celebrate the triumph of the

church and of Constantine. As these venerable men had not any dislike to a miracle, we may suspect (and the suspicion is confirmed by the ignorance of Jerom) that they were all unacquainted with the life of Constantine by Eusebius. This tract was recovered by the diligence of those who translated or continued his Ecclesiastical History, and who have represented in various colours the vision of the cross.

⁵³ Godefroy was the first who, in the year 1643. (Not. ad Philostorgium, l. i. c. 6. p. 16.), expressed any doubt of a miracle which had been supported with equal zeal by Cardinal Baronius, and the Centuriators of Magdeburgh. Since that time, many of the Protestant critics have inclined towards doubt and disbelief. The objections are urged, with great force, by M. Chauffepié (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. iv. p. 6—11.), and, in the year 1774, a doctor of Sorbonne, the Abbé du Voisin, published an Apology, which deserves the praise of learning and moderation.

⁵⁴ Lors Constantin dit ces propres paroles :
 J'ai renversé le culte des idoles ;
 Sur les débris de leurs temples fumans
 Au Dieu du Ciel j'ai prodigué l'encens.
 Mais tous mes soins pour sa grandeur suprême
 N'eurent jamais d'autre objet que moi-même ;
 Les saints autels n'étaient à mes regards
 Qu'un marche-pié du trône des Césars.
 L'ambition, la fureur, les délices
 Étaient mes Dieux, avaient mes sacrifices.
 L'or des Chrétiens, leurs intrigues, leur sang
 Ont cimenté ma fortune et mon rang.

The poem which contains these lines may be read with pleasure, but cannot be named with decency.

⁵⁵ This favourite was probably the great Osius, bishop of Cordova, who preferred the pastoral care of the whole church to the government of a particular diocese. His character is magnificently, though concisely, expressed by Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703.). See Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 524—561. Osius was accused, perhaps unjustly, of retiring from court with a very ample fortune.

⁵⁶ See Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. passim), and Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104.

⁵⁷ The Christianity of Lactantius was of a moral, rather than of a mysterious cast. "Erat pæne rudis (says the orthodox Bull) disciplinæ Christianæ, et in rhetoricâ melius quam in theologiâ versatus." Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, sect. ii. c. 14.

⁵⁸ Fabricius, with his usual diligence, has collected a list of between three and four hundred authors quoted in the Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius. See Bibliothec. Græc. l. v. c. 4. tom. vi. p. 37—56.

⁵⁹ See Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 19, 20. He chiefly depends on a mysterious acrostic, composed in the sixth age after the Deluge
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by the Erythræan Sybil, and translated by Cicero into Latin. The initial letters of the thirty-four Greek verses form this prophetic sentence, JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

⁶⁰ In his paraphrase of Virgil, the emperor has frequently assisted and improved the literal sense of the Latin text. See Blondel des Sybilles, l. i. c. 14, 15, 16.

⁶¹ The different claims of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Julia, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil.

⁶² See Lowth de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. xxi. p. 289—293. In the examination of the fourth eclogue, the respectable bishop of London has displayed learning, taste, ingenuity, and a temperate enthusiasm, which exalts his fancy without degrading his judgment.

⁶³ The distinction between the public and the secret parts of divine service, the *missa catechumenorum*, and the *missa fidelium*, and the mysterious veil which piety or policy had cast over the latter, are very judiciously explained by Thiers, Exposition du Saint Sacrement, l. i. c. 8—12. p. 59—91: but as, on this subject, the Papists may reasonably be suspected, a Protestant reader will depend with more confidence on the learned Bingham. Antiquities, l. x. c. 5.

⁶⁴ See Eusebius in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 15—32, and the whole tenor of Constantine's Sermon. The faith and devotion of the emperor has furnished Baronius with a specious argument in favour of his early baptism.

⁶⁵ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 105.

⁶⁶ Eusebius in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 15, 16.

⁶⁷ The theory and practice of antiquity with regard to the sacrament of baptism, have been copiously explained by Dom. Chardon, Hist. des Sacramens, tom. i. p. 3—405; Dom. Martenne, de Ritibus Ecclesiæ Antiquis, tom. i.; and by Bingham, in the tenth and eleventh books of his Christian Antiquities. One circumstance may be observed, in which the modern churches have materially departed from the ancient custom. The sacrament of baptism (even when it was administered to infants) was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

⁶⁸ The fathers, who censured this criminal delay, could not deny the certain and victorious efficacy, even of a death-bed baptism. The ingenious rhetoric of Chrysostom could find only three arguments against these prudent Christians. 1. That we should love and pursue virtue for her own sake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be surprised by death without an opportunity of baptism. 3. That although we shall be placed in heaven, we shall only twinkle like little stars, when compared to the suns of righteousness who have run their appointed course with labour, with success, and with glory. Chrysostom in Epist. ad Hebræos, Homil. xiii. apud Chardon, Hist.

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des Sacréments, tom. i. p. 49. I believe that this delay of baptism, though attended with the most pernicious consequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council or by any public act or declaration of the church. The zeal of the bishops was easily kindled on much slighter occasions.

⁶⁹ Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104. For this disingenuous falsehood he has deserved and experienced the harshest treatment from all the ecclesiastical writers, except Cardinal Baronius (A. D. 324, N° 15—28), who had occasion to employ the Infidel on a particular service against the Arian Eusebius.

⁷⁰ Eusebius, l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The bishop of Cæsarea supposes the salvation of Constantine with the most perfect confidence.

⁷¹ See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 429. The Greeks, the Russians, and, in the darker ages, the Latins themselves, have been desirous of placing Constantine in the catalogue of saints.

⁷² See the third and fourth books of his life. He was accustomed to say, that whether Christ was preached in pretence or in truth, he should still rejoice (l. iii. c. 58.).

⁷³ M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 374. 616.) has defended, with strength and spirit, the virgin purity of Constantinople against some malevolent insinuations of the Pagan Zosimus.

⁷⁴ The author of the Histoire Politique et Philosophique des deux Indes, (tom. i. p. 9.) condemns a law of Constantine, which gave freedom to all the slaves who should embrace Christianity. This emperor did indeed publish a law, which restrained the Jews from circumcising, perhaps from keeping, any Christian slaves. (See Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27. and Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ix. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 247.). But this imperfect exception related only to the Jews; and the great body of slaves, who were the property of Christian or Pagan masters, could not improve their temporal condition by changing their religion. I am ignorant by what guides the Abbé Raynal was deceived; as the total absence of quotations is the unpardonable blemish of his entertaining history.

⁷⁵ See Acta Sti. Sylvestri, and Hist. Eccles. Nicephor. Callist. l. vii. c. 34. ap. Baronium Annal. Eccles. A. D. 324, N°. 67. 74. Such evidence is contemptible enough; but these circumstances are in themselves so probable, that the learned Dr. Howell (History of the World. vol. iii. p. 14.) has not scrupled to adopt them.

⁷⁶ The conversion of the Barbarians under the reign of Constantine is celebrated by the ecclesiastical historians (See Sozomen, l. ii. c. 6. and Theodoret, l. i. c. 23, 24.). But Rufinus, the Latin translator of Eusebius, deserves to be considered as an original authority. His information was curiously collected from one of the companions of the apostle of Æthiopia, and from Bacurius, an Iberian prince, who was count of the domestics. Father Mamachi has given an ample compilation

on the progress of Christianity, in the first and second volumes of his great but imperfect work.

⁷⁷ See in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 9.) the pressing and pathetic epistle of Constantine in favour of his Christian brethren of Persia.

⁷⁸ See Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 182. tom. viii. p. 333. tom. ix. p. 810. The curious diligence of this writer pursues the Jewish exiles to the extremities of the globe.

⁷⁹ Theophilus had been given in his infancy as a hostage by his countrymen of the Isle of Diva, and was educated by the Romans in learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or *Diva*, may be the capital, are a cluster of 1900 or 2,000 minute islands in the Indian Ocean. The ancients were imperfectly acquainted with the Maldives; but they are described in the two Mahometan travellers of the ninth century, published by Renaudot. Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 30, 31. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 704. Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. viii.

⁸⁰ Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6, with Godefroy's learned observations. The historical narrative is soon lost in an enquiry concerning the seat of paradise, strange monsters, etc.

⁸¹ See the epistle of Osius, ap. Athanasium, vol. i. p. 840. The public remonstrance which Osius was forced to address to the son, contained the same principles of ecclesiastical and civil government which he had secretly instilled into the mind of the father.

⁸² M. de la Bastie (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 38—61.) has evidently proved, that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of pontifex maximus, or high-priest of the Roman empire.

⁸³ Something of a contrary practice had insensibly prevailed in the church of Constantinople; but the rigid Ambrose commanded Theodosius to retire below the rails, and taught him to know the difference between a king and a priest. See Theodoret, l. v. c. 18.

⁸⁴ At the table of the emperor Maximus, Martin, bishop of Tours, received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the presbyter his companion, before he allowed the emperor to drink; the empress waited on Martin at table. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. Sti. Martin c. 23. and Dialogue ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted, whether these extraordinary compliments were paid to the bishop or the saint. The honours usually granted to the former character may be seen in Bingham's Antiquities, l. ii. c. 9. and Vales. ad Theodoret, l. iv. c. 6. See the haughty ceremonial which Leontius, bishop of Tripoli, imposed on the empress. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 754. Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 179.

⁸⁵ Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, informs us, that the kings of Egypt, who were not already priests, were initiated, after their election, into the sacerdotal order.

⁸⁶ The numbers are not ascertained by any ancient writer, or original catalogue; for the partial lists of the eastern churches are comparatively modern. The patient diligence of Charles a Sto. Paolo, of Luke Holstenius, and of Bingham, has laboriously investigated all the episcopal sees of the Catholic church, which was almost commensurate with the Roman empire. The ninth book of the Christian Antiquities is a very accurate map of ecclesiastical geography.

⁸⁷ On the subject of the rural bishops, or *Chorepiscopi*, who voted in synods, and conferred the minor orders, see Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 447, etc. and Chardon, *Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. v. p. 395, etc. They do not appear till the fourth century; and this equivocal character, which had excited the jealousy of the prelates, was abolished before the end of the tenth, both in the East and the West.

⁸⁸ Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. l. ii. c. 1—8. p. 673—721.) has copiously treated of the election of bishops during the five first centuries, both in the East and in the West; but he shews a very partial bias in favour of the episcopal aristocracy. Bingham (l. iv. c. 2.) is moderate; and Chardon (*Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. v. p. 108—128) is very clear and concise.

⁸⁹ *Incredibilis multitudo, non solum ex eo oppido (Tours) sed etiam ex vicinis urbibus ad suffragia ferenda convenerat*, etc. Sulpicius Severus, in *Vit. Martin.* c. 7. The council of Laodicea (canon xiii.) prohibits mobs and tumults; and Justinian confines the right of election to the nobility. *Novel. cxxiii. 1.*

⁹⁰ The epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris (iv. 25. vii. 5. 9.) exhibit some of the scandals of the Gallican church; and Gaul was less polished and less corrupt than the East.

⁹¹ A compromise was sometimes introduced by law or by consent; either the bishops or the people chose one of the three candidates who had been named by the other party.

⁹² All the examples quoted by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. l. ii. c. 6. p. 704—714.) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and even of oppression. The confirmation of the bishop of Alexandria is mentioned by Philostorgius as a more regular proceeding (*Hist. Eccles. l. ii. 11.*)

⁹³ The celibacy of the clergy during the first five or six centuries, is a subject of discipline and indeed of controversy, which has been very diligently examined. See in particular Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. ii. c. lx. lxi. p. 886—902. and Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. iv. c. 5. By each of these learned but partial critics, one half of the truth is produced, and the other is concealed.

⁹⁴ Diodorus Siculus attests and approves the hereditary succession of the priesthood among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Indians (l. i. p. 84. l. ii. p. 142. 153. edit. Wesseling). The magi are described by Ammianus as a very numerous family: "*Per sæcula multa ad*

"præfens unâ eâdemque profapia multitudo creata, Deorum cultibus
"dedicata (xxiii. 6.)." Ausonius celebrates the *Stirps Druidarum*
(De Professorib. Burdigal. iv.); but we may infer from the remark of
Cæsar (vi. 13.), that, in the Celtic hierarchy, some room was left for
choice and emulation.

⁹⁵ The subject of the vocation, ordination, obedience, etc. of the
clergy, is laboriously discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*,
tom. ii. p. 1—83.) and Bingham (in the 4th book of his *Antiquities*,
more especially the 4th, 6th, and 7th chapters). When the brother
of St. Jerom was ordained in Cyprus, the deacons forcibly stopped his
mouth, lest he should make a solemn protestation, which might in-
validate the holy rites.

⁹⁶ The charter of immunities, which the clergy obtained from the
Christian emperors, is contained in the 16th book of the Theodosian
code; and is illustrated with tolerable candour by the learned Godefroy,
whose mind was balanced by the opposite prejudices of a civilian and
a protestant.

⁹⁷ Justinian, Novell. ciii. Sixty presbyters, or priests, one hundred
deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety sub-deacons, one hundred and ten
readers, twenty-five chanters, and one hundred door-keepers; in all,
five hundred and twenty-five. This moderate number was fixed by
the emperor, to relieve the distress of the church, which had been in-
volved in debt and usury by the expence of a much higher establishment.

⁹⁸ *Universus clerus ecclesiæ Carthaginienfis . . . fere quingenti vel
amplius; inter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli.* Victor
Vitenfis, de Persecut. Vandal. v. 9. p. 78. edit. Ruinart. This remnant
of a more prosperous state still subsisted under the oppression of the
Vandals.

⁹⁹ The number of *seven* orders has been fixed in the Latin church,
exclusive of the episcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the
minor orders, are now reduced to empty and useless titles.

¹⁰⁰ See cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 42, 43. Godefroy's Com-
mentary, and the Ecclesiastical History of Alexandria, shew the danger
of these pious institutions, which often disturbed the peace of that
turbulent capital.

¹⁰¹ The edict of Milan (de M. P. c. 48.) acknowledges, by reciting,
that there existed a species of landed property, *ad jus corporis eorum*,
id est, ecclesiarum non hominum singulorum pertinentia. Such a
solemn declaration of the supreme magistrate must have been received
in all the tribunals as a maxim of civil law.

¹⁰² *Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo Catholicæ (ecclesiæ)
venerabilique concilio, decedens honorum quod optavit relinquere.*
Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 4. This law was published at Rome,
A. D. 321, at a time when Constantine might foresee the probability of
a rupture with the emperor of the East.

¹⁰³ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. x. 6. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 28.

He repeatedly expatiates on the liberality of the Christian hero; which the bishop himself had an opportunity of knowing, and even of tasting.

¹⁰⁴ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 2, 3, 4. The bishop of Cæsarea, who studied and gratified the taste of his master, pronounced in public an elaborate description of the church of Jerusalem (in Vit. Conf. l. iv. c. 46.) It no longer exists, but he has inserted in the life of Constantine (l. iii. c. 36), a short account of the architecture and ornaments. He likewise mentions the church of the holy Apostles at Constantinople (l. iv. c. 59.).

¹⁰⁵ See Justinian, Novell. cxxiii. 3. The revenue of the patriarchs, and the most wealthy bishops, is not expressed; the highest annual valuation of a bishopric is stated at *thirty*, and the lowest at *two*, pounds of gold; the medium might be taken at *sixteen*, but these valuations are much below the real value.

¹⁰⁶ See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 324, N°. 58. 65. 70, 71.). Every record which comes from the Vatican is justly suspected; yet these rent rolls have an ancient and authentic colour; and it is at least evident, that, if forged, they were forged in a period when *farms*, not *kingdoms*, were the objects of papal avarice.

¹⁰⁷ See Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. l. ii. c. 13, 14, 15. p. 689—706. The legal division of the ecclesiastical revenue does not appear to have been established in the time of Ambrose and Chrysostom. Simplicius and Gelasius, who were bishops of Rome in the latter part of the fifth century, mention it in their pastoral letters as a general law, which was already confirmed by the custom of Italy.

¹⁰⁸ Ambrose, the most strenuous asserter of ecclesiastical privileges, submits without a murmur to the payment of the land tax. "Si tributum petit Imperator, non negamus; agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum; solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo: tributum Cæsaris est; non negatur." Baronius labours to interpret this tribute as an act of charity rather than of duty (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 387.); but the words, if not the intentions, of Ambrose, are more candidly explained by Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. l. i. c. 34. p. 268.

¹⁰⁹ In Ariminense synodo super ecclesiarum et clericorum privilegiis tractatû habito, usque eo dispositio progressa est, ut iuga quæ viderentur ad ecclesiam pertinere, a publicâ functione cessarent inquietudine desistente: quod nostra videtur dudum sanctio repulisse. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15. Had the synod of Rimini carried this point, such practical merit might have atoned for some speculative heresies.

¹¹⁰ From Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27.) and Sozomen (l. i. c. 9.) we are assured that the episcopal jurisdiction was extended and confirmed by Constantine; but the forgery of a famous edict, which was never fairly inserted in the Theodosian code (see at the end, tom. vi. p. 303.), is demonstrated by Godefroy in the most

satisfactory manner. It is strange that M. de Montesquieu, who was a lawyer as well as a philosopher, should allege this edict of Constantine (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxix. c. 16.) without intimating any suspicion.

¹¹¹ The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction has been involved in a mist of passion, of prejudice, and of interest. Two of the fairest books which have fallen into my hands are the *Institutes of Canon Law*, by the Abbé de Fleury, and the *Civil History of Naples*, by Giannone. Their moderation was the effect of situation as well as of temper. Fleury was a French ecclesiastic, who respected the authority of the parliaments; Giannone was an Italian lawyer, who dreaded the power of the church. And here let me observe, that as the general propositions which I advance are the result of *many* particular and imperfect facts, I must either refer the reader to those modern authors who have expressly treated the subject, or swell these notes to a disagreeable and disproportioned size.

¹¹² Tillemont has collected from Rufinus, Theodoret, etc. the sentiments and language of Constantine. *Mém. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 749, 750.

¹¹³ See *Cod. Theod.* l. ix. tit. xlv. leg. 4. In the works of Fra Paolo (tom. iv. p. 192, etc.) there is an excellent discourse on the origin, claims, abuses, and limits of sanctuaries. He justly observes, that ancient Greece might perhaps contain fifteen or twenty *azyla* or sanctuaries; a number which at present may be found in Italy within the walls of a single city.

¹¹⁴ The penitential jurisprudence was continually improved by the canons of the councils. But as many cases were still left to the discretion of the bishops, they occasionally published, after the example of the Roman Prætor, the rules of discipline which they proposed to observe. Among the canonical epistles of the fourth century, those of Basil the Great were the most celebrated. They are inserted in the *Pandects of Reveridge* (tom. ii. p. 47—151.), and are translated by Chardon. *Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. iv. p. 219—277.

¹¹⁵ Basil. *Epistol.* xlvii. in Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 370. N°. 91.) who declares that he purposely relates it, to convince governors that they were not exempt from a sentence of excommunication. In his opinion, even a royal head is not safe from the thunders of the Vatican; and the cardinal shews himself much more consistent than the lawyers and theologians of the Gallican church.

¹¹⁶ The long series of his ancestors, as high as Eurysthenes, the first doric king of Sparta, and the fifth in lineal descent from Hercules, was inscribed in the public registers of Cyrene, a Lacedæmonian colony. (*Synes. Epist.* lvii. p. 197. edit. Petav.) Such a pure and illustrious pedigree of seventeen hundred years, without adding the royal ancestors of Hercules, cannot be equalled in the history of mankind.

¹¹⁸ Synesius (de Regno, p. 2.) pathetically deploras the fallen and ruined state of Cyrene *πολις Ἑλληνις, παλαιὸν ὄνομα καὶ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μύρια τῶν παλαισοφῶν. νῦν πενήτης καὶ κατηφής, καὶ μεγάλῃ εἰρίᾳ*. Ptolemais, a new city, 82 miles to the westward of Cyrene, assumed the Metropolitan honours of the Pentapolis, or Upper Libya, which were afterward transferred to Sozusa. See Wesseling Itinerar. p. 67—68. 732. Cellarius Geograph. tom. ii. part. ii. p. 72. 74. Carolus a Sto Paolo Geograph. Sacra, p. 273. d'Anville Géographie ancienne, tom. iii. p. 43, 44. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii. p. 363—391.

¹¹⁹ Synesius had previously represented his own disqualifications (Epist. c. v. p. 246—250.). He loved profane studies and profane sports; he was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy; he disbelieved the resurrection: and he refused to preach *fables* to the people, unless he might be permitted to *philosophize* at home. Theophilus, primate of Egypt, who knew his merit, accepted this extraordinary compromise. See the life of Synesius in Tillemont Mém. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 499—554.

¹²⁰ See the invective of Synesius, Epist. lvii. p. 191—201. The promotion of Andronicus was illegal; since he was a native of Berenice, in the same province. The instruments of tortures are curiously specified, the *πιεστηριον*, or press, the *δακτυληθρα*, the *ποδοσφραξη*, the *ρινολαβεις*, the *ωταγγρα*, and the *χειλοσφοδιον*, that variously pressed or distended the fingers, the feet, the nose, the ears, and the lips of the victims.

¹²¹ The sentence of excommunication is expressed in a rhetorical style, (Synesius, Epist. lviii. p. 201—203.) The method of involving whole families, though somewhat unjust, was improved into national interdicts.

¹²² See Synesius, Epist. xlvi. p. 186, 187. Epist. lxxii. p. 218, 219. Epist. lxxxix. p. 230—231.

¹²³ See Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. l. iii. c. 83. p. 1761—1770.) and Bingham (Antiquities, vol. i. l. xiv. c. 4. p. 688—717.). Preaching was considered as the most important office of the bishop; but this function was sometimes intrusted to such presbyters as Chrysostom and Augustin.

¹²⁴ Queen Elizabeth used this expression, and practised this art, whenever she wished to prepossess the minds of her people in favour of any extraordinary measure of government. The hostile effects of this *music* were apprehended by her successor, and severely felt by his son. "When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic, etc." See Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 153.

¹²⁵ Those modest orators acknowledged, that, as they were destitute of the gift of miracles, they endeavoured to acquire the arts of eloquence.

¹²⁶ The Council of Nice, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh,

canons, has made some fundamental regulations concerning synods, metropolitans, and primates. The Nicene canons have been variously tortured, abused, interpolated, or forged, according to the interest of the clergy. The *Suburbicarian* churches, assigned (by Rufinus) to the bishop of Rome, have been made the subject of vehement controversy. (See Sirmond. Opera, tom. iv. p. 1—238.)

¹²⁷ We have only thirty-three or forty-seven episcopal subscriptions: but Ado, a writer indeed of small account, reckons six hundred bishops in the council of Arles. Tillemont Mém. Eccléf. tom. vi. p. 422.

¹²⁸ See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 915, and Beaufobre Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 529. The name of *bishop*, which is given by Eutychius to the 2048 ecclesiastics (Annal. tom. i. p. 440. vers. Pocock), must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even episcopal ordination.

¹²⁹ See Euseb. in Vit. Constantin, l. iii. c. 6—21. Tillemont Mém. Ecclésiastiques, tom. vi. p. 669—759.

¹³⁰ Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere, quæ a quatuor Sanctis Conciliis . . . expositæ sunt aut firmatæ. Prædictarum enim quatuor synodorum dogmata sicut sanctas Scripturas et regulas sicut leges observamus. Justinian. Novell. cxxxi. Beveridge (ad Pandect. proleg. p. 2.) remarks, that the emperors never made new laws in ecclesiastical matters; and Giannone observes, in a very different spirit, that they gave a legal sanction to the canons of councils. Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 136.

¹³¹ See the article CONCILE in the Encyclopédie, tom. iii. p. 668—679. edition de Lucques. The author, M. le docteur Bouchaud, has discussed, according to the principles of the Gallican church, the principal questions which relate to the form and constitution of general, national, and provincial councils. The editors (see Preface, p. xvi.) have reason to be proud of *this* article. Those who consult their immense compilation, seldom depart so well satisfied.

CHAP. XXI.

¹ Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

² After some examination of the various opinions of Tillemont, Beaufobre, Lardner, etc. I am convinced that Manes did not propagate his sect, even in Persia, before the year 270. It is strange, that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius. (Annal. Eccl. A. D. 287.)

³ Constantinus enim, cum limatius superstitionum quæreretur sectas, Manichæorum et similium, etc. Ammian. xv. 15. Strategius, who

from this commission obtained the surname of *Mufonianus*, was a Christian of the Arian sect. He acted as one of the counts at the council of Sardica. Libanius praises his mildness and prudence. Valef. ad locum Ammian.

⁴ Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the Theodosian code, it is probable that, in the year 438, the sects which it had condemned were already extinct.

⁵ Sozomen, l. i. c. 22. Socrates, l. i. c. 10. These historians have been suspected, but I think without reason, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Acesius, take a ladder, and get up to Heaven by yourself." Most of the Christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Acesius.

⁶ The best materials for this part of ecclesiastical history may be found in the edition of Optatus Milevitanus, published (Paris 1700.) by M. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical discussions, original records, and an accurate abridgment of the whole controversy. M. de Tillemont has bestowed on the Donatists the greatest part of a volume (tom. vi. part i.): and I am indebted to him for an ample collection of all the passages of his favourite St. Augustin, which relate to those heretics.

⁷ Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit; ambitus nutrit; avaritia roboravit. Optatus, l. i. c. 19. The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman. Dicitur te necasse filios sororis tuæ duos. Purpurius respondit: Putas me terreri à te . . . occidi; et occido eos qui contra me faciunt. Acta Concil. Cirtensis, ad calc. Optat. p. 274. When Cæcilian was invited to an assembly of bishops, Purpurius said to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands; and we will break his head by way of penance." Optat. l. i. c. 19.

⁸ The councils of Arles, of Nice, and of Trent, confirmed the wise and moderate practice of the church of Rome. The Donatists, however, had the advantage of maintaining the sentiment of Cyprian, and of a considerable part of the primitive church. Vincentius Lirinensis (p. 332. ap. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. vi. p. 138.) has explained why the Donatists are eternally burning with the Devil, while St. Cyprian reigns in heaven with Jesus Christ.

⁹ See the sixth book of Optatus Milevitanus, p. 91—100.

¹⁰ Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiastiques, tom. vi. part. i. p. 253. He laughs at their partial cruelty. He revered Augustin, the great doctor of the system of predestination.

¹¹ Plato Egyptum peragravit ut à sacerdotibus Barbaris numeros et cælestia acciperet. Cicero de Finibus, v. 25. The Egyptians might still preserve the traditional creed of the Patriarchs. Josephus has persuaded many of the Christian fathers, that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the obscure state and unsocial manners of the Jewish people, whose

scriptures were not accessible to Greek curiosity till more than one hundred years after the death of Plato. See Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 144. Le Clerc, Epistol. Critic. vii. p. 177—194.

¹² The modern guides who lead me to the knowledge of the Platonic system are, Cudworth (Intellectual System, p. 568—620.), Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. c. 4. p. 53—86.), Le Clerc (Epist. Crit. vii. p. 194—209.), and Brucker (Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 675—706.). As the learning of these writers was equal, and their intention different, an inquisitive observer may derive instruction from their disputes, and certainty from their agreement.

¹³ Brucker, Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 1349—1357. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by Strabo (l. xvii.) and Ammianus (xxii. 6.).

¹⁴ Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xii. c. 1. 3. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. vii. c. 7.

¹⁵ For the origin of the Jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, Præparat. Evangel. viii. 9, 10. According to Philo, the Therapeutæ studied philosophy; and Brucker has proved (Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 787.), that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

¹⁶ See Calmet, Dissertations sur la Bible, tom. ii. p. 277. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch; and although rejected by the Protestants for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the rest of the Vulgate, the sanction of the council of Trent.

¹⁷ The Platonism of Philo, which was famous to a proverb, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc (Epist. Crit. viii. p. 211—228.). Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. c. 5.) has clearly ascertained, that the theological works of Philo were composed before the death, and most probably before the birth, of Christ. In such a time of darkness, the knowledge of Philo is more astonishing than his errors. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. f. i. c. 1. p. 12.

¹⁸ *Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpori miscet.*
Besides this material soul, Cudworth has discovered (p. 562.) in Amelius, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himself, a superior, spiritual, *uppercosmian* soul of the universe. But this double soul is exploded by Brucker, Basnage, and Le Clerc, as an idle fancy of the latter Platonists.

¹⁹ Petav. Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. viii. c. 2. p. 791. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. f. i. c. 1. p. 8. 13. This notion, till it was abused by the Arians, was freely adopted in the Christian theology. Tertullian (adv. Praxeam, c. 16.) has a remarkable and dangerous passage. After contrasting, with indiscreet wit, the nature of God, and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes: *Scilicet ut hæc de filio Dei non credenda fuisset, si non scripta essent; fortasse non credenda de Patre licet scripta.*

²⁰ The Platonists admired the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, as containing an exact transcript of their own principles. Augustin.

de Civitat. Dei, x. 29. Amelius apud Cyril. advers. Julian. l. viii. p. 283. But in the third and fourth centuries, the Platonists of Alexandria might improve their Trinity, by the secret study of the Christian theology.

²¹ See Beaufobre Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 377. The Gospel according to St. John is supposed to have been published about seventy years after the death of Christ.

²² The sentiments of the Ebionites are fairly stated by Mosheim (p. 331.) and Le Clerc (Hist. Ecclési. p. 535.). The Clementines, published among the apostolical fathers, are attributed by the critics to one of these sectaries.

²³ Staunch polemics, like Bull (Judicium Ecclesi. Cathol. c. 2.), insist on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes; which appears less pure and certain in the eyes of Mosheim (p. 330.).

²⁴ The humble condition and sufferings of Jesus have always been a stumbling-block to the Jews. "Deus . . . contrariis coloribus Messiam depinxerat; futurus erat Rex, Judex, Pastor," etc. See Limborch et Orobio Amica Collat. p. 8. 19. 53—76. 192—234. But this objection has obliged the believing Christians to lift up their eyes to a spiritual and everlasting kingdom.

²⁵ Justin Martyr, Dialog. cum Tryphonte, p. 143, 144. See Le Clerc, Hist. Ecclési. p. 615. Bull, and his editor Grabe (Judicium Ecclesi. Cathol. c. 7. and Appendix), attempt to distort either the sentiments or the words of Justin; but their violent correction of the text is rejected even by the Benedictine editors.

²⁶ The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentinians and Marcionites. See Beaufobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, l. iii. c. 5. 7.

²⁷ Non dignum est ex utero credere Deum, et Deum Christum . . . non dignum est ut tanta majestas per sordes et squalores mulieris transire credatur. The Gnostics asserted the impurity of matter, and of marriage; and they were scandalized by the gross interpretations of the fathers, and even of Augustin himself. See Beaufobre, tom. ii. p. 523.

²⁸ Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitionibus apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, et *phantasma* corpus Domini afferebatur. Cotelierius thinks (Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 24.) that those who will not allow the *Docetes* to have arisen in the time of the Apostles, may with equal reason deny that the sun shines at noon-day. These *Docetes*, who formed the most considerable party among the Gnostics, were so called, because they granted only a *seeming* body to Christ.

²⁹ Some proofs of the respect which the Christians entertained for the person and doctrine of Plato, may be found in de la Mothe le Vayer, tom. v. p. 135, etc. edit. 1757; and Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. iv. p. 29. 79, etc.

³⁰ Daleo bonâ fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium

factum. Tertullian. de Animâ, c. 23. Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. iii. proleg. 2.) shews that this was a general complaint. Beaufobre (tom. i. l. iii. c. 9, 10.) has deduced the Gnostic errors from Platonic principles; and as, in the school of Alexandria, those principles were blended with the Oriental philosophy (Brucker, tom. i. p. 1356.), the sentiment of Beaufobre may be reconciled with the opinion of Mosheim (General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 37.).

³¹ It Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (see Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 66.) was the first who employed the word *Triad*, *Trinity*, that abstract term, which was already familiar to the schools of philosophy, must have been introduced into the theology of the Christians after the middle of the second century.

³² Athanasius, tom. i. p. 808. His expressions have an uncommon energy; and as he was writing to monks, there could not be any occasion for him to *affect* a rational language.

³³ In a treatise, which professed to explain the opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the nature of the gods, we might expect to discover the theological Trinity of Plato. But Cicero very honestly confessed, that though he had translated the *Timæus*, he could never understand that mysterious dialogue. See Hieronym. præf. ad l. xii. in Isaiam, tom. v. p. 154.

³⁴ Tertullian. in Apolog. c. 46. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, au mot *Simonide*. His remarks on the presumption of Tertullian are profound and interesting.

³⁵ Lactantius, iv. 8. Yet the *Probole*, or *Prolatio*, which the most orthodox divines borrowed without scruple from the Valentinians, and illustrated by the comparisons of a fountain and stream, the sun and its rays, etc. either meant nothing, or favoured a material idea of the divine generation. See Beaufobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 7. p. 548.

³⁶ Many of the primitive writers have frankly confessed, that the Son owed his being to the *will* of the Father. See Clarke's Scripture Trinity, p. 280—287. On the other hand, Athanasius and his followers seem unwilling to grant what they are afraid to deny. The schoolmen extricate themselves from this difficulty by the distinction of a *preceding* and a *concomitant* will. Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. vi. c. 8. p. 587—603.

³⁷ See Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 10. p. 159.

³⁸ Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem. Plin. Epist. x. 97. The sense of *Deus*, Θεός, *Elohim*, in the ancient languages, is critically examined by Le Clerc (Ars Critica, p. 150—156.), and the propriety of worshipping a very excellent creature, is ably defended by the Socinian Emlyn (Tracts, p. 29—36. 51—145.).

³⁹ See Daillé de Ufu Patrum, and Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. x. p. 409. To arraign the faith of the Anti-Nicene fathers, was the object, or at least has been the effect, of the stupendous work of Petavius on the Trinity (Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii.);

nor has the deep impression been erased by the learned defence of Bishop Bull.

⁴⁰ The most ancient creeds were drawn up with the greatest latitude. See Bull (*Judicium Eccles. Cathol.*), who tries to prevent Episcopius from deriving any advantage from this observation.

⁴¹ The heresies of Praxeas, Sabellius, etc. are accurately explained by Mosheim (p. 425. 680—714.) Praxeas, who came to Rome about the end of the second century, deceived, for some time, the simplicity of the bishop, and was confuted by the pen of the angry Tertullian.

⁴² Socrates acknowledges, that the heresy of Arius proceeded from his strong desire to embrace an opinion the most diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius.

⁴³ The figure and manners of Arius, the character and numbers of his first profelytes, are painted in very lively colours by Epiphanius (tom. i. *Hæref.* lxix. 3. p. 729.); and we cannot but regret that he should soon forget the historian, to assume the task of controversy.

⁴⁴ See Philostorgius (l. i. c. 3.), and Godefroy's ample Commentary. Yet the credibility of Philostorgius is lessened, in the eyes of the orthodox, by his Arianism; and in those of rational critics, by his passion, his prejudice, and his ignorance.

⁴⁵ Sozomen (l. i. c. 15.) represents Alexander as indifferent, and even ignorant, in the beginning of the controversy; while Socrates (l. i. c. 5.) ascribes the origin of the dispute to the vain curiosity of his theological speculations. Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 178.) has censured, with his usual freedom, the conduct of Alexander: *προς οργην εξαπτεται . . . ὁμοίως Θρονειν εκελευσε.*

⁴⁶ The flames of Arianism might burn for some time in secret; but there is reason to believe that they burst out with violence as early as the year 319. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. vi. p. 774—780.

⁴⁷ Quid credidit? Certe, *aut* tria nomina audiens tres Deos esse credidit, et idololatra effectus est; *aut* in tribus vocabulis trinominem credens Deum, in Sabellii hæresin incurrit; *aut* edoctus ab Arianis unum esse verum Deum Patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum credidit creaturas. Aut extra hæc quid credere potuerit nescio. Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos. Jerom reserves for the last the orthodox system, which is more complicated and difficult.

⁴⁸ As the doctrine of absolute creation from nothing, was gradually introduced among the Christians (Beaufobre, tom. ii. p. 165—215.), the dignity of the *workman* very naturally rose with that of the *work*.

⁴⁹ The metaphysics of Dr. Clarke (*Scripture Trinity*, p. 276—280.) could digest an eternal generation from an infinite cause.

⁵⁰ This prophane and absurd simile is employed by several of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athenagoras, in his *Apology* to the

emperor Marcus and his son; and it is alleged, without censure, by Bull himself. See *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* f. iii. c. 5. N^o. 4.

⁵¹ See Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, p. 559. 579. This dangerous hypothesis was countenanced by the two Gregories, of Nyssa and Nazianzen, by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damascus, etc. See Cudworth, p. 603. Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xviii. p. 97—105.

⁵² Augustin seems to envy the freedom of the philosophers. *Liberis verbis loquuntur philosophi Nos autem non dicimus duo vel tria principia, duos vel tres Deos.* *De Civitat Dei*, x. 23.

⁵³ Boetius, who was deeply versed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle explains the unity of the Trinity by the *indifference* of the three persons. See the judicious remarks of Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. xvi. p. 225, etc.

⁵⁴ If the Sabellians were startled at this conclusion, they were driven down another precipice into the confession, that the Father was born of a virgin, that *he* had suffered on the cross; and thus deserved the odious epithet of *Patri-passians*, with which they were branded by their adversaries. See the invectives of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the temperate reflexions of Mosheim (p. 423. 681.); and Beausobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 6. p. 533.

⁵⁵ The transactions of the council of Nice are related by the ancients, not only in a partial, but in a very imperfect, manner. Such a picture as Fra-Paolo would have drawn, can never be recovered; but such rude sketches as have been traced by the pencil of bigotry, and that of reason, may be seen in Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 669—759.) and in Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. x. p. 435—454.).

⁵⁶ We are indebted to Ambrose (*de Fide*, l. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of this curious anecdote. *Hoc verbum posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio, ipsum nefandæ caput heræseos amputarent.*

⁵⁷ See Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* sect. ii. c. i. p. 25—36. He thinks it his duty to reconcile two orthodox synods.

⁵⁸ According to Aristotle, the stars were Homœousian to each other. "That *Homœousius* means of one substance in *kind*, hath been shewn by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, etc. and to prove it, would be *actum agere*." This is the just remark of Dr. Jortin (vol. ii. p. 212.), who examines the Arian controversy with learning, candour, and ingenuity.

⁵⁹ See Petavius (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii. l. iv. c. 16. p. 453, etc.), Cudworth (p. 559.), Bull (sect. iv. p. 285—290. edit. Grab.). The *περιχωρησις*, or *circumincepsio*, is perhaps the deepest and darkest corner of the whole theological abyss.

⁶⁰ The third section of Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, which

some of his antagonists have called nonsense, and others heresy, is consecrated to the supremacy of the Father.

⁶¹ The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians, was that of *Ariomanites*.

⁶² Epiphanius, tom. i. Hæres. lxxii. 4. p. 837. See the adventures of Marcellus, in Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 880—899.). His work, in *one* book, of the unity of God, was answered in the *three* books, which are still extant, of Eusebius. After a long and careful examination, Petavius (tom. ii. l. i. c. 14. p. 78.) has reluctantly pronounced the condemnation of Marcellus.

⁶³ Athanasius, in his epistle concerning the synods of Seleucia and Rimini (tom. i. p. 886—905.), has given an ample list of Arian creeds, which has been enlarged and improved by the labours of the indefatigable Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vi. p. 477.).

⁶⁴ Erasmus, with admirable sense and freedom, has delineated the just character of Hilary. To revise his text, to compose the annals of his life, and to justify his sentiments and conduct, is the province of the Benedictine editors.

⁶⁵ Absque episcopo Eleusio et paucis cum eo, ex maiore parte Asianæ decem provinciæ, inter quas confisto, vere Deum nesciunt. Atque utinam penitus nescirent! cum procliviori enim veniâ ignorarent quam obtrectarent. Hilar. de Synodis, sive de Fide Orientalium, c. 63. p. 1186. edict. Benedict. In the celebrated parallel between atheism and superstition, the bishop of Poitiers would have been surprised in the philosophic society of Bayle and Plutarch..

⁶⁶ Hilarius ad Constantium, l. ii. c. 4, 5. p. 1227, 1228. This remarkable passage deserved the attention of Mr. Locke, who has transcribed it (vol. iii. p. 470.) into the model of his new commonplace book.

⁶⁷ In Philostorgius (l. iii. c. 15.) the character and adventures of Ætius appear singular enough, though they are carefully softened by the hand of a friend. The editor Godefroy (p. 153.), who was more attached to his principles than to his author, has collected the odious circumstances which his various adversaries have preserved or invented.

⁶⁸ According to the judgment of a man who respected both those sectaries, Ætius had been endowed with a stronger understanding, and Eunomius had acquired more art and learning (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 18.). The confession and apology of Eunomius (Fabricius Biblioth. Græc. tom. viii. p. 258—305.) is one of the few heretical pieces which have escaped.

⁶⁹ Yet, according to the opinion of Estius and Bull (p. 297.), there is one power, that of creation, which God *cannot* communicate to a creature. Estius, who so accurately defined the limits of Omnipotence, was a Dutchman by birth, and by trade a scholastic divine. Dupin, Biblioth. Eccléf. tom. xvii. p. 45.

⁷⁰ Sabinus (ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 39.) had copied the acts; Athanasius and

and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

⁷¹ *Fideli et piâ intelligentiâ. . . De Synod. c. 77. p. 1193.* In his short apologetical notes (first published by the Benedictines from a MS. of Chartres) he observes, that he used this cautious expression, *qui intelligerem et impiam*, p. 1206. See p. 1146. Philostorgius, who saw those objects through a different medium, is inclined to forget the difference of the important diphthong. See in particular viii. 17. and Godefroy, p. 352.

⁷² *Testor Deum cœli atque terræ me, cum neutrum audissem, semper tamen utrumque sensisse. . . . Regeneratus pridem et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens fidem Nicenam nunquam nisi exsulaturus audivi.* Hilar. de Synodis, c. xci. p. 1205. The Benedictines are persuaded that he governed the diocese of Poitiers several years before his exile.

⁷³ Seneca (Epist. lviii.) complains that even the *το ον* of the Platonists (the *ens* of the bolder schoolmen) could not be expressed by a Latin noun.

⁷⁴ The preference which the fourth council of the Lateran at length gave to a *numerical* rather than a *generical* unity (see Petav. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13. p. 424.) was favoured by the Latin language; *τριάς* seems to excite the idea of substance, *trinitas* of qualities.

⁷⁵ *Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est.* Hieronym. adv. Lucifer. tom. i. p. 145.

⁷⁶ The story of the council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 419—430. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647.), and by Jerom, in his dialogue against the Luciferians. The design of the latter is to apologize for the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and who repented.

⁷⁷ Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 64—72. The principles of toleration and religious indifference, contained in this epistle, have given great offence to Baronius, Tillemont, etc. who suppose that the emperor had some evil counsellor, either Saran or Eusebius, at his elbow. See Jordin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 183.

⁷⁸ Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 13.

⁷⁹ Theodoret has preserved (l. i. c. 20.) an epistle from Constantine to the people of Nicodemia, in which the monarch declares himself the public accuser of one of his subjects; he styles Eusebius, *ὁ τῆς τυραννικῆς ἀποστασίας συνμυσης*; and complains of his hostile behaviour during the civil war.

⁸⁰ See in Socrates (l. i. c. 8.), or rather in Theodoret (l. i. c. 12.), an original letter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which he attempts to justify his subscribing the Homœousion. The character of Eusebius has always been a problem; but those who have read the second critical Epistle of Le Clerc (Ars Critica, tom. iii. p. 30—69.), must

entertain a very unfavourable opinion of the orthodoxy and sincerity of the bishop of Cæsarea.

⁸¹ Athanasius, tom. i. p. 727. Philostorgius, l. i. c. 10. and Godfrey's Commentary, p. 41.

⁸² Socrates, l. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which were addressed to the several cities, Constantine employed against the heretics the arms of ridicule and comic raillery.

⁸³ We derive the original story from Athanasius (tom. i. p. 670.), who expresses some reluctance to stigmatize the memory of the dead. He might exaggerate, but the perpetual commerce of Alexandria and Constantinople would have rendered it dangerous to invent. Those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius (his bowels suddenly burst out in a privy) must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*.

⁸⁴ The change in the sentiments, or at least in the conduct, of Constantine, may be traced in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 23. l. iv. c. 41.), Socrates (l. i. c. 23—39.) Sozomen (l. ii. c. 16—34.), Theodoret (l. i. c. 14—34.), and Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 1—17.). But the first of these writers was too near the scene of action, and the others were too remote from it. It is singular enough, that the important task of continuing the history of the church, should have been left for two laymen and a heretic.

⁸⁵ Quia etiam tum catechumenus sacramentum fidei merito videretur potuisse nescire. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 410.

⁸⁶ Socrates, l. ii. c. 2. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 18. Athanas. tom. i. p. 813. 834. He observes, that the eunuchs are the natural enemies of the Son. Compare Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 3. with a certain genealogy in *Candide* (ch. iv.), which ends with one of the first companions of Christopher Columbus.

⁸⁷ Sulpicius Severus, in Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 405, 406.

⁸⁸ Cyril (apud Baron. A. D. 353. N°. 26.) expressly observes; that in the reign of Constantine the cross had been found in the bowels of the earth; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Constantius, in the midst of the heavens. This opposition evidently proves, that Cyril was ignorant of the stupendous miracle to which the conversion of Constantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more surprising, since it was no more than twelve years after his death that Cyril was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem, by the immediate successor of Eusebius of Cæsarea. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii. p. 715.

⁸⁹ It is not easy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be assisted by some natural appearances of a solar halo.

⁹⁰ Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 26. He is followed by the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, by Cedrenus, and by Nicephorus (See Gothofred. Differt. p. 188.). They could not refuse a miracle, even from the hand of an enemy.

⁹¹ So curious a passage well deserves to be transcribed. Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem, anili superstitione confundens; in quâ scrutandâ perplexius, quam componendâ gravius excitaret discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut cætervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos (quas appellant) dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur (Valesius reads *conatur*) rei vehiculariæ concideret nervos. Ammianus, xxi. 16.

⁹² Athanas. tom. i. p. 870.

⁹³ Socrates, l. ii. c. 35—47. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 12—30. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 18—32. Philostorg. l. iv. c. 4—12. l. v. c. 1—4. l. vi. c. 1—5.

⁹⁴ Sozomen, l. iv. c. 23. Athanas. tom. i. p. 831. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 547.) has collected several instances of the haughty fanaticism of Constantius from the detached treatises of Lucifer of Cagliari. The very titles of these treatises inspire zeal and terror; “Moriendum pro Dei Filio.” “De Regibus Apostaticis.” “De non conveniendo cum Hæretico.” “De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus.”

⁹⁵ Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 418—430. The Greek historians were very ignorant of the affairs of the West.

⁹⁶ We may regret that Gregory Nazianzen composed a panegyric instead of a life of Athanasius; but we should enjoy and improve the advantage of drawing our most authentic materials from the rich fund of his own epistles and apologies (tom. i. p. 670—951.). I shall not imitate the example of Socrates (l. ii. c. 1.), who published the first edition of his history without giving himself the trouble to consult the writings of Athanasius. Yet even Socrates, the more curious Sozomen, and the learned Theodoret, connect the life of Athanasius with the series of ecclesiastical history. The diligence of Tillemont (tom. viii.) and of the Benedictine editors, has collected every fact, and examined every difficulty.

⁹⁷ Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 396.) calls him a lawyer, a jurisconsult. This character cannot now be discovered either in the life or writings of Athanasius.

⁹⁸ Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent alites scientissime callens aliquoties prædixisse futura. Ammianus, xv. 7. A prophecy, or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen (l. iv. c. 10.), which evidently proves (if the crows speak Latin) that Athanasius understood the language of the crows.

⁹⁹ The irregular ordination of Athanasius was slightly mentioned in the councils which were held against him. See Philostorg. l. ii. c. 11, and Godefroy, p. 71: but it can scarcely be supposed that the assembly of the bishops of Egypt would solemnly attest a *public* falsehood. Athanas. tom. i. p. 726.

¹⁰⁰ See the History of the Fathers of the Desert, published by

Rosweide: and Tillemont Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii., in the lives of Antony, Pachomius, etc. Athanasius himself, who did not disdain to compose the life of his friend Antony, has carefully observed how often the holy monk deplored and prophesied the mischiefs of the Arian Herefy. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 492. 498, etc.

¹⁰¹ At first Constantine threatened in *speaking*, but requested in *writing*, και αγραΦως μεν ηπειλει, γραΦων δε ηξιε. His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone; but while he required that the entrance of the church should be open to *all*, he avoided the odious name of Arius. Athanasius, like a skilful politician, has accurately marked these distinctions (tom. i. p. 788.), which allowed him some scope for excuse and delay.

¹⁰² The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatists in Africa, were produced by an episcopal quarrel which arose from the persecution. I have not leisure to pursue the obscure controversy, which seems to have been misrepresented by the partiality of Athanasius, and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 201.

¹⁰³ The treatment of the six bishops is specified by Sozomen (l. ii. c. 25.); but Athanasius himself, so copious on the subject of Arsenius and the chalice, leaves this grave accusation without a reply.

¹⁰⁴ Athanas. tom. i. p. 788. Socrates, l. i. c. 28. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 25. The emperor, in his Epistle of Convocation (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 42.), seems to prejudge some members of the clergy, and it was more than probable that the synod would apply those reproaches to Athanasius.

¹⁰⁵ See, in particular, the second Apology of Athanasius (tom. i. p. 763—808.), and his Epistles to the Monks (p. 808—866.). They are justified by original and authentic documents; but they would inspire more confidence, if he appeared less innocent, and his enemies less absurd.

¹⁰⁶ Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 41—47.

¹⁰⁷ Athanas. tom. i. p. 804. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius, this situation would afford a better subject for a picture, than most of the stories of miracles and martyrdoms.

¹⁰⁸ Athanas. tom. i. p. 729. Eunapius has related (in Vit. Sophist. p. 36, 37. edit. Commelin) a strange example of the cruelty and credulity of Constantine on a similar occasion. The eloquent Sopater, a Syrian philosopher, enjoyed his friendship, and provoked the resentment of Ablavius, his Prætorian præfect. The corn-fleet was detained for want of a south wind: the people of Constantinople were discontented; and Sopater was beheaded, on a charge that he had *bound* the winds by the power of magic. Suidas adds, that Constantine wished to prove, by this execution, that he had absolutely renounced the superstition of the Gentiles.

¹⁰⁹ In his return he saw Constantius twice, at Viminiaum and at

Cæsarea in Cappadocia. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 676.) Tillemont supposes that Constantine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia. (Mémoires Ecclésiast. tom. viii. p. 69.).

¹¹⁰ See Beveridge Pandect. tom. i. p. 429—452., and tom. ii. Annotation. p. 182. Tillemont Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. vi. p. 310—324. St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned this synod of Antioch with too much favour and respect. He reckons ninety-seven bishops.

¹¹¹ This magistrate, so odious to Athanasius, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 390, 391.

Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.

For the credit of human nature, I am always pleased to discover some good qualities in those men whom party has represented as tyrants and monsters.

¹¹² The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome, are strenuously agitated by Valesius (Observat. ad Calcem, tom. ii. Hist. Ecclésiast. l. i. c. 1—5.) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. viii. p. 674, etc.). I have followed the simple hypothesis of Valesius, who allows only one journey, after the intrusion of Gregory.

¹¹³ I cannot forbear transcribing a judicious observation of Wetstein (Prolegomen. N. T. p. 19.): Si tamen Historiam Ecclesiasticam velimus consulere, patebit jam inde a seculo quarto, cum, ortis controversiis, ecclesiæ Græcæ doctores in duas partes scinderentur, ingenio, eloquentiâ, numero, tantum non æquales, eam partem quæ vincere cupiebat Roman confugisse, majestatemque pontificis comiter coluisse, eoque pacto oppressis per pontificem et episcopos Latinos adversariis prævaluisse, atque orthodoxiam in conciliis stabilivisse. Eam ob causam Athanasius, non sine comitatu, Romam petiit, pluresque annos ibi hæsit.

¹¹⁴ Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12. If any corruption was used to promote the interest of religion, an advocate of Athanasius might justify or excuse this questionable conduct, by the example of Cato and Sidney; the former of whom is *said* to have given, and the latter to have received, a bribe, in the cause of liberty.

¹¹⁵ The Canon, which allows appeals to the Roman Pontiffs, has almost raised the council of Sardica to the dignity of a general council; and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded with those of the Nicene synod. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 689, and Geddes's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 419—460.

¹¹⁶ As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius (see the Epistle to the Monks), at the same time that he assured him of his profound respect, we might distrust the professions of the archbishop. tom. i. p. 677.

¹¹⁷ Notwithstanding the discreet silence of Athanasius, and the manifest forgery of a letter inserted by Socrates, these menaces are

proved by the unquestionable evidence of Lucifer of Cagliari, and even of Constantius himself. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 693.

¹¹⁸ I have always entertained some doubts concerning the retraction of Ursacius and Valens (Athanas. tom. i. p. 776.). Their epistles to Julius bishop of Rome, and to Athanasius himself, are of so different a cast from each other, that they cannot both be genuine. The one speaks the language of criminals who confess their guilt and infamy; the other of enemies, who solicit on equal terms an honourable reconciliation.

¹¹⁹ The circumstances of his second return may be collected from Athanasius himself, tom. i. p. 769 and 822. 843. Socrates, l. ii. c. 18. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 19. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 11, 12. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12.

¹²⁰ Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677, 678.) defends his innocence by pathetic complaints, solemn assertions, and specious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name, but he requests that his own secretaries, and those of the tyrant, may be examined, whether those letters had been written by the former or received by the latter.

¹²¹ Athanas. tom. i. p. 825 — 844.

¹²² Athanas. tom. i. p. 861. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared, that he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius, than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus.

¹²³ The affairs of the council of Milan are so imperfectly and erroneously related by the Greek writers, that we must rejoice in the supply of some letters of Eusebius, extracted by Baronius, from the archives of the church of Vercellæ, and of an old life of Dionysius of Milan, published by Bollandus. See Baronius, A. D. 355. and Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 1415.

¹²⁴ The honours, presents, feasts, which seduced so many bishops, are mentioned with indignation by those who were too pure or too proud to accept them. "We combat (says Hilary of Poitiers) against „ Constantius the antichrist; who strokes the belly instead of scourging „ the back; " *qui non dorso cædit, sed ventrem palpat.* Hilarius contra Constant. c. 5. p. 1240.

¹²⁵ Something of this opposition is mentioned by Ammianus (xv. 7.), who had a very dark and superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history. Liberius . . . *perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem, nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, etc.*

¹²⁶ More properly by the orthodox part of the council of Sardica. If the bishops of both parties had fairly voted, the division would have been 94 to 76. M. de Tillemont (see tom. viii. p. 1147 — 1158.) is justly surprised that so small a majority should have proceeded so vigorously against their adversaries, the principal of whom they immediately deposed.

¹²⁷ Sulp. Severus in Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 412.

¹²⁸ The exile of Liberius is mentioned by Ammianus, xv. 7. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. Athanas. tom. i. p. 834 — 837. Hilar. Fragment. i.

¹²⁹ The life of Osius is collected by Tillemont (tom. vii. p. 524 — 561.) who in the most extravagant terms first admires, and then reprobates, the bishop of Cordova. In the midst of their lamentations on his fall, the prudence of Athanasius may be distinguished from the blind and intemperate zeal of Hilary.

¹³⁰ The confessors of the West were successively banished to the deserts of Arabia or Thebais, the lonely places of Mount Taurus, the wildest parts of Phrygia, which were in the possession of the impious Montanists, etc. When the Heretic Ætius was too favourably entertained at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the Advice of Acacius, to Amblada, a district inhabited by savages, and infested by war and pestilence. Philostorg. l. v. c. 2.

¹³¹ See the cruel treatment and strange obstinacy of Eusebius, in his own letters, published by Baronius, A. D. 356. N° 92—102.

¹³² Cæterum exules satis constat, totius orbis studiis celebratos, pecuniasque eis in sumptum affatim congestas, legationibus quoque eos plebis Catholicæ ex omnibus fere provinciis frequentatos. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, p. 414 Athanas. tom. i. p. 836. 840.

¹³³ Ample materials for the history of this third persecution of Athanasius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able Apology to Constantius (tom. i. p. 673.), his first Apology for his flight (p. 701.), his prolix Epistle to the Solitaries (p. 808.), and the original Protest of the people of Alexandria against the violences committed by Syrianus (866.). Sozomen (l. iv. c. 9.) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumstances.

¹³⁴ Athanasius had lately sent for Antony, and some of his chosen Monks. They descended from their mountain, announced to the Alexandrians the sanctity of Athanasius, and were honourably conducted by the archbishop as far as the gates of the city. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 491, 492. See likewise Rufinus, iii. 164. in Vit. Patr. p. 524.

¹³⁵ Athanas. tom. i. p. 694. The emperor, or his Arian secretaries, while they express their resentment, betray their fears and esteem of Athanasius.

¹³⁶ These minute circumstances are curious, as they are literally transcribed from the protest, which was publicly presented three days afterwards by the Catholics of Alexandria. See Athanas. tom. i. p. 867.

¹³⁷ The Jansenists have often compared Athanasius and Arnauld, and have expatiated with pleasure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of those celebrated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dextrously managed by the Abbé de la Bletterie, Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 130.

¹³⁸ Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanasius, nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum supererat locus. Tribuni, Præfecti, Comites, exercitus quoque, ad peruestigandum eum moventur edictis Imperialibus: præmia delatoribus proponuntur, si quis eum vivum, si id minus, caput certe Athanasii detulisset. Rufin. l. i. c. 16.

¹³⁹ Gregor. Nazianzen. tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 384, 385. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 176—410. 820—880.

¹⁴⁰ Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quæ obdurato illius tractûs latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat. Ammian. xxii. 16. and Valefius ad locum.

¹⁴¹ Rufin. l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following story will be rendered impossible, if we suppose that Athanasius always inhabited the asylum which he accidentally or occasionally had used.

¹⁴² Palladius (Hist. Lausiæ. c. 136. in Vit. Patrum, p. 776.), the original author of this anecdote, had conversed with the damsel, who in her old age still remembered with pleasure so pious and honourable a connection. I cannot indulge the delicacy of Baronius, Valefius, Tillemont, etc. who almost reject a story so unworthy, as they deem it, of the gravity of ecclesiastical history.

¹⁴³ Athanas. tom. i. p. 869. I agree with Tillemont (tom. viii. p. 1197.), that his expressions imply a personal, though perhaps secret, visit to the synods.

¹⁴⁴ The epistle of Athanasius to the Monks is filled with reproaches, which the public must feel to be true (vol. i. p. 834. 856.); and, in compliment to his readers, he has introduced the comparisons of Pharaoh, Ahab, Belshazzar, etc. The boldness of Hilary was attended with less danger, if he published his invective in Gaul after the revolt of Julian; but Lucifer sent his libels to Constantius, and almost challenged the reward of Martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 905.

¹⁴⁵ Athanasius (tom. i. p. 811.) complains in general of this practice, which he afterwards exemplifies (p. 861.) in the pretended election of Félix. Three eunuchs represented the Roman people, and three prelates, who followed the court assumed the functions of the bishops of the Suburbicarian provinces.

¹⁴⁶ Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. l. ii. c. 72, 73. p. 966—984) has collected many curious facts concerning the origin and progress of church-singing, both in the East and West.

¹⁴⁷ Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 13. Godefroy has examined this subject with singular accuracy (p. 147, etc.). There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father *by* the Son, *and* in the Holy Ghost:" "To the Father *and* the Son *in* the Holy Ghost:" and "To the Father *in* the Son *and* the Holy Ghost."

¹⁴⁸ After the exile of Eustathius, under the reign of Constantine, the rigid party of the orthodox formed a separation, which afterwards

degenerated into a schism, and lasted above fourscore years. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. vii. p. 35—54. 1137—1158. tom. viii. p. 537—632. 1314—1332. In many churches, the Arians and Homoeousians, who had renounced each other's *communion*, continued for some time to join in prayer. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 14.

¹⁴⁹ See, on this ecclesiastical revolution of Rome, Ammianus, xv. 7. Athanas. tom. i. p. 834. 861. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 15. Theodoret. l. ii. c. 17. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 413. Hieronym. Chron. Marcellin. et Faust. Libell. p. 3, 4. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. vi. p. 336.

¹⁵⁰ Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and the Lesser Armenia, has occasioned some geographical perplexity; but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the Roman road from Cæsarea to Anazarbus. See Cellarii Geograph. tom. ii. p. 213. Wesseling ad Itinerar. p. 179. 703.

¹⁵¹ Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703. 813, 814.) affirms, in the most positive terms, that Paul was murdered; and appeals, not only to common fame, but even to the unsuspicious testimony of Philagrius, one of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges, that the heretics attributed to disease the death of the bishop of Constantinople. Athanasius is fervently copied by Socrates (l. ii. c. 26.); but Sozomen, who discovers a more liberal temper, presumes (l. iv. c. 2.) to insinuate a prudent doubt.

¹⁵² Ammianus (xiv. 10.) refers to his own account of this tragic event. But we no longer possess that part of his history.

¹⁵³ See Socrates, l. ii. c. 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 26, 27, 38. and Sozomen, l. iii. 3, 4, 7, 9. l. iv. c. ii. 21. The acts of St. Paul of Constantinople, of which Photius has made an abstract (*Phot. Biblioth.* p. 1419—1430.), are an indifferent copy of these historians; but a modern Greek, who could write the life of a saint without adding fables and miracles, is entitled to some commendation.

¹⁵⁴ Socrates, l. ii. c. 27, 38. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 21. The principal assistants of Macedonius, in the work of persecution, were the two bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity. I cannot forbear reminding the reader, that the difference between the *Homoeousion* and *Homoiousion*, is almost invisible to the nicest theological eye.

¹⁵⁵ We are ignorant of the precise situation of Mantinium. In speaking of these *four* bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and the author of the Acts of St. Paul, use the indefinite terms of *αριθμοι*, *Φαλαγγες*, *ταγματα*, which Nicephorus very properly translates *thousands*. Valef. ad Socrat. l. ii. c. 38.

¹⁵⁶ Julian. Epistol. lii. p. 436. edit. Spanheim.

¹⁵⁷ See Optatus Milevitanus (particularly iii. 4.), with the Donatist history, by M. Dupin, and the original pieces at the end of his

edition. The numerous circumstances which Augustin has mentioned, of the fury of the Circumcellions against others, and against themselves, have been laboriously collected by Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. vi. p. 147—165.; and he has often, though without design, exposed the injuries which had provoked those fanatics.

¹⁵⁸ It is amusing enough to observe the language of opposite parties, when they speak of the same men and things. Gratus, bishop of Carthage, begins the acclamations of an orthodox synod, "Gratias Deo omnipotenti et Christo Jesu . . . qui imperavit religiosissimo Constanti Imperatori, ut votum gereret unitatis, et mitteret ministros sancti operis *famulos Dei* Paulum et Macarium." *Monument. Vet. ad calcem Optati*, p. 313. "Ecce subito," (says the Donatist author of the *Passion of Marculus*) "de Constantis regis tyrannicâ domo . . . pollutum Macarianæ persecutionis murmur increpuit, et *duabus bestiis* ad Africam missis, eodem scilicet Macario et Paulo execrandum prorsus ac dirum ecclesiæ certamen indictum est; ut populus Christianus ad unionem cum traditoribus faciendam, nudatis militum gladiis et draconum præsentibus signis, et tubarum vocibus cogertur." *Monument.* p. 304.

¹⁵⁹ The *Histoire des Camisards*, in 3 vol. 12mo. Villefranche 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires some attention to discover the religion of the author.

¹⁶⁰ The Donatist suicides alleged in their justification the example of Razias, which is related in the 14th chapter of the second book of the Maccabees.

¹⁶¹ Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi feræ plerique Christianorum expertus. *Ammian.* xxii. 5.

¹⁶² Gregor. Nazianzen, *Orat.* i. p. 33. See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 501. quarto edit.

¹⁶³ *Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Etablissements des Européens dans les deux Indes*, tom. i. p. 9.

¹⁶⁴ According to Eusebius (in *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. c. 45.) the emperor prohibited, both in cities and in the country, τα μυστὰ . . . της Ειδωλολατρειας; the abominable acts or parts of idolatry. Socrates (l. i. c. 17.) and Sozomen (l. ii. c. 4, 5.) have represented the conduct of Constantine with a just regard to truth and history; which has been neglected by Theodoret (l. v. c. 21.) and Orosius (vii. 28.). Tum deinde (says the latter) primus Constantinus *justo ordine et pio* vicem vertit edicto; siquidem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem, paganorum templa claudi.

¹⁶⁵ See Eusebius in *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. c. 56. 60. In the sermon to the assembly of saints, which the emperor pronounced when he was mature in years and piety, he declares to the idolaters (c. xi.), that they are permitted to offer sacrifices, and to exercise every part of their religious worship.

¹⁶⁶ See Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 54—58. and l. iv. c. 23. 25. These acts of authority may be compared with the suppression of the Bacchanals, and the demolition of the temple of Isis, by the magistrates of Pagan Rome.

¹⁶⁷ Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 54.) and Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 9, 10. edit. Gothofred.), both mention the pious sacrilege of Constantine, which they viewed in very different lights. The latter expressly declares, that “he made use of the sacred money, “but made no alteration in the legal worship; the temples indeed “were impoverished, but the sacred rites were performed there.” Lardner’s Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 140.

¹⁶⁸ Ammianus (xxii. 4.) speaks of some court eunuchs who were *spoliis templorum pasti*. Libanius says (Orat. pro Templ. p. 23.), that the emperor often gave away a temple, like a dog, or a horse, or a slave, or a gold cup: but the devout philosopher takes care to observe, that these sacrilegious favourites very seldom prospered.

¹⁶⁹ See Gothofred. Cod. Theodos. tom. vi. p. 262. Liban. Orat. Parental. c. x. in Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 235.

¹⁷⁰ *Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos a sacrificiis abstinere. Quod si quis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio sternatur: facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari: et similiter affligi rectores provinciarum si facinora vindicare neglexerint.* Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 4. Chronology has discovered some contradiction in the date of this extravagant law; the only one, perhaps, by which the negligence of magistrates is punished by death and confiscation. M. de la Bastie (Mém. de l’Académie, tom. xv. p. 98.) conjectures, with a shew of reason, that this was no more than the minutes of a law, the heads of an intended bill, which were found in *Scriniis Memoriae*, among the papers of Constantius, and afterwards inserted, as a worthy model, in the Theodosian Code.

¹⁷¹ Symmach. Epistol. x. 54.

¹⁷² The fourth Dissertation of M. de la Bastie, sur le Souverain Pontificat des Empereurs Romains (in the Mém. de l’Acad. tom. xv. p. 75—144.), is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the state, and proves the toleration, of paganism from Constantine to Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus, that Gratian was the first who refused the pontifical robe, is confirmed beyond a doubt: and the murmurs of bigotry, on that subject, are almost silenced.

¹⁷³ As I have freely anticipated the use of *pagans* and paganism, I shall now trace the singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1. Παγν, in the Doric dialect, so familiar to the Italians, signifies a fountain; and the rural neighbourhood which frequented the same fountain, derived the common appellation of *pagus* and *pagans* (Festus sub voce, and Servius ad Virgil. Georgic. ii. 382.). 2. By an easy

extension of the word, *pagan* and rural became almost synonymous (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxviii. 5.); and the meaner rustics acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peasants* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term (Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 555.); and all the *people* who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of pagans (Tacit. Hist. iii. 24. 43. 77. Juvenal. Satir. xvi. Tertullian de Pallio, c. 4.). 4. The Christians were the soldiers of Christ; their adversaries, who refused his *sacrament*; or military oath of baptism, might deserve the metaphorical name of pagans; and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A. D. 365.) into Imperial laws (Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 18.) and theological writings. 5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire: the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (advers. Symmachum, l. i. ad fin.) and Orosius (in Præfat. Hist.), retired and languished in obscure villages; and the word *pagans*, with its new signification, reverted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his family has expired, the vacant title of pagans has been successively applied to all the idolaters and polytheists of the old and new world. 7. The Latin Christians bestowed it, without scruple, on their mortal enemies the Mahometans; and the purest *unitarians* were branded with the unjust reproach of idolatry and paganism. See Gerard Vossius Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ, in his works, tom. i. p. 420. Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. p. 250. and Ducange, mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. Glossar.

¹⁷⁴ In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, *Εἰδωλον* and *Λατρεία* were ancient and familiar words. The former expressed a likeness, an apparition (Homer. Odyss. xi. 601.) a representation, an *image*, created either by fancy or art. The latter denoted any sort of *service* or slavery. The Jews of Egypt, who translated the Hebrew scriptures, restrained the use of these words (Exod. xx. 4, 5.) to the religious worship of an image. The peculiar idiom of the Hellenists, or Grecian Jews, has been adopted by the sacred and ecclesiastical writers, and the reproach of *idolatry* (*Εἰδωλολατρεία*) has stigmatized that visible and abject mode of superstition, which some sects of Christianity should not hastily impute to the polytheists of Greece and Rome.

N O T E S
T O T H E
F O U R T H V O L U M E.

C H A P. X X I I.

¹ Omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores jam docti, recte consulta, prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum: talia sine modo strepentes infulse: in odium venit cum victoriis suis: capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, et litterionem Græcum: et his congruentia plurima atque vernacula principi resonantes, audire hæc taliaque gestienti, virtutes ejus obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur, ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque fecus verbis comptioribus exornantem. Ammianus, xvii. II.

² Ammian. xvi. 12. The orator Themistius (iv. p. 56, 57.) believed whatever was contained in the Imperial letters, which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgment in the last year of Constantius, ascribes the German victories to the *wisdom* of the emperor, and the *fortune* of the Cæsar. Yet the historian, soon afterwards, was indebted to the favour or esteem of Julian for the honour of a brass statue; and the important offices of consular of the second Pannonia, and præfect of the city. Ammian. xxi. 10.

³ Callido nocendi artificio, accusatoriam dritatem laudum titulis peragebant. . . Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores. See Mamertin. in Actione Gratiarum in Vet. Panegy. xi. 5, 6.

⁴ The minute interval, which may be interposed between the *hyeme adultâ* and the *primo vere* of Ammianus (xx. I. 4.), instead of allowing a sufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect.

⁵ Ammianus, xx. I. The valour of Lupicinus, and his military skill, are acknowledged by the historian, who, in his affected language, accuses the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a

tragic tone, and exciting a doubt, whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was so serious, that Julian himself had some thoughts of passing over into the island.

⁶ He granted them the permission of the *curfus clavularis*, or *clabularis*. These post-waggons are often mentioned in the Code, and were supposed to carry fifteen hundred pounds weight. See Vales. ad Ammian. xx. 4.

⁷ Most probably the palace of the baths (*Thermarum*), of which a solid and lofty hall still subsists in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings covered a considerable space of the modern quarter of the university; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a maze of ruins; whose dark recesses were the scene of licentious love.

Explicat aula sinus montemque amplectitur alis;

Multiplici latebrâ scelerum tersura ruborem.

. pereuntis sæpe pudoris

Celatura nefas, Venerisque accommoda furtis.

(These lines are quoted from the *Architrenius*, l. iv. c. 8., a poetical work of John de Hauteville, or Hanville, a Monk of St. Albans, about the year 1190. See Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. dissert. ii.) Yet such *thefts* might be less pernicious to mankind, than the theological disputes of the Sorbonne, which have been since agitated on the same ground. Bonamy, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xv. p. 678—682.

⁸ Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony; and obstinately refused the inauspicious use of a female necklace, or a horse-collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

⁹ An equal proportion of gold and silver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

¹⁰ For the whole narrative of this revolt, we may appeal to authentic and original materials; Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 282, 283, 284.), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 44—48. in Fabricius Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 269—273.), Ammianus (xx. 4.), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 151, 152, 153.), who, in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eunapius. With such guides, we might neglect the abbreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

¹¹ Eutropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful expression, “*consensu militum*” (x. 15.). Gregory Nazianzen, whose ignorance might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostate with presumption, madness, and impious rebellion, *αυθαδεια, απνοια, ασεβεια*. Orat. iii. p. 67.

¹² Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 284. The devout Abbé de la Bletterie

(Vie de Julien, p. 159.) is almost inclined to respect the *devout* protestations of a Pagan.

¹³ Ammian. xx. 5. with the note of Lindenbrogius on the Genius of the empire. Julian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and physician, Oribasius (Epist. xvii. p. 384.), mentions another dream, to which, before the event, he gave credit; of a stately tree thrown to the ground, of a small plant striking a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep, the mind of the Cæsar must have been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zosimus (l. iii. p. 155.) relates a subsequent dream.

¹⁴ The difficult situation of the prince of a rebellious army is finely described by Tacitus (Hist. i. 80—85.). But Otho had much more guilt, and much less abilities, than Julian.

¹⁵ To this ostensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private letters, *objurgatorias et mordaces*, which the historian had not seen, and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.

¹⁶ See the first transactions of his reign, in Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 285, 286. Ammianus, xx. 5. 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 50. p. 273—275.

¹⁷ Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50. p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, since it continued above seven years. In the factions of the Greek republics, the exiles amounted to 20,000 persons; and Isocrates assures Philip, that it would be easier to raise an army from the vagabonds than from the cities. See Hume's Essays, tom. i. p. 426, 427.

¹⁸ Julian (Epist. xxxviii. p. 414.) gives a short description of Vefontio, or Befançon: a rocky peninsula almost encircled by the river Doux; once a magnificent city, filled with temples, etc. now reduced to a small town, emerging however from its ruins.

¹⁹ Vadomair entered into the Roman service, and was promoted from a Barbarian kingdom to the military rank of duke of Phœnicia. He still retained the same artful character (Ammian. xxi. 4.); but, under the reign of Valens, he signalised his valour in the Armenian war (xxix. 1.).

²⁰ Ammian. xx. 10. xxi. 3, 4. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 155.

²¹ Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantina, in the suburb of the *Via Nomentana*. Ammian. xxi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his hero from a very absurd charge; of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice 1754, from a MS. in St. Mark's library, p. 117—127.) Elpidius, the Prætorian præfect of the East, to whose evidence the accuser of Julian appeals, is arraigned by Libanius, as *effeminate* and ungrateful; yet the religion of Elpidius is praised by Jerom (tom. i. p. 243.), and his humanity by Ammianus (xxi. 6.).

²² *Feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario, Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato*

discessit. Ammian. xxi. 2. Zonaras observes, that it was on Christmas-day, and his assertion is not inconsistent; since the churches of Egypt, Asia, and perhaps Gaul, celebrated on the same day (the sixth of January), the nativity and the baptism of their Saviour. The Romans, as ignorant as their brethren of the real date of his birth, fixed the solemn festival to the 25th of December, the *Brumalia*, or winter solstice, when the Pagans annually celebrated the birth of the Sun. See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, l. xx. c. 4. and Beaufobre. *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 690—700.

²³ The public and secret negotiations between Constantius and Julian) must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself (*Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 286.), Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 51. p. 276.), Ammianus (xx. 9.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 154.), and even Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 20, 21, 22.), who, on this occasion, appears to have possessed and used some valuable materials.

²⁴ Three hundred myriads, or three millions of *medimni*, a corn-measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman *modii*. Julian explains, like a foldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and advantages of an offensive war (*ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 286, 287.).

²⁵ See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammian. xxi. 5.

²⁶ He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant præfect, whom he sent into Tuscany (Ammian. xxi. 5.). Libanius, with savage fury, insults Nebridius, applauds the soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian (*Orat. Parent.* c. 53. p. 278.).

²⁷ Ammian. xxi. 8. In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself. *Neque civilis quisquam iudex nec militaris rector, alio quodam præter merita suffragante, ad potiorem veniat gradum* (Ammian. xx. 5.). Absence did not weaken his regard for Sallust, with whose name (A. D. 363.) he honoured the consulship.

²⁸ Ammianus (xxi. 8.) ascribes the same practice, and the same motive, to Alexander the Great, and other skilful generals.

²⁹ This wood was a part of the great Hercynian forest, which, in the time of Cæsar, stretched away from the country of the Rauraci (Basil) into the boundless regions of the North. See Cluver. *Germania Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 47.

³⁰ Compare Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 53. p. 278, 279. with Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. p. 68. Even the saint admires the speed and secrecy of this march. A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian, the lines which were originally designed for another apostate:

————— So eagerly the fiend,
O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

³¹ In that interval the *Notitia* places two or three fleets, the *Lauriacensis* (at Lauriacum, or Lorch), the *Arlapentis*, the *Maginensis*; and mentions five legions, or cohorts, of *Liburnarii*, who should be a sort of marines. Sect. lviii. edit. Labb.

³² Zosimus alone (l. iii. p. 156.) has specified this interesting circumstance. Mamertinus (in *Panegy. Vet.* xi. 6, 7, 8.), who accompanied Julian, as count of the sacred largesses, describes this voyage in a florid and picturesque manner, challenges Triptolemus and the Argonauts of Greece, etc.

³³ The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, ascertains the precise situation of the *Angustia Succorum*, or passes of *Succi*. M. d'Anville, from the trifling resemblance of names, has placed them between Sardica and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the *only* error which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

³⁴ Whatever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus (xxi. 8, 9, 10.) still supplies the series of the narrative.

³⁵ Ammian. xxi. 9, 10. Libanius, *Orat. parent.* c. 54. p. 279, 280. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 156, 157.

³⁶ Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286.) positively asserts, that he intercepted the letters of Constantius to the Barbarians: and Libanius as positively affirms, that he read them on his march to the troops and the cities. Yet Ammianus (xxi. 4.) expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation, *si famæ solius admittenda est fides*. He specifies, however an intercepted letter from Vadomair to Constantius, which supposes an intimate correspondence between them: "Cæsar tuus, disciplinam non habet."

³⁷ Zosimus mentions his epistles to the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Lacedæmonians. The substance was probably the same, though the address was properly varied. The epistle to the Athenians is still extant (p. 268—287.), and has afforded much valuable information. It deserves the praises of the Abbé de la Bletterie (*Pref. à l'Histoire de Jovien*, p. 24, 25.), and is one of the best manifestoes to be found in any language.

³⁸ *Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus*. Ammian. xxi. 10. It is amusing enough to observe the secret conflicts of the senate between flattery and fear. See Tacit. Hist. i. 85.

³⁹ *Tanquam venaticiam prædam caperet: hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde prædicabat*. Ammian. xxi. 7.

⁴⁰ See the speech and preparations in Ammianus, xxi. 13. The vile Theodorus afterwards implored and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who signified his wish of diminishing his enemies, and increasing the number of his friends (xxii. 14.).

⁴¹ Ammian. xxi. 7. 11, 12. He seems to describe, with superfluous labour, the operations of the siege of Aquileia, which, on this occasion, maintained its impregnable fame. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. iii.* p. 68.)

ascribes this accidental revolt to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some appearance of truth. *Constantio quem credebat procul dubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententiâ discrebat.* Ammian. xxi. 7.

⁴² His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus (xxi. 14, 15, 16.); and we are authorized to despise and detest the foolish calumny of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 68.), who accuses Julian of contriving the death of his benefactor. The private repentance of the emperor, that he had spared and promoted Julian (p. 69. and Orat. xxi. p. 389.), is not improbable in itself, nor incompatible with the public verbal testament, which prudential considerations might dictate in the last moments of his life.

⁴³ In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1, 2,) assumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet; while Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 56. p. 281.) sinks to the grave simplicity of an historian.

⁴⁴ The funeral of Constantius is described by Ammianus (xxi. 16.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 119.), Mamertinus (in Panegy. Vet. xi. 27.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lvi. p. 283.), and Philostorgius (l. vi. c. 6. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 265.). These writers, and their followers, Pagans, Catholics, Arians, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

⁴⁵ The day and year of the birth of Julian are not perfectly ascertained. The day is probably the sixth of November, and the year must be either 331 or 332. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 693. Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 50. I have preferred the earlier date.

⁴⁶ Julian himself (p. 253—267.) has expressed these philosophical ideas, with much eloquence, and some affectation, in a very elaborate epistle to Themistius. The Abbé de la Bletterie (tom. ii. p. 146—193.), who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themistius, whose orations are still extant.

⁴⁷ Julian. ad Themist. p. 258. Petavius (not. p. 95.) observes, that this passage is taken from the fourth book de Legibus; but either Julian quoted from memory, or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the *Cyropædia* with a similar reflection.

⁴⁸ Ο δὲ ἄνθρωπον κελευων ἀρχεῖν, προσέθησι καὶ θηρίον. Aristot. ap. Julian. p. 261. The MS. of Vossius, unsatisfied with a single beast, affords the stronger reading of θηρία, which the experience of despotism may warrant.

⁴⁹ Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. lxxxiv. lxxxv. p. 310, 311, 312.) has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (in *Misopogon*, p. 350.) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the gross and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

⁵⁰ *Lectulus . . . Vestalium toris purior*, is the praise which Mamertinus (Panegy. Vet. xi. 13.) addresses to Julian himself. Libanius affirms, in sober peremptory language, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage, or after the death of his wife (Orat. Parent.

c. lxxxviii. p. 313.). The chastity of Julian is confirmed by the impartial testimony of Ammianus (xxv. 4.), and the partial silence of the Christians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch, that he *almost always* (ὡς ἐπιπάν, in Misopogon. p. 345.) lay alone. This suspicious expression is explained by the Abbé de la Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 103—109.) with candour and ingenuity.

⁵¹ See Salmastius ad Sueton. in Claud. c. xxi. A twenty-fifth race, or *missus*, was added: to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four colours, started each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

It appears, that they ran five or seven times round the *Meta* (Sueton. in Domitian. c. 4.); and (from the measure of the Circus Maximus at Rome, the Hippodrome at Constantinople, etc.) it might be about a four-mile course.

⁵² Julian. in Misopogon, p. 340. Julius Cæsar had offended the Roman people by reading his dispatches during the actual race. Augustus indulged their taste, or his own, by his constant attention to the important business of the circus, for which he professed the warmest inclination. Sueton. in August. c. xlv.

⁵³ The reformation of the palace is described by Ammianus (xxii. 4.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxii. p. 288, etc.), Mamertinus (in Panegyri. Vet. xi. 11.), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 24.)

⁵⁴ Ego non *rationalem* jussi sed tonsorem acciri. Zonaras uses the less natural image of a *senator*. Yet an officer of the finances, who was satiated with wealth, might desire and obtain the honours of the senate.

⁵⁵ Μαγειρὰς μὲν χίλις, κερεὰς δὲ ἑκ ἐλαττέρς, οἰνοχοὺς δὲ πλείους, σμηνὴν τροπέζοποιων, εὐνεχὺς ὑπὲρ τὰς μυρίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμεσι ἐν ἡρῇ, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted, lest I should be suspected of magnifying the abuses of the royal household.

⁵⁶ The expressions of Mamertinus are lively and forcible. Quin etiam prandiorum et cœnarum laboratas magnitudines Romanus populus sensit; cum quæsitissimæ dapes non gustu sed difficultatibus æstimarentur; miracula avium, longinqui maris pisces, alieni temporis poma, æstivæ nives, hybernæ rosæ.

⁵⁷ Yet Julian himself was accused of bestowing whole towns on the eunuchs (Orat. vii. against Polyclet. p. 117—127.). Libanius contents himself with a cold but positive denial of the fact, which seems indeed to belong more properly to Constantius. This charge, however, may allude to some unknown circumstance.

⁵⁸ In the Misopogon (p. 338, 339.) he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strangely characteristic; αὐτὸς προσέθεικα τὸν βαβὺν τῷ τῶν πωγῶν . . . ταῦτα τοῖς διαθεόντων ἀνεχόμεναι

των Φειρων οσπερ εν λοχη των θηριων. The friends of the Abbé de la Bletterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to translate this passage, so offensive to their delicacy (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 94.). Like him, I have contented myself with a transient allusion; but the little animal, which Julian *names*, is a beast familiar to man, and signifies love.

⁵⁹ Julian, epist. xxiii. p. 389. He uses the words πολυκεφαλον υδραν, in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

⁶⁰ The two Sallusts, the præfect of Gaul, and the præfect of the East, must be carefully distinguished (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696.). I have used the surname of *Secundus*, as a convenient epithet. The second Sallust extorted the esteem of the Christians themselves; and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues (Orat. iii. p. 90.). See a curious note of the Abbé de la Bletterie, Vie de Julien, p. 363.

⁶¹ Mamertinus praises the emperor (xi. 1.) for bestowing the offices of Treasurer and Præfect on a man of wisdom, firmness, integrity, etc. like himself. Yet Ammianus ranks him (xxi. 1.) among the ministers of Julian, quorum merita nôrat et fidem.

⁶² The proceedings of this chamber of justice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 3.), and praised by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 74. p. 299, 00.)

⁶³ Ursuli vero necem ipsa mihi videtur fletse justitia. Libanius, who imputes his death to the soldiers, attempts to criminate the count of the largesses.

⁶⁴ Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth, that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus summoned as a criminal under the consulship of Taurus. The summons of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

⁶⁵ Ammian. xx. 7.

⁶⁶ For the guilt and punishment of Artemius, see Julian, (Epist. x. p. 379.), Ammianus (xxii. 6. and Vales. ad loc.). The merit of Artemius, who demolished temples, and was put to death by an apostate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But as ecclesiastical history attests, that he was not only a tyrant, but an Arian, it is not altogether easy to justify this indiscreet promotion. Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 1319.

⁶⁷ See Ammian. xxii. 6. and Vales. ad locum; and the Codex Theodosianus, l. ii. tit. xxxix. leg. 1.; and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 218, ad locum.

⁶⁸ The president Montesquieu (Considerations sur la Grandeur, etc. des Romains, c. xiv. in his works, tom. iii. p. 448, 449.) excuses this minute and absurd tyranny, by supposing, that actions the most indifferent in our eyes might excite, in a Roman mind, the idea of guilt

and danger. This strange apology is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English laws, "chez une nation . . . où il est défendu, de boire à la santé d'une certaine personne."

⁶⁹ The clemency of Julian, and the conspiracy which was formed against his life at Antioch, are described by Ammianus (xxii. 9, 10, and Vales. ad loc.), and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 99. p. 323.).

⁷⁰ According to some, says Aristotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themist. p. 261.), the form of absolute government, the *παμβασιλεια*, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and the philosopher chuse, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured obscurity.

⁷¹ That sentiment is expressed almost in the words of Julian himself. Ammian. xxii. 10.

⁷² Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 95. p. 320.), who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates, in mysterious language (*θεων, εγω γινωσκων αλλ' ην αμεινων ο κωλυων*), that the emperor was restrained by some particular revelation.

⁷³ Julian in Misopogon, p. 343. As he never abolished, by any public law, the proud appellations of *Despot*, or *Dominus*, they are still extant on his medals (Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 38, 39.): and the private displeasure which he affected to express, only gave a different tone to the fervility of the court. The Abbé de la Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 99—102.) has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word *Dominus* under the Imperial government.

⁷⁴ Ammian. xxii. 7. The consul Mamertinus (in Panegy. Vet. xi. 28, 29, 30.) celebrates the auspicious day, like an eloquent slave, astonished and intoxicated by the condescension of his master.

⁷⁵ Personal satire was condemned by the laws of the twelve tables:

Si male condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est,
Judiciumque. ———

Julian (in Misopogon, p. 337.) owns himself subject to the law; and the Abbé de la Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 92.) has eagerly embraced a declaration so agreeable to his own system, and indeed to the true spirit, of the Imperial constitution.

⁷⁶ Zosimus, l. iii. p. 158.

⁷⁷ *η της βουλης ισχυς ψυχη πολεως εστιν*. See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 71. p. 296), Ammianus (xxii. 9.), and the Theodosian Code (l. xii. tit. i. leg. 50—55,) with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iv. p. 390—402.). Yet the whole subject of the *Curia*, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

⁷⁸ Quæ paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc perlui, mundari, madere; Fora, Deambulacra, Gymnasia, lætis et gauden-
tibus populis frequentari; dies festos, et celebrari veteres, et novos

in honorem principis consecrari (Mamertin. xi. 9.). He particularly restored the city of Nicopolis, and the Actiac games, which had been instituted by Augustus.

⁷⁹ Julian. Epist. xxxv. p. 407—411. This epistle, which illustrates the declining age of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bletterie; and strangely disfigured by the Latin translator, who, by rendering *ατελεια*, *eributum*, and *ιδιωται*, *populus*, directly contradicts the sense of the original.

⁸⁰ He reigned in Mycenæ, at the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, from Argos; but those cities which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Greek poets. Strabo, l. viii. p. 579. edit. Amstel. 1707.

⁸¹ Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. This pedigree from Temenus and Hercules may be suspicious; yet it was allowed, after a strict inquiry by the judges of the Olympic games (Herodot. l. v. c. 22.), at a time when the Macedonian kings were obscure and unpopular in Greece. When the Achæan league declared against Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should retire (T. Liv. xxxii. 22.).

⁸² His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 75, 76. p. 300, 301.), who distinctly mentions the orators of Homer. Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.) has rashly asserted that Julian was the only prince, since Julius Cæsar, who harangued the senate. All the predecessors of Nero (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 3.), and many of his successors, possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved by various examples, that they frequently exercised it in the senate.

⁸³ Ammianus (xxii. 10.) has impartially stated the merits and defects of his judicial proceedings. Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 90, 91. p. 315, etc.) has seen only the fair side, and his picture, if it flatters the person, expresses at least the duties, of the Judge. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 120.), who suppresses the virtues, and exaggerates even the venial faults, of the apostate, triumphantly asks, Whether such a judge was fit to be seated between Minos and Rhadamanthus, in the Elysian fields?

⁸⁴ Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of sixteen months, fifty-four have been admitted into the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. (Gothofred. Chron. Legum, p. 64—67.) The Abbé de la Bletterie (tom. ii. p. 329—336.) has chosen one of these laws to give an idea of Julian's Latin style, which is forcible and elaborate, but less pure than his Greek.

⁸⁵ - - - Ductor fortissimus armis;

Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manûque

Consultor patriæ; sed non consultor habendæ

Religionis; amans tercentum millia Divum

Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus orbi.

Prudent. Apotheosis, 450, etc.

The consciousness of a generous sentiment seems to have raised the Christian poet above his usual mediocrity.

C H A P. XXIII.

¹ I shall transcribe some of his own expressions from a short religious discourse which the Imperial pontiff composed to censure the bold impiety of a Cynic: Αλλ' ομως εγω δη τι της θεης πεφρικα, και φιλω, και σεβω, και αζομαι, και πανθ' απλως τα τοιαυτα πασχω, οσπερ αν τις και οια προς αγαθης δεσποτας, προς διδασκαλης, προς πατερας, προς κηδεμονας. Orat. vii. p. 212. The variety and copiousness of the Greek tongue seems inadequate to the fervour of his devotion.

² The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more vanity, addresses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the dead; and above all, to the great Constantius (ει τις αισθησις, an odd Pagan expression.) He concludes with a bold assurance, that he has erected a monument not less durable, and much more portable, than the columns of Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 50. iv. p. 134.

³ See this long invective, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations, in Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 49—134. Paris, 1630. It was published by Gregory and his friend Basil (iv. p. 133.), about six months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been carried to Tarus (iv. p. 120.); but while Jovian was still on the throne (iii. p. 54. iv. p. 117.). I have derived much assistance from a French version and remarks, printed at Lyons 1735.

⁴ Nicomediæ ab Eusebio educatus Episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. (Ammian. xxii. 9.) Julian never expresses any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and describes his mode of education, which inspired his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, and perhaps the religion, of Homer. Misopogon, p. 351, 352.

⁵ Greg. Naz. iii. p. 70. He laboured to efface that holy mark in the blood, perhaps of a Taurobolium. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 361. N° 3.4.

⁶ Julian himself (Epist. li. p. 454.) assures the Alexandrians that he had been a Christian (he must mean a sincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

⁷ See his Christian, and even ecclesiastical education, in Gregory (iii. p. 58.), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), and Sozomen, (l. v. c. 2.). He escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.

⁸ The share of the work which had been allotted to Gallus, was prosecuted with vigour and success; but the earth obstinately rejected and subverted the structures which were imposed by the sacrilegious hand of Julian. Greg. iii. p. 59, 60, 61. Such a partial earthquake, attested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

⁹ The philosopher (Fragment, p. 288.) ridicules the iron-chains, etc. of these solitary fanatics (see Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix.

p. 661, 662.), who had forgot that man is by nature a gentle and social animal, ἀνθρώπου φύσει πολιτικὴ ζῶα καὶ ἡμερᾶ. The Pagan supposes, that because they had renounced the gods, they were possessed and tormented by evil dæmons.

¹⁰ See Julian apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 206. l. viii. p. 253. 262. "You „ persecute, " says he, " those heretics who do not mourn the dead „ man precisely in the way which you approve. " He shews himself a tolerable theologian; but he maintains that the Christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.

¹¹ Libanius, Orat. Parentalis, c. 9, 10. p. 232, etc. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 61. Eunap. Vit. Sophist. in Maximo, p. 68, 69, 70. Edit. Commelin.

¹² A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different operation of theism and polytheism, with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 444—457. in 8vo edit. 1777.

¹³ The Idæan mother landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic war. The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by disgracing the graver modesty of the Roman ladies, is attested by a cloud of witnesses. Their evidence is collected by Drakenborch (ad Silium Italicum, xvii. 33.): but we may observe that Livy (xxix. 14.) slides over the transaction with discreet ambiguity.

¹⁴ I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεῦν μαλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ τοῦτοις τοῖς κομφοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον ὄριμν μὲν, υγιες δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βλεπεί. Orat. v. p. 161. Julian likewise declares his firm belief in the *ancilia*, the holy shields, which dropt from heaven on the Quirinal hill; and pities the strange blindness of the Christians, who preferred the *cross* to these celestial trophies. Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 194.

¹⁵ See the principles of allegory, in Julian (Orat. vii. p. 216. 222.). His reasoning is less absurd than that of some modern theologians, who assert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine *must* be divine; since no man alive could have thought of inventing it.

¹⁶ Eunapius has made these sophists the subject of a partial and fanatical history: and the learned Brucker (Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 217—303.) has employed much labour to illustrate their obscure lives, and incomprehensible doctrines.

¹⁷ Julian, Orat. vii. p. 222. He swears with the most fervent and enthusiastic devotion; and trembles, lest he should betray too much of these holy mysteries, which the profane might deride with an impious Sardonic laugh.

¹⁸ See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever issued from the Platonic school, are not worth the short poem of Catullus on the same extraordinary subject. The transition of Aty's, from the wildest enthusiasm to sober pathetic complaint, for his irretrievable loss, must inspire a man with pity, an eunuch with despair.

¹⁹ The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the Cæsars; p. 308. with Spanheim's notes and illustrations, from the fragments in Cyril, l. ii. p. 57, 58. and especially from the theological oration in Solem Regem, p. 130—158. addressed, in the confidence of friendship, to the præfect Sallust.

²⁰ Julian adopts this gross conception, by ascribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus (Cæsares, p. 333.). The Stoics and Platonists hesitated between the analogy of bodies, and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers inclined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Lucian, that an unbelieving age might starve the immortal gods. See Observations de Spanheim, p. 284. 444, etc.

²¹ Ἡλίου λεγῶ, τὸ ζῶν ἀγάλμα καὶ ἐμψυχόν, καὶ ἐννῶν, καὶ ἀγαθοεργόν τῶ νοητῶ πατρός. Julian, epist. xli. In another place apud Cyril. l. ii. p. 69.), he calls the Sun, God, and the throne of God. Julian believed the Platonician Trinity; and only blames the Christians for preferring a mortal, to an immortal, *Logos*.

²² The sophists of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the saints of the desert; and the only circumstance in their favour is, that they are of a less gloomy complexion. Instead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus evoked the genii of love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys issued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his command. p. 26, 27.

²³ The dexterous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Eunapius (p. 69—76.), with unsuspecting simplicity. The Abbé de la Bletterie understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy (Vie de Julien, p. 61—67.).

²⁴ When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the sign of the cross, the dæmons instantly disappeared (Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 71.). Gregory supposes that they were frightened, but the priests declared that they were indignant. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will determine this profound question.

²⁵ A dark and distant view of the terrors and joys of initiation is shewn by Dion, Chrysostom, Themistius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the Divine Legation has exhibited their words (vol. i. p. 239. 247, 248. 280. edit. 1765.), which he dexterously or forcibly applies to his own hypothesis.

²⁶ Julian's modesty confined him to obscure and occasional hints; but Libanius expatiates with pleasure on the facts and visions of the religious hero (Legat. ad Julian. p. 157. and Orat. Parental. c. lxxxiii. p. 309, 310.).

²⁷ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. x. p. 233, 234. Gallus had some reason to suspect the secret apostacy of his brother; and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion

of their *ancestors*; an argument, which, as it should seem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian. Op. p. 454. and Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 141.

²⁸ Gregory (iii. p. 50.), with inhuman zeal, censures Constantius for sparing the infant apostate (*κακῶς σωθέντα*). His French translator (p. 265.) cautiously observes, that such expressions must not be prises à la lettre.

²⁹ Libanius Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233.

³⁰ Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. l. v. c. viii. p. 88—90.) and Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 44—47.) have accurately compiled all that can now be discovered of Julian's work against the Christians.

³¹ About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a task which had been feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely satisfied the most favourable judges: and the Abbé de la Bletterie (Préface à l'Hist. de Jovien, p. 30. 32.) wishes that some *theologien philosophe* (a strange centaur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

³² Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lxxxvii. II. p. 313.), who has been suspected of assisting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (Orat. ix. in necem Julian. p. 255. edit. Morel.) to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be arraigned (Socrates, l. iii. c. 23.); but Libanius cannot be accused of flattery to a dead prince.

³³ Libanius Orat. Parent. c. lviii. p. 283, 284.) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his Imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Bostra, Julian himself (epist. lii.) professes his moderation, and betrays his zeal; which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed by Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 72.).

³⁴ In Greece, the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, before the death of Constantius (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 55. p. 280.); and Julian declares himself a pagan in his public manifesto to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantinople to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the gods.

³⁵ Ammianus, xxii. 5. Sozomen, l. v. c. 5. *Bestia moritur, tranquillitas redit . . . omnes episcopi qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati per indulgentiam novi principis ad ecclesias redeunt.* Jerom. adversus Luciferianos, tom. ii. p. 143. Optatus accuses the Donatists for owing their safety to an apostate (l. ii. c. 16. p. 36, 37. edit. Dupin).

³⁶ The restoration of the Pagan worship is described by Julian (Misopogon, p. 346.) Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60. p. 286, 287. and Orat. Consular. ad Julian. p. 245, 246. edit. Morel.), Ammianus (xxii. 12.), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 121.). These writers agree in the essential, and even minute, facts: but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian, are expressive of the

gradations of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.

³⁷ See Julian. Epistol. xlix. lxii, lxiii. and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end (p. 288—305.). The supreme pontiff derides the Mosaic history, and the Christian discipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the skill of a Jesuit, the *relative* worship of images.

³⁸ The exultation of Julian (p. 301.), that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character: but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions and arguments the most repugnant to his own should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

³⁹ Yet he insinuates, that the Christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on shipboard, and devoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country (p. 305.). Had the charge been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to punish.

⁴⁰ Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative (Orat. iii. p. 101, 102, etc.). He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation; and amuses himself with inquiring, what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

⁴¹ He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the Christian bishops and presbyters (Epist. lxii.). Ορων εν πολλην μεν ολιγωριαν εσαν ημιν προς της θεας; and again, ημας δε ετω ραθυμως, etc. Epist. lxiii.

⁴² He praises the fidelity of Callixene, priestess of Ceres, who had been twice as constant as Penelope, and rewards her with the priesthood of the Phrygian goddess at Pessinus (Julian. Epist. xxi.). He applauds the firmness of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to *apostatize* (Epist. xxvii. p. 401.).

⁴³ Ο δε νομιζων αδελφα λογος τε και θεων ιερα. Orat. Parent. c. 77. p. 302. The same sentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of their party.

⁴⁴ The curiosity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every mode of divination, are fairly exposed by Ammianus, xxii. 12.

⁴⁵ Julian. Epist. xxxviii. Three other epistles (xv. xvi. xxxix.) in the same style of friendship and confidence, are addressed to the philosopher Maximus.

⁴⁶ Eunapius (in Maximo, p. 77, 78, 79, and in Chrysanthio, p. 147, 148.) has minutely related these anecdotes, which he conceives to be the most important events of the age. Yet he fairly confesses the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Constantinople is described by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 86. p. 301.) and Ammianus (xxii. 7.).

⁴⁷ Chrysanthius, who had refused to quit Lydia, was created high-priest of the province. His cautious and temperate use of power

secured him after the revolution; and he lived in peace; while Maximus, Priscus, etc. were persecuted by the Christian ministers. See the adventures of those fanatic sophists; collected by Brucker, tom. ii. p. 281—293.

⁴⁸ See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 324, 325, 326.) and Eunapius (Vit. Sophist. in Proæresio, p. 126.). Some students, whose expectations perhaps were groundless, or extravagant, retired in disgust (Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 120.). It is strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's chapters (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 960.) "La Cour de Julien est pleine de philosophes et de gens perdus."

⁴⁹ Under the reign of Lewis XIV. his subjects of every rank aspired to the glorious title of *Convertisseur*, expressive of their zeal and success in making proselytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France; may they never be introduced into England!

⁵⁰ See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those of Julian himself (Orat. Parent. c. 59. p. 285.).

⁵¹ When Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. x. p. 167.) is desirous to magnify the Christian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the Imperial court, he owns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, πολλὸν ἐν ὀπλῇ, καὶ μέγαν ἐν λόγων δεινότητι. In his invectives, he scarcely allows any share of wit or courage to the apostate.

⁵² Julian. Epist. xxxviii. Ammianus, xxii. 12. Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina victitantes incultius, potiusque aviditate correpti, humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus ad sua diversoria portarentur. The devout prince and the indignant historian describe the same scene; and in Illyricum or Antioch, similar causes must have produced similar effects.

⁵³ Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 74, 75. 83—86.) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxii. lxxxiii. p. 307, 308.) περι ταυτην την σπαρδην, ἡ ἀρετὴ πλεοναν ἀνελωσθηκε μέγαν. The sophist owns and justifies the expence of these military conversions.

⁵⁴ Julian's epistle (xxv.) is addressed to the community of the Jews Aldus (Venet. 1499.) has branded it with an εἰ γνησιος; but this stigma is justly removed by the subsequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. The epistle is mentioned by Sozomen (l. v. c. 22.), and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 111.), and by Julian himself, Fragment, p. 295.

⁵⁵ The Mishnah denounced death against those who abandoned the foundation. The judgment of zeal is explained by Marsham (Canon. Chron. p. 161, 162. edit. fol. London, 1672.) and Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 120.). Constantine made a law to protect Christian converts from Judaism. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1. Godefroy, tom. vi. p. 215.

⁵⁶ Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) Judæorum seditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni speciem sustulerunt, oppressa. Aurelius

Victor, in Constantio, c. xlii. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 379, in 4to.

⁵⁷ The city and synagogue of Tiberias are curiously described by Reland. Palestin. tom. ii. p. 1036—1042.

⁵⁸ Basnage has fully illustrated the state of the Jews under Constantine and his successors (tom. viii. c. iv. p. 111—153.).

⁵⁹ Reland. (Palestin. l. i. p. 309. 390. l. iii. p. 830.) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem, and the face of the adjacent country.

⁶⁰ I have consulted a rare and curious treatise of M. d'Anville (sur l'ancienne Jérusalem, Paris 1747. p. 75.). The circumference of the ancient city (Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36.) was twenty-seven stadia, or 3550 *toises*. A plan, taken on the spot, assigns no more than 1980. for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural land-marks, which cannot be mistaken, or removed.

⁶⁰ See two curious passages in Jerom. (tom. i. p. 102. tom. vi. p. 315.), and the ample details of Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 569. tom. ii. p. 289. 294. 4to edition).

⁶¹ Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 25—47. 51—53. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethlem, the Mount of Olives, and the oak of Mambre. The holy sepulchre is described by Sandys (Travels, p. 125—133.), and curiously delineated by Le Bruyn (Voyage au Levant, p. 288—296.).

⁶² The Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem, was composed in the year 333, for the use of pilgrims; among whom Jerom (tom. i. p. 126.) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious fashion are discussed in the learned and judicious preface of Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 537—545.).

⁶³ Cicero (de Finibus, v. 1.) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.

⁶⁴ Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 326. N° 42—50.) and Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 8—16.) are the historians and champions of the miraculous *invention* of the cross, under the reign of Constantine. Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Ambrose, and perhaps Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius, and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who believe. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. p. 238—248.

⁶⁵ This multiplication is asserted by Paulinus (epist. xxxvi. See Dupin, Bibliot. Eccléf. tom. iii. p. 149.), who seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact. The same supernatural privilege must have been communicated to the Virgin's milk (Erasmii Opera, tom. i. p. 778. Lugd. Batav. 1703. in Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis ergo), saints heads, etc. and other relics, which were repeated in so many different churches.

⁶⁶ Jerom. (tom. i. p. 103.), who resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, describes the vices of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

⁶⁷ Gregor. Nyssen, apud Wesseling, p. 539. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the Catholic divines; while it is dear and familiar to our Protestant polemicists.

⁶⁸ He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. viii.), who treats his memory with tenderness and respect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obscurity, at the end of the volume.

⁶⁹ *Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare.* Ammian. xxiii. 1. The temple of Jerusalem had been famous even among the Gentiles. They had many temples in each city (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four hundred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewish nation was centered in one spot.

⁷⁰ The secret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late bishop of Gloucester, the learned and dogmatic Warburton; who, with the authority of a theologian, prescribes the motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled *Julian* (2d edition, London, 1751.), is strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian school.

⁷¹ I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, etc. who have fairly derided the fears, the folly, and the falsehood, of some superstitious divines. See *Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 25, etc.

⁷² Julian (Fragment, p. 295.) respectfully styles him *μεγας θεος*, and mentions him elsewhere (epist. lxiii.) with still higher reverence. He doubly condemns the Christians: for believing, and for renouncing, the religion of the Jews. Their Deity was a *true*, but not the *only*, God. Apud Cyril. l. ix. p. 305, 306.

⁷³ 1 Kings viii. 63. 2 Chronicles vii. 5. Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. viii. c. 4. p. 431. edit. Havercamp. As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the Christian rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to suspect the fidelity of the numbers.

⁷⁴ Julian, epist. xxix, xxx. La Bletterie has neglected to translate the second of these epistles.

⁷⁵ See the zeal and impatience of the Jews in Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* iv. p. 111.) and Theodoret (l. iii. c. 20.).

⁷⁶ Built by Omar, the second Khalif, who died A. D. 644. This great mosque covers the whole consecrated ground of the Jewish temple, and constitutes almost a square of 760 *toises*, or one Roman mile in circumference. See d'Anville *Jerusalem*, p. 45.

⁷⁷ Ammianus records the consuls of the year 363, before he proceeds to mention the *thoughts* of Julian. *Templum. . . . instaurare sumptibus*

cogitabat immodicis. Warburton has a secret wish to anticipate the design; but he must have understood, from former examples, that the execution of such a work would have demanded many years.

⁷⁸ The subsequent witnesses, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, etc. add contradictions, rather than authority. Compare the objections of Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 157—168.) with Warburton's answers (*Julian*, p. 174—258.). The bishop has ingeniously explained the miraculous crosses which appeared on the garments of the spectators by a similar instance, and the natural effects of lightning.

⁷⁹ Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 946. edit. Benedictin. He composed this fanatic epistle (A. D. 388.) to justify a bishop, who had been condemned by the civil magistrate for burning a synagogue.

⁸⁰ Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 580. advers. Judæos et Gent. tom. ii. p. 574. de St°. Babylâ, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural supposition; but the learned Benedictine, who dates the composition of these sermons in the year 383, is confident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

⁸¹ Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 110—113. Το δε εν περιβοητον πασι θυμα, και εδε τοις αδελφαις αυτοις απισουμενον λεγων ερχομαι.

⁸² Ammian. xxiii. 1. Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. Warburton labours (p. 60—90.) to extort a confession of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ the evidence of a rabbi who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witnesses can only be received by a very favourable judge.

⁸³ Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, presumes to doubt the truth of this famous miracle (*Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 47—71.). The silence of Jerom would lead to a suspicion, that the same story, which was celebrated at a distance, might be despised on the spot.

⁸⁴ Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himself. Warburton has justly observed (p. 35.), that the Platonists believed in the mysterious virtue of words; and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition, as well as from contempt.

⁸⁵ Fragment. Julian. p. 288. He derides the μορια Γαλιλαιων (Epist. vii.), and so far loses sight of the principles of toleration, as to wish (epist. xlii.) ακυντας ιασθαι.

⁸⁶ Ου γαρ μοι θεμις εστι κοιμιζεμεν η ελεαιρειν
Ανδρας, οι κε θεοισιν απεχθωντ' αθανασισιν.

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the true spirit of a bigot (Epist. xlix.), are taken from the speech of Æolus,

when he refuses to grant Ulysses a fresh supply of winds (*Odys.* x. 73.). Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. lix. p. 286.) attempts to justify this partial behaviour, by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the mask of candour.

⁸⁷ These laws which affected the clergy, may be found in the slight hints of Julian himself (*Epist.* lii.), in the vague declamations of Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 86, 87.), and in the positive assertions of Sozomen (*l. v. c. 5.*).

⁸⁸ Inclemens . . . perenni obruendum silentio. *Ammian.* xxii. 10. xxv. 5.

⁸⁹ The edict itself, which is still extant among the epistles of Julian (*xlii.*), may be compared with the loose invectives of Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 96.). Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. vii. p. 1291—1294.) has collected the seeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The Christians were *directly* forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the pagans.

⁹⁰ *Codex Theodos.* l. xiii. tit. iii. de medicis et professoribus, leg. 5. (published the 17th of June, received, at Spoleto in Italy, the 29th of July, *A. D.* 363.) with Godefroy's Illustrations, tom. v. p. 31.

⁹¹ Orosius celebrates their disinterested resolution, Sicut a majoribus nostris compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum . . . officium quam fidem deferere maluerunt, vii. 30. Proæresius, a Christian sophist, refused to accept the partial favour of the emperor. Hieronym. in *Chron.* p. 185. Edit. Scaliger. Eunapius in *Proæresio*, p. 126.

⁹² They had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their own schools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his Christian imitations of Homer (a sacred history in xxiv books), Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and Sozomen is satisfied, that they equalled, or excelled, the originals.

⁹³ It was the instruction of Julian to his magistrates (*Epist.* vii.) *προτιμασθαι μὲν τοὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ παντὶ δήμῳ δεῖν.* Sozomen (*l. v. c. 18.*) and Socrates (*l. iii. c. 13.*) must be reduced to the standard of Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 95.), not less prone to exaggeration, but more restrained by the actual knowledge of his contemporary readers.

⁹⁴ *Ἐνθὼ θεῶν καὶ διδῆς καὶ μὴ διδῆς.* Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 88. p. 314.

⁹⁵ *Greg. Naz. Orat.* iii. p. 74. 91, 92. Socrates, *l. iii. c. 14.* Theodoret, *l. iii. c. 6.* Some drawback may however be allowed for the violence of *their* zeal, not less partial than the zeal of Julian.

⁹⁶ If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 60. p. 286.) with the passionate exclamations of Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 86, 87.), we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves, that the two orators are really describing the same events.

⁹⁷ Restan or Arethusa, at the equal distance of sixteen miles between Emesa (*Hems*), and Epiphania (*Hamath*), was founded, or at least named,

named by Seleucus Nicator. Its peculiar æra dates from the year of Rome 685; according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Selcucides, Emesa and Arethusa were usurped by the Arab Sampliceramus, whose posterity, the vassals of Rome, were not extinguished in the reign of Vespasian. See d'Anville's Maps and Geographie Anc. tom. ii. p. 134. Wesseling. Itineraria, p. 188. and Noris. Epoch. Syro-Macedon. p. 80. 481, 482.

⁹⁸ Sozomen, l. v. c. 10. It is surprising, that Gregory and Theodoret should suppress a circumstance, which, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the confessor.

⁹⁹ The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted (Orat. iii. p. 88 — 91.), are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant evidence of Libanius. Μαρ ος εκεινος κρεμαμενος, και μαστιγυμενος, και τς πωγων αυτω τιλλομενς, παντα ενεγκων ανδρειως νυν ισοθεος εσι ταις τιμαις, και Θανη πς, περιμαχητος ευθυς. Epist. 730. p. 350, 351. Edit. Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

¹⁰⁰ Περιμαχητος, certatim eum sibi (Christiani) vindicant. It is thus that La Croze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word, whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by le Clerc (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 371.). Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 1309.) how Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

¹⁰¹ See the probable advice of Sallust (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 90, 91.). Libanius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many Marks; yet he allows, that if Orion had secreted the consecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer the punishment of Marfyas; to be flayed alive (epist. 730. p. 349 — 351.).

¹⁰² Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 90.) is satisfied, that by saving the apostate, Mark had deserved still more than he had suffered.

¹⁰³ The grove and temple of Daphne are described by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1089, 1090. edit. Amstel. 1707.), Libanius (Nænia, p. 185 — 188. Antiochiæ. Orat. xi. p. 380, 381.), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 19.). Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 581.), and Casaubon (ad Hist. August. p. 64.) illustrate this curious subject.

¹⁰⁴ Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem. Ammian. xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was sixty feet high, and his bulk was consequently equal to that of a thousand men. See a curious *Mémoire* of the Abbé Gedoy (Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ix. p. 198.).

¹⁰⁵ Hadrian read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the Castalian stream; a trick, which, according to the physician Vandale (de Oraculis, p. 281, 282.), might be easily performed by chymical preparations. The emperor stopped the source of such dangerous knowledge; which was again opened by the devout curiosity of Julian.

¹⁰⁶ It was purchased, A. D. 44, in the year 92 of the æra of Antioch (Noris. Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 139—174.), for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. See the curious details in the Chronicle of John Malala (tom. i. p. 290. 320. 372—381.), a writer whose merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.

¹⁰⁷ Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Sosibius, who died in the reign of Augustus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities, in the age of Constantine, are compared in the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6. (Hudson, Geograph. Minor, tom. iii.).

¹⁰⁸ Avidio Cassio Syriacas legiones dedi luxuriâ diffuentes et *Daphnicis* moribus. These are the words of the emperor Marcus Antoninus in an original letter preserved by his biographer in *Hist. August.* p. 41. Cassius dismissed or punished every soldier who was seen at Daphne.

¹⁰⁹ Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit (*Pompey*), quo locus ibi spatiosior fieret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantia. Eutropius, vi. 14. Sextus Rufus, de Provinciis, c. 16.

¹¹⁰ Julian (*Misopogon*, p. 361, 362.) discovers his own character with that naïveté, that unconscious simplicity, which always constitutes genuine humour.

¹¹¹ Babylas is named by Eusebius in the succession of the bishops of Antioch (*Hist. Ecclési.* l. vi. c. 29. 39.). His triumph over two emperors (the first fabulous, the second historical,) is diffusely celebrated by Chrysostom (tom. ii. p. 536—579. edit. Montfaucon.). Tillemont. (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. iii. part. ii. p. 287—302. 459—465.) becomes almost a sceptic.

¹¹² Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in the confession of Julian (*Misopogon*, p. 361.) and Libanius (*Nænia*, p. 185.), that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of *one* dead man. Yet Ammianus (xxii. 12.) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practised in the isle of Delos.

¹¹³ Julian (in *Misopogon*, p. 361.) rather insinuates, than affirms, their guilt. Ammianus (xxii. 13.) treats the imputation as *levissimus rumor*, and relates the story with extraordinary candour.

¹¹⁴ Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatoris ira provexit, ut quæstiones agitare juberet solito acriores (yet Julian blames the lenity of the magistrates of Antioch), et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiæ claudi. This interdiction was performed with some circumstances of indignity and profanation: and the seasonable death of the principal actor, Julian's uncle, is related with much superstitious complacency by the Abbé de la Bletterie. *Vie de Julien*, p. 362—369.

¹¹⁵ Besides the ecclesiastical historians, who are more or less to be suspected, we may allege the passion of St. Theodore, in the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 591. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

¹¹⁶ Julian. *Misopogon*, p. 361.

¹¹⁷ See Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* iii. p. 87.). Sozomen (l. v. c. 9.) may be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He was a native of Gaza, and had conversed with the confessor Zeno, who, as bishop of Maiuma, lived to the age of an hundred (l. vii. c. 28.). Philostorgius (l. vii. c. 4. with Godefroy's *Dissertations*, p. 284.) adds some tragic circumstances, of Christians, who were *literally* sacrificed at the altars of the gods, etc.

¹¹⁸ The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus (xxii. 11.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xxi. p. 382. 385. 389, 390.), and Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lxxvi.). The invectives of the two saints might not deserve much credit, unless they were confirmed by the testimony of the cool and impartial infidel.

¹¹⁹ After the massacre of George, the emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the slaves who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could wish indeed that the works of the Galilæans might perish; but he requires an exact account even of those theological volumes, lest other treatises more valuable should be confounded in their loss. Julian. *Epist.* ix. xxxvi.

¹²⁰ Philostorgius, with cautious malice, insinuates their guilt, *καὶ τὰ Ἀθανασίου γράμματα ἐπατηνῆσθαι τῆς πράξεως*, l. vii. c. 2. Godefroy, p. 267.

¹²¹ *Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerent; ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemeratâ fide progressi, et nunc MARTYRES appellantur.* Ammian. xxii. 11. Epiphanius proves to the Arians, that George was not a martyr.

¹²² Some Donatists (*Optatus Milev.* p. 60. 303. edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. vi. p. 713. in 4to) and Priscillianists (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. viii. p. 517. in 4to) have in like manner usurped the honours of Catholic saints and martyrs.

¹²³ The saints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius (A. D. 494.), the first Catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the martyrs, “*qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt.*” He rejects his Acts as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldest, of the spurious Acts, are still extant; and, through a cloud of fiction, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained, in the presence of Queen *Alexandra*, against the *magician Athanasius*.

¹²⁴ This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as *extremely* probable. See the Longueruana, tom. i. p. 194.

¹²⁵ A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century (when he was already revered in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul, might be extracted from Dr. Heylin (History of St. George, 2d edition, London 1633, in 4to, p. 429.), and the Bollandists (Act. SS. Mens. April. tom. iii. p. 100 — 163.). His fame and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades.

¹²⁷ Julian. Epist. xliii.

¹²⁸ Julian. Epist. x. He allowed his friends to assuage his anger. Ammian. xxii. II.

¹²⁹ See Athanas. ad Rufin. tom. ii. p. 40, 41.; and Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 395, 396, who justly states the temperate zeal of the primate, as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his persecutions, etc.

¹³⁰ I have not leisure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 900 — 926.); and observe how the colour of the narrative insensibly changes, as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

¹³¹ Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens, et, per tam necessarium concilium, Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus. The lively and artful Dialogue of Jerom against the Luciferians (tom. ii. p. 135 — 155.) exhibits an original picture of the ecclesiastical policy of the times.

¹³² Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in August, crowds the actions of Athanasius into a narrow space (Mém. Eccléf. tom. viii. p. 360.). An original fragment, published by the marquis Maffei from the old Chapter-library of Verona (Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. iii. p. 60 — 92.) affords many important dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

¹³³ Τον μιᾶρον, ὅς ἐτολμήσεν Ἑλληνίδας, ἐπ' ἐμῃ, γυναίκας τῶν ἐπισήμων βαπτίσαι διωκεσθαι. I have preserved the ambiguous sense of the last word, the ambiguity of a tyrant who wished to find or to create, guilt.

¹³⁴ The three Epistles of Julian, which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanasius, should be disposed in the following chronological order, xxvi, x, vi. See likewise Greg. Nazianzen, xxi. p. 393. Sozomen, l. v. c. 15. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 9. and Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. viii. p. 361 — 368, who has used some materials prepared by the Bollandists.

¹³⁵ See the fair confession of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 61, 62.).

¹³⁶ Hear the furious and absurd complaint of Optatus (de Schismat. Donatist. l. ii. c. 16, 17.).

¹³⁷ Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 91. iv. p. 133. He praises the rioters of Cæsarea, τούτων δὲ τῶν μεγαλοφυῶν καὶ θερμῶν εἰς Εὐσεβείαν.

See Sozomen, l. v. 4. 11. Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 649, 650.) owns, that their behaviour was not, dans l'ordre commun, but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil always celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

¹³⁸ Julian determined a law-suit against the new Christian city at Maiuma, the port of Gaza; and his sentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never reversed by his successors. Sozomen, l. v. c. 3. Reland. Palestin. tom. ii. p. 791.

¹³⁹ Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 93, 94, 95. Orat. iv. p. 114.) pretends to speak from the information of Julian's confidents, whom Orosius (vii. 30.) could not have seen.

¹⁴⁰ Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 91.) charges the Apostate with secret sacrifices of boys and girls; and positively affirms, that the dead bodies were thrown into the Orontes. See Theodoret, l. iii. c. 26, 27.; and the equivocal candour of the Abbé de la Bletterie, Vie de Julien, p. 351, 352. Yet *contemporary* malice could not impute to Julian the troops of martyrs, more especially in the West, which Baronius so greedily swallows, and Tillemont so faintly rejects (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 1295—1315.).

¹⁴¹ The resignation of Gregory is truly edifying (Orat. iv. p. 123, 124.). Yet, when an officer of Julian attempted to seize the church of Nazianzus, he would have lost his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people (Orat. xix. p. 308.) See the reflections of Chrysostom, as they are alleged by Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 575.).

C H A P. X X I V.

¹ See this fable or satire, p. 306—336. of the Leipzig edition of Julian's works. The French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1683.) is coarse, languid, and correct; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, etc. are piled on each other till they form a mass of 557 close-printed quarto pages. The Abbé de la Bletterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 241—323.) has more happily expressed the spirit, as well as the sense, of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and curious notes.

² Spanheim (in his preface) has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement of the Greek *satyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy; and the Latin *satires* (from *Satura*) a *miscellaneous* composition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them.

³ This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth eclogue of Virgil.

⁴ Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine, and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled, by a more sacred interest to renounce their allegiance, and to desert the cause of their author.

⁵ Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander (Orat. ad Themistium, p. 264.).

⁶ Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus . . . ab usque Divis et *Serendivis*. Ammian. xx, 7. This island, to which the names of Taprobana, Serendib, and Ceylon, have been successively applied, manifests how imperfectly the seas and lands, to the east of cape Comorin, were known to the Romans. 1. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman who farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was accidentally driven by the winds upon this strange and undiscovered coast: he conversed six months with the natives; and the king of Ceylon, who heard, for the first time, of the power and justice of Rome, was persuaded to send an embassy to the emperor (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 24.). 2. The geographers (and even Ptolemy) have magnified, above fifteen times, the real size of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator, and the neighbourhood of China.

⁷ These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the short duration of the reign of Julian.

⁸ Gothos sæpe fallaces et perfidos; hostes quærere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique sine conditionis discrimine venundantur. Within less than fifteen years, these Gothic slaves threatened and subdued their masters.

⁹ Alexander reminds his rival Cæsar, who depreciated the fame and merit of an Asiatic victory, that Crassus and Antony had felt the Persian arrows; and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Assyria (Cæsares, p. 324.).

¹⁰ The design of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus (xxii. 7. 12.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 79, 80. p. 305, 306.). Zosimus (l. iii. p. 158.), and Socrates. (l. iii. c. 19.).

¹¹ The Satire of Julian, and the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, exhibit the same picture of Antioch. The miniature which the Abbé de la Bletterie has copied from thence (Vie de Julien, p. 332.), is elegant and correct.

¹² Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyro and Berytus, comedians; Cæsarea, pantomimes; Heliopolis, singers; Gaza, gladiators; Ascalon, wrestlers; and Castabala, rope-dancers. See the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6. in the third tome of Hudson's Minor Geographers.

¹³ Χριστον δε αγαπωντες, εχετε πολιρχον αντι τῆς Διός. The people of Antioch ingeniously professed their attachment to the *Chi* (Christ) and the *Kappa* (Constantius). Julian in *Misopogon*, p. 357.

¹⁴ The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years (A. D. 330—415.), was inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf. tom. vii. p. 803.* of the quarto edition (Paris, 1701, etc.), which henceforward I shall quote.

¹⁵ Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity (in *Misopogon*, p. 369.). From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty-four first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's *Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures*, p. 88, 89. *Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 12.* *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 718—721.* *Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 246. This last I am proud to quote, as the work of a sage and a friend.

¹⁶ Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus. *Ammian. xxii. 14.* The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may claim some excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence (in *Misopogon*, p. 368, 369.), or the elaborate apology of Libanius (*Orat. Parental. c. xcvi. p. 321.*).

¹⁷ Their short and easy confinement is gently touched by Libanius (*Orat. Parental. c. xcvi. 322, 323.*).

¹⁸ Libanius (*ad Antiochenos de Imperatoris irâ, c. 17, 18, 19.* in *Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 221—223.*), like a skilful advocate, severely censures the folly of the people, who suffered for the crime of a few obscure and drunken wretches.

¹⁹ Libanius (*ad Antiochen. c. vii. p. 213.*) reminds Antioch of the recent chastisement of Cæsarea: and even Julian (in *Misopogon*, p. 355.) insinuates how severely Tarentum had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

²⁰ On the subject of the *Misopogon*, see *Ammianus (xxii. 14.)*, *Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. xcix. p. 323.)*, *Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 133.)*, and the *Chronicle of Antioch*, by John Malala (*tom. ii. p. 15, 16.*). I have essential obligations to the translation and notes of the *Abbé de la Bletterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 1—138.)*.

²¹ *Ammianus* very justly remarks, *Coactus dissimulare pro tempore irâ sufflabatur internâ.* The elaborate irony of Julian at length bursts forth into serious and direct invective.

²² *Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum Syriacæ jurisdictioni præfecit, turbulentum et sævum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochenis avaris et contumeliosis*

hujusmodi judicem convenire. Ammian. xxiii. 2. Libanius (Epist. 722. p. 346, 347.), who confesses to Julian himself, that he had shared the general discontent, pretends that Alexander was an useful, though harsh, reformer of the manners and religion of Antioch.

²³ Julian, in Misopogon, p. 364. Ammian. xxiii. 2. and Valesius ad loc. Libanius, in a professed oration, invites him to return to his loyal and penitent city of Antioch.

²⁴ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. vii. p. 230, 231.

²⁵ Eunapius reports, that Libanius refused the honorary rank of Prætorian præfect, as less illustrious than the title of Sophist (in Vit. Sophist. p. 135.). The critics have observed a similar sentiment in one of the epistles (xviii. edit. Wolf.) of Libanius himself.

²⁶ Near two thousand of his letters, a mode of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel, are still extant, and already published. The critics may praise their subtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 487.) might justly, though quaintly, observe, that "you feel by the emptiness and deadness of them, that "you converse with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his "desk."

²⁷ His birth is assigned to the year 314. He mentions the seventy-sixth year of his age (A. D. 390.), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

²⁸ Libanius has composed the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life (tom. ii. p. 1—84. edit. Morell.) of which Eunapius (p. 130—135.) has left a concise and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 571—576.), Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 378—414.), and Lardner (Heathen testimonies, tom. iv. p. 127—163.), have illustrated the character and writings of this famous sophist.

²⁹ From Antioch to Litarbe, on the territory of Chalcis, the road, over hills and through morasses, was extremely bad; and the loose stones were cemented only with sand (Julian, epist. xxvii.). It is singular enough, that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Weffeling. Itinerar. p. 190. Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins, tom. ii. p. 100.

³⁰ Julian alludes to this incident (epist. xxvii.), which is more distinctly related by Theodoret (l. iii. c. 22.). The intolerant spirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 534.), and even by La Bletterie (Vie de Julien, p. 413.).

³¹ See the curious treatise de Deâ Syriâ, inserted among the works of Lucian (tom. iii. p. 451—490. edit. Reitz.). The singular appellation of *Ninus vetus* (Ammian. xiv. 8.) might induce a suspicion, that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the Assyrians.

³² Julian (epist. xxviii.) kept a regular account of all the fortunate omens; but he suppresses the inauspicious signs, which Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) has carefully recorded.

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³³ Julian, epist. xxvii. p. 399—402.

³⁴ I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M. d'Anville, for his recent geography of the Euphrates and Tigris (Paris, 1780, in 4to.), which particularly illustrates the expedition of Julian.

³⁵ There are three passages within a few miles of each other; 1. Zeugma, celebrated by the ancients; 2 Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3. The bridge of Menbigz, or Hierapolis, at the distance of four parasangs from the city.

³⁶ Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient residence of the Sabæans, and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Vit. Saladin.), a work from which I have obtained much *Oriental* knowledge, concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

³⁷ See Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 189. edit. Hutchinson. Artavafdes might have supplied Marc Antony with 16,000 horse, armed and disciplined after the Parthian manner (Plutarch, in M. Antonio, tom. v. p. 117.).

³⁸ Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armeniac. l. iii. c. 11. p. 242.) fixes his accession (A. D. 354.) to the 17th year of Constantius.

³⁹ Ammian. xx. 11. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856.) says, in general terms, that Constantius gave his brother's widow *τοῖς βαρβαροῖς*, an expression more suitable to a Roman than a Christian.

⁴⁰ Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) uses a word much too soft for the occasion, *monuerat*. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 86.) has published an epistle from Julian to the satrap Arfaces; fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen, l. vi. c. 5.), most probably spurious. La Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 339.) translates and rejects it.

⁴¹ Latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat. Ammian. xxiii. 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapsacus, the river is four stadia, or 800 yards, almost half an English mile, broad (Xenophon Anabasis, l. i. p. 41. edit. Hutchinson, with Foster's Observations, p. 29, etc. in the 2d volume of Spelman's translation). If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than 130 yards (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 335.), the enormous difference must chiefly arise from the depth of the channel.

⁴² Monumentum tutissimum et fabrè politum, cujus mœnia Abora (the Orientals ascribe Chaboras or Chabour) et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. Ammian. xxiii. 5.

⁴³ The enterprize and armament of Julian are described by himself (Epist. xxvii.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 3, 4, 5.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 108, 109. p. 332, 333.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 160, 161, 162.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 1.), and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 17.).

⁴⁴ Before he enters Persia, Ammianus copiously describes (xxiii. 6. p. 396—419. edit. Gronov. in 4to.) the eighteen great satrapies, or

provinces (as far as the Seric, or Chinese frontiers), which were subject to the Sassanides.

⁴⁵ Ammianus (xxiv. 1.) and Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 162, 163.) have accurately expressed the order of march.

⁴⁶ The adventures of Hormisdas are related with some mixture of fable (Zosimus, l. ii. p. 100—102.; Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs. tom. iv. p. 198.). It is almost impossible that he should be the brother (frater germanus) of an *eldest* and *posthumous* child: nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title.

⁴⁷ See the first book of the Anabasis, p. 45, 46. This pleasing work is original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has sometimes betrayed him; and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

⁴⁸ Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the Anabasis (vol. i. p. 51.), confounds the antelope with the roe-buck, and the wild-ass with the zebra.

⁴⁹ See Voyages de Tavernier, part i. l. iii. p. 316. and more especially Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 671, etc. He was ignorant of the old name and condition of Annah. Our blind travellers *seldom* possess any previous knowledge of the countries which they visit. Shaw and Tournefort deserve an honourable exception.

⁵⁰ *Famosi nominis latro*, says Ammianus; an high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reigned some time in Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings, or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the Khalif Omar. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 360. Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabicæ, p. 75—78. The name of Rodofaces does not appear in the list.

⁵¹ See Ammianus (xxiv. 1, 2.), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 110, III. p. 334.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 164—168.).

⁵² The description of Assyria is furnished by Herodotus (l. i. c. 192, etc.), who sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers; by Strabo (xvi. p. 1070—1082.), and by Ammianus (l. xxiii. c. 6.). The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226—258.), Otter (tom. ii. p. 35—69. and 189—224.), and Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 172—288.). Yet I much regret that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translated.

⁵³ Ammianus remarks, that the primitive Assyria, which comprehended Ninus (Niniveh) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene: and he seems to fix Teredon, Vologesia, and Apollonia, as the *extreme* cities of the actual province of Assyria.

⁵⁴ The two rivers unite at Apamea, or Corna (one hundred miles from the Persian Gulf), into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, or Shat-ul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the sea by a separate

channel, which was obstructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe, about twenty miles to the south-east of modern Basra (d'Anville, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxx. p. 170—191.).

⁵⁵ The learned Kæmpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted (*Amœnitat. Exoticæ*, Fascicul. iv. p. 660—764.) the whole subject of palm-trees.

⁵⁶ Assyria yielded to the Persian satrap, an *Artaba* of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and measures (see Bishop Hooper's elaborate Inquiry), the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal; will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which I have stated. Yet the Great King received no more than 1000 Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (252,000 l.) from Assyria. The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (l. i. c. 192. l. iii. c. 89—96.) reveals an important difference between the *gross*, and the *net*, revenue of Persia; the sums paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasure. The monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds, of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.

⁵⁷ The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus (xxiv. 2, 3, 4, 5.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 112—123. p. 335—347.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 168—180.), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 113. 144.). The *military* criticisms of the saint are devoutly copied by Tillemont, his faithful slave.

⁵⁸ Libanius de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, c. 13. p. 162.

⁵⁹ The famous examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio, were acts of justice. Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, meritorious.

⁶⁰ Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholiast. Juvenal, Satir. i. 104.) observes that nihil corruptius moribus. The matrons and virgins of Babylon freely mingled with the men, in licentious banquets: and as they felt the intoxication of wine and love, they gradually, and almost completely, threw aside the incumbrance of dress; ad ultimum ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Q. Curtius, v. 1.

⁶¹ Ex virginibus autem, quæ speciosæ sunt captæ, et in Perside, ubi fœminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre. Ammian. xxiv. 4. The native race of Persians is small and ugly: but it has been improved, by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood (Herodot. l. iii. c. 97. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 420.).

⁶² Obsidionalibus coronis donati. Ammian. xxiv. 4. Either Julian or his historian were unskilful antiquaries. He should have given *mural* crowns. The *obsidional* were the reward of a general who had delivered a besieged city (Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. v. 6.).

⁶³ I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might hear, could transcribe, and was incapable of inventing, it. I have used some slight freedoms, and conclude with the most forcible sentence.

⁶⁴ Ammian. xxiv. 3. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122. p. 346.

⁶⁵ M. d'Anville (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 246—259.) has ascertained the true position and distance of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, etc. The Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 650—780.), seems to be the most intelligent spectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a scholar, but intolerably vain and prolix.

⁶⁶ The royal canal (*Nahar-Malcha*) might be successively restored, altered, divided, etc. (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 453.): and these changes may serve to explain the seeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, it must have fallen into the Euphrates below Ctesiphon.

⁶⁷ Καὶ μεγέθειν ελεφαντων, οἷς ἴσον ἔργον δια σταχυων ελθειν, καὶ θαλαγγοῖς. Rien n'est beau que le vrai; a maxim which should be inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

⁶⁸ Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. I have ventured to name *Sallust*. Ammianus says, of all the leaders, quod acri metû territi duces concordî precatû fieri prohibere tentarent.

⁶⁹ Hinc Imperator . . . (says Ammianus) ipse cum levis armaturæ auxiliis per prima postremaque discurrens, etc. Yet Zosimus, his friend, does not allow him to pass the river till two days after the battle.

⁷⁰ Secundum Homericam dispositionem. A similar disposition is ascribed to the wise Nestor, in the fourth book of the Iliad: and Homer was never absent from the mind of Julian.

⁷¹ Persas terrore subito miscuerunt, versisque agminibus totius gentis, apertas Ctesiphontis portas victor miles intrâset, ni major prædarum occasio fuisset, quam cura victoriæ. Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 28.). Their avarice might dispose them to hear the advice of Victor.

⁷² The labour of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory, are described by Ammianus (xxiv. 5, 6.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 124—128. p. 347—353.), Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 115.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 181—183.), and Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 28.).

⁷³ The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the first only had passed during the night (Ammian. xxiv. 6.). The παση δορυφορία, whom Zosimus transports on the third day (l. iii. p. 183.), might consist of the protectors, among whom the historian Ammianus, and the future emperor Jovian, actually served; some *schools* of the *domestics*, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards.

⁷⁴ Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 15. p. 246.) supplies us with a national tradition, and a spurious letter. I have borrowed only the leading circumstance, which is consistent with truth, probability, and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 131. p. 355.).

⁷⁵ *Civitas inexpugnabilis, facinus audax et importunum.* Ammianus, xxiv. 7. His fellow-foldier, Eutropius, turns aside from the difficulty, *Affyriamque populatus, castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquandiu habuit: remeansque victor, etc.* x. 16. Zosimus is artful or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate.

⁷⁶ Libanius, *Orat. Parent. c. 130. p. 354. c. 139. p. 361.* Socrates, l. iii. c. 21. The ecclesiastical historian imputes the refusal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a magician, who flattered the hopes and passions of his master.

⁷⁷ The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat. iv. p. 115, 116.*), may derive some credit from the testimony of the abbreviators (Sextus Rufus and Victor), and the casual hints of Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. 134. p. 357.*) and Ammianus (xxiv. 7.). The course of genuine history is interrupted by a most unseasonable chasm in the text of Ammianus.

⁷⁸ See Ammianus (xxiv. 7.), Libanius (*Orat. Parentalis, c. 132, 133. p. 356, 357.*), Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 183.), Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 26.), Gregory (*Orat. iv. p. 116.*), Augustin (*de Civitate Dei, l. iv. c. 29. l. v. c. 31.*). Of these, Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero, who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation, by a tardy and ineffectual attempt to extinguish the flames.

⁷⁹ Consult Herodotus (l. i. c. 194.), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1074.), and Tavernier (p. i. l. ii. p. 152.).

⁸⁰ *A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellant Medi sagittam.* Plin. *Hist. Natur. vi. 31.*

⁸¹ One of these dykes, which produces an artificial cascade or cataract, is described by Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226.) and Thevenot (part ii. l. i. p. 193.). The Persians, or Assyrians, laboured to interrupt the navigation of the river (Strabo, l. xv. p. 1075. D'Anville, *l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 98, 99.*).

⁸² Recollect the successful and applauded rashness of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ships on the coasts of Africa and Mexico.

⁸³ See the judicious reflections of the Author of the *Essai sur la Tactique*, tom. ii. p. 287—353, and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt, *Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. p. 351—382. on the baggage and subsistence of the Roman armies.

⁸⁴ The Tigris rises to the south, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the *Geographical Dissertation of Foster*, inserted in *Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus*, vol. ii. p. 26.

⁸⁵ Ammianus (xxiv. 8.) describes, as he had felt, the inconveniency of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Kurds, or Arabs, yield an increase

of ten, fifteen, and twenty fold, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandman. Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 279. 285.

⁸⁶ Isidore of Charax (Mansion. Parthic. p. 5, 6. in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. ii.) reckons 129. schæni from Selencia, and Thevenot (part i. l. i. ii. p. 209—245.), 128 hours of march from Bagdad to Ecbatana, or Hamadam. These measures cannot exceed an ordinary parasang, or three Roman miles.

⁸⁷ The march of Julian from Ctesiphon, is circumstantially, but not clearly, described by Ammianus (xxiv. 7, 8.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134. p. 357.), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 183.). The two last seem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius absurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

⁸⁸ Chardin, the most judicious of modern travellers, describes (tom. iii. p. 57, 58, etc. edit. in 4to.) the education and dexterity of the Persian horsemen. Briffonius (de Regno Persico, p. 650. 661, etc.) has collected the testimonies of antiquity.

⁸⁹ In Mark Antony's retreat, an attic chænix sold for fifty drachmæ, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen shillings: barley-bread was sold for its weight in silver. It is impossible to peruse the interesting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102—116.), without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were pursued by the same enemies, and involved in the same distress.

⁹⁰ Ammian. xxiv. 8. xxv. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 184, 185, 186. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134, 135. p. 357. 359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant that the troops were hungry.

⁹¹ Ammian. xxv. 2. Julian had sworn in a passion, nunquam se Marti sacra facturum (xxiv. 6.). Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honours of public professions. See Hume's philosophical Reflections. Essays, vol. ii. p. 418.

⁹² They still retained the monopoly of the vain, but lucrative, science, which had been invented in Hetruria, and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens, from the ancient books of Tarquinius, a Tuscan sage.

⁹³ Clamabant hinc inde *candidati* (see the note of Valesius) quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret. Ammian. xxv. 3.

⁹⁴ Sapor himself declared to the Romans, that it was his practice, to comfort the families of his deceased satraps, by sending them, as a present, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. Libanius, de nece Julian. ulcif. c. xiii. p. 163.

⁹⁵ The character and situation of Julian might countenance the suspicion, that he had previously composed the elaborate oration, which Ammianus heard, and has transcribed. The version of the Abbé

de la Bletterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly insinuated in the original.

⁹⁶ Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th book of the Iliad), who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.

⁹⁷ The soldiers who made their verbal, or nuncupatory, testaments upon actual service (in procinctu) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (Antiquit. Jur. Roman. tom. i. p. 504.) and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii.).

⁹⁸ This union of the human soul with the divine æthereal substance of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations. Divine Legation, vol. ii. p. 199—216.

⁹⁹ The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus (xxv. 3.), an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied some circumstances (Orat. Parental. c. 136—140. p. 359—362.). The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more ancient saints, may now be *silently* despised.

¹⁰⁰ Honoratior aliquis miles; perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious historian describes the scene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly present (xxv. 5.).

¹⁰¹ The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a senator, and though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodosian. l. vi. tit. xxiv. These privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian.

¹⁰² The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates (l. iii. c. 22.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 3.), and Theodoret (l. iv. c. 1.), ascribe to Jovian the merit of a confessor under the preceding reign; and piously suppose, that he refused the purple, till the whole army unanimously exclaimed that they were Christians. Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a single sentence. *Hostiis pro Joviano extisque inspectis, pronuntiatum est, etc.* xxv. 6.

¹⁰³ Ammianus (xxv. 10.) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Jovian: to which the younger Victor has added some remarkable strokes. The Abbé de la Bletterie (Histoire de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 1—238.) has composed an elaborate history of his short reign; a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious prejudice.

¹⁰⁴ *Regius equitatus*. It appears from Procopius, that the Immortals, so famous under Cyrus and his successors, were revived, if we may use that improper word, by the Sasanides. Brisson de Regno Persico, p. 268, etc.

¹⁰⁵ The obscure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably

lost, nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell: but M. d'Anville has demonstrated the precise situation of Sumere, Carche, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris (*Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 248. *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 95. 97.). In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a slight change of name, the royal residence of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas.

¹⁰⁶ Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus against the rebels of Media and Persia (Polybius, l. v. c. 48. 52. p. 548, 552. edit. Casaubon, in 8vo.).

¹⁰⁷ A similar expedient was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. iii. p. 255, 256, 257. It appears, from our modern travellers, that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

¹⁰⁸ The first military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus (xxv. 6.), Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. 146. p. 364.*), and Zosimus (iii. p. 189, 190, 191.). Though we may distrust the fairness of Libanius, the ocular testimony of Eutropius (*uno a Persis atque altero prælio victus*, x. 17.) must incline us to suspect, that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honour of the Roman arms.

¹⁰⁹ Sextus Rufus (*de Provinciis*, c. 29.) embraces a poor subterfuge of national vanity. *Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut a Persis primus de pace sermo haberetur.*

¹¹⁰ It is presumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a foldier and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand, *how* the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab: or *how* an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

¹¹¹ The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (xxv. 7.), Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. 142. p. 364.*), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 190, 191.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. iv. p. 117, 118*, who imputes the distress to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian), and Eutropius (x. 17.). The last mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace *necessariam quidem sed ignobilem.*

¹¹² Libanius, *Orat. Parent. c. 143. p. 364, 365.*

¹¹³ *Conditionibus . . . dispendiosis Romanæ reipublicæ impositis . . . quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus imperio rudis adquevit.* Sextus Rufus *de Provinciis*, c. 29. La Bletterie has expressed, in a long direct oration, these specious considerations of public and private interest (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 39, etc.).

¹¹⁴ The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (*Anabasis*, l. ii. p. 156. l. iii. p. 226.), or great Zab, a river of Assyria, 400 feet broad, which falls into the Tigris fourteen hours below Mosul. The error of the Greeks bestowed on the great and lesser Zab the names of the *Wolf* (Lycus), and the *Goat* (Capros). They created these animals to attend the *Tyger* of the East.

¹¹⁵ The *Cyropædia* is vague and languid: the *Anabasis* circumstantial and

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and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth.

¹¹⁶ According to Rufinus, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms, that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 702.

¹¹⁷ We may recollect some lines of Lucan (*Pharsal.* iv. 95.), who describes a similar distress of Cæsar's army in Spain:

Sæva fames aderat ——— /
Miles eget: toto censu non prodigus emit
Exiguam Cererem. Proh lucri pallida tabes!
Non deest prolato jejunos venditor auro.

See Guichardt (*Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. p. 379—382.). His Analysis of the two Campaigns in Spain and Africa, is the noblest monument that has ever been raised to the fame of Cæsar.

¹¹⁸ M. d'Anville (see his *Maps*, and *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 92, 93.) traces their march, and assigns the true position of Hatra, Ur, and Thilsaphata, which Ammianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the Samiel, the deadly hot wind, which Thevenot (*Voyages*, part ii. l. i. p. 192.) so much dreaded.

¹¹⁹ The retreat of Jovian is described by Ammianus (xxv. 9.), Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 143. p. 365.) and Zosimus l. iii. p. 194.).

¹²⁰ Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 145. p. 366. Such were the natural hopes and wishes of a rhetorician.

¹²¹ The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to Paganism, buried the inauspicious messenger under a pile of stones (Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196.). Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eye on his sword: but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that he must live to compose the panegyric of Julian (*Libanius de Vita sua*, tom. ii. p. 45, 46.).

¹²² Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witnesses of the public language and opinions. The people of Antioch reviled an ignominious peace, which exposed them to the Persians, on a naked and defenceless frontier (*Excerpt. Valesiana*, p. 845. ex *Johanne Antiocheno.*).

¹²³ The Abbé de la Bletterie (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 212—227.), though a severe casuist, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise; since he *could not* dismember the empire, nor alienate, without their consent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or instruction in such political metaphysics.

¹²⁴ At Nisibis he performed a *royal* act. A brave officer, his namesake, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown into a well, and stoned to death, without any form of trial or evidence of guilt. *Ammian.* xxv. 8.

¹²⁵ See xxv. 9. and Zosimus, l. iii. p. 194, 195.

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¹²⁶ Chron. Paschal, p. 300. The Ecclesiastical Notitiæ may be consulted.

¹²⁷ Zosimus, l. iii. p. 192, 193. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. Augustin de Civitat. Dei, l. iv. c. 29. This general position must be applied and interpreted with some caution.

¹²⁸ Ammianus, xxv. 9. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196. He might be edax, et vino Venerique indulgens. But I agree with La Bletterie (tom. i. p. 148—154.), in rejecting the foolish report of a Bacchanalian riot (ap. Suidam) celebrated at Antioch, by the emperor, his wife, and a troop of concubines.

¹²⁹ The Abbé de la Bletterie (tom. i. p. 156. 209.) handsomely exposes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs, ne cespititiâ quidem sepulturâ dignus.

¹³⁰ Compare the sophist and the saint (Libanius, Monod. tom. ii. p. 251. and Orat. Parent. c. 145. p. 367. c. 156. p. 377. with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 125—132.). The Christian orator faintly mutters some exhortations to modesty and forgiveness: but he is well satisfied, that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

¹³¹ Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 549.) has collected these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition, etc.

¹³² Sozomen (l. vi. 2.) applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide*; but the whole passage, which a jesuit might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the president Cousin.

¹³³ Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was scattered, telo cecidisse Romano. It was carried, by some deserters, to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the assassins of the emperor by Sapor and his subjects (Ammian. xxv. 6. Libanius de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, xiii. p. 162, 163.). It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the promised reward (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 141. p. 363.) But the flying horseman, who darted the fatal javelin, might be ignorant of its effect; or he might be slain in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor inspires a suspicion.

¹³⁴ Ὅς τις ἐντολὴν πληρῶν τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχοντι. This dark and ambiguous expression may point to Athanasius, the first, without a rival of the Christian clergy (Libanius de ulcif. Jul. nece, c. 5. p. 149. La Bletterie, Hist. de Joviën, tom. i. p. 179.).

¹³⁵ The Orator (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 145—179.) scatters suspicions, demands an inquiry, and insinuates, that proofs might still be obtained. He ascribes the success of the Huns to the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death.

¹³⁶ At the funeral of Vespasian, the comedian who personated that frugal emperor, anxiously inquired how much it cost — Four score thousand pounds (centies) — Give me the tenth part of the sum, and

throw my body into the Tyber. Sueton. in Vespasian. c. 19. with the notes of Casaubon and Gronovius.

¹³⁷ Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 119, 120.) compares this supposed ignominy and ridicule to the funeral honours of Constantius, whose body was chaunted over mount Taurus by a choir of angels.

¹³⁸ Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 4. The luxuriancy of his descriptions has been often censured. Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a river, whose waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

¹³⁹ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156. p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers in decorating the tomb of Julian. (de ulcif. Jul. nece, c. 7. p. 152.).

¹⁴⁰ Cujus suprema et cineres, si qui tunc justè consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus: sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum præterlambere Tiberis, interfecans urbem æternam, divorumque veterum monumenta præstringens. Ammian. xxv. 10.

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¹ The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide: she destroys herself with her own hands.

² Jovian restored to the church *τον αρχαιον κοσμον*; a forcible and comprehensive expression (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 5. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 329. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 3.). The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns (Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxv. leg. 2.), is exaggerated by Sozomen; who supposes, that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legislator.

³ Compare Socrates, l. iii. c. 25. and Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 6. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 33.

⁴ The word *caelestial* faintly expresses the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, *της προς τον Θεον των ολων ομοιωσεως*. (See the original epistle in Athanasius, tom. ii. p. 33.) Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 392.) celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The primate's journey was advised by the Egyptian monks (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. viii. p. 221.).

⁵ Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 121—148.): he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

⁶ The true æra of his death is perplexed with some difficulties (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. viii. p. 719—723.). But the date (A. D. 373, May 2.), which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratified by his authentic life (Maffei *Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. iii. p. 81.).

⁷ See the observations of Valesius and Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 38.) on the original letter of Athanasius; which is preserved by Theodoret (l. iv. c. 3.). In some MSS. this indiscreet promise is omitted, perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.

⁸ Athanasius (apud Theodoret, l. iv. c. 3.) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, *παρεξ ὀλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρεῖα ὄροντων*. This assertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

⁹ Socrates, l. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* iv. p. 131.), and Libanius (*Orat. Parentalis*, c. 149. p. 369.), express the *living* sentiments of their respective factions.

¹⁰ Themistius, *Orat.* v. p. 63—71. edit. Harduin. Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Bletterie judiciously remarks (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 199.), that Sozomen has forgot the general toleration; and Themistius, the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked; and wished to suppress the part of the edict, the least honourable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian.

¹¹ Οἱ δὲ Ἀντιόχεις ἔχ' ἡδεως διεκείντο πρὸς αὐτὸν: ἀλλ' ἐπεσκώπτουν αὐτὸν ὠδαῖς καὶ παρωδίαῖς, καὶ τοῖς καλεσμένοις Φαμωσσοῖς (*famosis libellis*). John. Antiochen. in *Excerpt. Valesian.* p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

¹² Compare Ammianus (xxv. 10.), who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zosimus (l. iii. p. 197.), who removes the scene of action from Rheims to Sirmium.

¹³ Quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat. Ammian. xxv. 10. and Vales. ad locum.

¹⁴ Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli sellâ veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit protendebat. Augustus, and his successors, respectfully solicited a dispensation of age for the sons or nephews, whom they raised to the consulship. But the curule chair of the first Brutus had never been dishonoured by an infant.

¹⁵ The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadaftana 125 Roman miles from Nice; 117 from Ancyra (*Wesseling, Itinerar.* p. 142.). The pilgrim of Bourdeaux, by omitting some stages, reduces the whole space from 242 to 181 miles. *Wesseling*, p. 574.

¹⁶ See Ammianus (xxv. 10.), Eutropius (x. 18.), who might likewise be present; Jerom. (tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodorum), Orosius (vii. 31.), Sozomen, (l. vi. c. 6.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 197, 198.), and Zonaras

(tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 28, 29.). We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we shall not discuss minute differences.

¹⁷ Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candour and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africanus who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

¹⁸ Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 336. 344. edit. Montfaucon. The Christian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes; and observes, that of nine emperors (including the Cæsar Gallus), who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a natural death. Such vague consolations have never wiped away a single tear.

¹⁹ Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed: 1. That the generals might command the expeditious use of the public posts for themselves, their attendants, and messengers. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions; and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice, when the rear halted at Ancyra.

²⁰ Ammianus, xxvi. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 198. Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 8. and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 334. Philostorgius, who appears to have obtained some curious and authentic intelligence, ascribes the choice of Valentinian to the præfect Sallust, the master-general Arintheus, Dagalaiphus, count of the domestics, and the Patrician Datianus, whose pressing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.

²¹ Ammianus (xxx. 7. 9.), and the younger Victor, have furnished the portrait of Valentinian; which naturally precedes and illustrates the history of his reign.

²² At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest, who had presumed to purify him with lustral water (Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 15.). Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could leave no room for the unworthy delation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some more private offence (Zosimus, l. iv. p. 200, 201.).

²³ Socrates, l. iv. A previous exile to Melitene, or Thebais (the first might be possible), is interposed by Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6.) and Philostorgius, (l. vii. c. 7. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 293.).

²⁴ Ammianus, in a long, because unseasonable, digression (xxvi. 1. and Valesius ad locum), rashly supposes that he understands an astronomical question, of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Censorinus (de Die Natali, c. 20.), and Macrobius (Saturnal. l. i. cap. 12 — 16.). The appellation of *Bissextile*, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustin. ad Januarium, Epist. 119.), is derived from the repetition of the sixth day of the calends of March.

²⁵ Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus (xxvi. 2.); concise and sententious in Philostorgius (l. viii. c. 8.).

²⁶ Si tuos, amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; si Rempub. licam, quære quem vestias. Ammian. xxvi. 4. In the division of the empire, Valentinian retained that sincere counsellor for himself (c. 6.).

²⁷ In suburbano, Ammian. xxvi. 4. The famous *Hebdomon*, or field of Mars, was distant from Constantinople either seven stadia or seven miles. See Valesius and his brother, ad loc. and Ducange: *Const.* l. ii. p. 140, 141. 172, 173.

²⁸ Participem quidem legitimum potestatis; sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens apperiet textus. Ammian. xxvi. 4.

²⁹ Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suidas, and the *Paschal Chronicle*, M. de Tillemont *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 671.) wishes to disbelieve these stories si avantageuses à un payen.

³⁰ Eunapius celebrates and exaggerates the sufferings of Maximus (82, 83.): yet he allows, that this sophist or magician, the guilty favourite of Julian, and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was dismissed on the payment of a small fine.

³¹ The loose assertions of a general disgrace (Zosimus, l. iv. p. 201.) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (tom. v. p. 21.).

³² Ammianus, xxvi. 5.

³³ Ammianus says, in general terms, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus. Ammian. xxxi. 14. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished, for the first time, to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, τὴν διαλεκτὸν κρατεσάν. *Orat.* vi. p. 71.

³⁴ The uncertain degree of alliance, or consanguinity, is expressed by the words ἀνεψίος, cognatus, consobrinus (See Valesius ad Ammian. xxiii. 3.). The mother of Procopius might be a sister of Basilina, and Count Julian, the mother and uncle of the apostate. Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 49.

³⁵ Ammian. xxiii. 3. xxvi. 6. He mentions the report with much hesitation: susurravit obscurior fama; nemo enim dicti auctor exstitit verus. It serves, however, to mark, that Procopius was a pagan. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obstructed, his pretensions.

³⁶ One of his retreats was a country-house of Eunomius, the heretic. The master was absent, innocent, ignorant: yet he narrowly escaped a sentence of death, and was banished into the remote parts of Mauritania (Philostorg. l. ix. c. 5. 8. and Godefroy's *Dissert.* p. 369 — 378.).

³⁷ Hormisdæ maturo juveni Hormisdæ regalis illius filio, potestatem Proconsulis detulit; et civilia, more veterum, et bella, recturo. Ammian. xxvi. 8. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was afterwards (A. D. 380.) restored to the same extraordinary office of proconsul of Bithynia (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 204.). I am ignorant whether the race of Sassan was

propagated. I find (A. D. 514.) a pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frusino, in Italy (Pagi. Brev. Pontific. tom. i. p. 247.).

³⁸ The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian; but she died young and childless. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 48. 59.

³⁹ Sequimini culminis summi profapiam, was the language of Procopius; who affected to despise the obscure birth, and fortuitous election, of the upstart Pannonian. Ammian. xxvi. 7.

⁴⁰ Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiduciâ corporis, ipsis hostibus jussit, suum vincere rectorem: atque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprehensus suorum manibus. The strength and beauty of Arintheus, the new Hercules, are celebrated by St. Basil; who supposes that God had created him as an inimitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors could not express his figure: the historians appeared fabulous when they related his exploits (Ammian. xxvi. and Vales. ad loc.).

⁴¹ The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and by Zosimus at Thyatira, which are at the distance of 150 miles from each other. But Thyatira alluitur *Lyco* (Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 31. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 79.); and the transcribers might easily convert an obscure river into a well-known province.

⁴² The adventures, usurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related, in a regular series, by Ammianus (xxvi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 203—210.). They often illustrate, and seldom contradict, each other. Themistius (Orat. vii. p. 91, 92.) adds some base panegyric; and Eunapius (p. 83, 84.) some malicious satire.

⁴³ Libanius de ulciscend. Julian. nece, c. ix. p. 158, 159. The sophist deplores the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) impeach the justice of the emperors.

⁴⁴ The French and English lawyers, of the present age, allow the *theory*, and deny the *practice*, of witchcraft, Denisart Recueil de Decisions de Jurisprudence, au mot *Sorciars*, tom. iv. p. 553. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 60.). As private reason always prevents, or outstrips, public wisdom, the president Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 5, 6.) rejects the *existence* of magic.

⁴⁵ See Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. iii. p. 567—589. The sceptic of Rotterdam exhibits, according to his custom, a strange medley of loose knowledge, and lively wit.

⁴⁶ The pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the Theurgic and the Goetic (Hist. de l'Académie, etc. tom. vii. p. 25.). But they could not have defended this obscure distinction against the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, *all* dæmons are infernal spirits; and *all* commerce with them is idolatry, apostacy, etc. which deserves death and damnation.

⁴⁷ The Canidia of Horace (Carm. l. v. od. 5. with Dacier's and Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The Erictho of Lucan

(Pharsal. vi. 430—830.). is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the Furies; and threatens, with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers that lie *below* hell, etc.

⁴⁸ Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Tacit. Hist. i. 22. See Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. viii. c. 19. and the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

⁴⁹ The persecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the future emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 353—372.) has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

⁵⁰ Limus ut hic durefcit, et hæc ut cera liquefcit

Uno eodemque igni ——— Virgil. Bucolic. viii. 80.

Devovit absentes, simulacraque cerea figit.

Ovid. in epist. Hypsil. ad Jason. 91.

Such vain incantations could affect the mind, and increase the disease, of Germanicus. Tacit. Annal. ii. 69.

⁵¹ See Heineccius Antiquitat. Juris Roman. tom. ii. p. 353, etc. Cod. Theodosian. l. ix. tit. 7. with Godefroy's Commentary.

⁵² The cruel persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (xxviii. l. xxix. l. 2.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 216—218.). The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eunapius in Vit. Sophist. p. 88, 89.); and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself for lost (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 340.).

⁵³ Consult the six last books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers (xxx. 8, 9. xxxi. 14.). Tillemont has collected (tom. v. p. 12—18. p. 127—133.) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

⁵⁴ The younger Victor asserts, that he was valde timidus: yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the head of an army. The same historian attempts to prove, that his anger was harmless. Ammianus observes, with more candour and judgment, incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læsam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem sæviebat.

⁵⁵ Cum esset ad acerbitatem naturæ calore propensior . . . pænas per ignes augebat et gladios. Ammian. xxx. 8. See xxvii. 7.

⁵⁶ I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his

servants. Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings ; in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

⁵⁷ He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry ; “ Abi, Comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit. ” A boy who had flipped too hastily a Spartan hound ; an armourer, who had made a polished cuirass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, etc. were the victims of his fury.

⁵⁸ The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for signifying a legal summons. Ammianus (xxvii. 7.) strangely supposes, that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression (Chron. Paschal. p. 302.).

⁵⁹ Ut bene meritam in sylvas jussit abire *Innoxiam*. Ammian. xxxix. 3. and Valesius ad locum.

⁶⁰ See the Code of Justinian, l. viii. tit. lii. leg. 2. Unusquisque sobolem suam nutriet. Quod si exponendam putaverit animadversioni quæ constituta est subiacebit. For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Noodt and Binkershoek ; how far, or how long, this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more civilised state of society.

⁶¹ These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, l. xiii. tit. iii. *De Professoribus et Medicis*, and l. xiv. tit. ix. *De Studiis liberalibus Urbis Romæ*. Besides our usual guide (Godefroy), we may consult Gianone (Istoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 105—111.), who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curiosity of a man of letters, who studies his domestic history.

⁶² Cod. Theodof. l. i. tit. xi. with Godefroy's *Paratitlon*, which diligently gleans from the rest of the code.

⁶³ Three lines from Ammianus (xxxi. 14.) countenance a whole oration of Themistius (viii. p. 101—120.), full of adulation, pedantry, and common-place morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i. p. 366—396.) has amused himself with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themistius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

⁶⁴ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 202. Ammian. xxx. 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of, in provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens farcinas. By some his frugality was styled avarice (Jerom. Chron. p. 186.).

⁶⁵ Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datæ : quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various testimonies of Ammianus (xxx. 9.), Zosimus l. iv. p. 204.), and Sozomen (l. vi. c. 7. 21.). Baronius

would naturally blame such rational toleration (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 370. N° 129—132. A. D. 376. N° 3, 4.

⁶⁶ Eudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens (A. D. 367.), he must have been extremely old; since he had studied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 14—16. l. iv. c. 4. with Godefroy, p. 82. 206. and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. v. p. 474—480, etc.

⁶⁷ Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxv. p. 432.) insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.

⁶⁸ This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates (l. iv.), Sozomen (l. vi.), Theodoret (l. iv.), and the immense compilations of Tillemont (particularly tom. vi. viii. and ix.).

⁶⁹ Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 78.) has already conceived and intimated the same suspicion.

⁷⁰ This reflexion is so obvious and forcible, that Orosius (l. vii. c. 32, 33.) delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (l. iii. c. 32.), that it was appeased by a philosophical oration, which Themistius pronounced in the year 374. (Orat. xii. p. 154. in Latin only). Such contradictions diminish the evidence, and reduce the term, of the persecution of Valens.

⁷¹ Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 153—167.) the most authentic circumstances from the Panegyrics of the two Gregories; the brother, and the friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. ii. p. 155—180.) do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

⁷² Basilus Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur qui multa continentiae et ingenii bona uno superbiae malo perdidit. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerom. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS. which had not been reformed by the monks.

⁷³ This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xx. p. 439.).

⁷⁴ Cod. Theodos. l. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv. p. 409—413.) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 808.) supposes a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

⁷⁵ See d'Anville, Description de l'Égypte, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.

⁷⁶ Socrates, l. iv. c. 24, 25. Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. Jerom in

Chron. p. 189. and tom. ii. p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. Right, says Jortin (Remarks, vol. iv. p. 79.), but what proves the truth of those miracles?

⁷⁷ Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. Godefroy (tom. vi. p. 49.), after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II, Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

⁷⁸ The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble, if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerom (tom. i. p. 13. 45. 144, etc.). In *his* turn, he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks: and the *Sceleratus*, the *Verfipellis*, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula (tom. ii. p. 363.). He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his influence, to any selfish or sensual purpose.

⁷⁹ Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates capiunt: solis clericis ac monachis hæc lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem. Jerom (tom. i. p. 13.) discreetly insinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus.

⁸⁰ Three words of Jerom, *sanctæ memoriæ Damasus* (tom. ii. p. 109.), wash away all his stains; and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii. p. 386—424.).

⁸¹ Jerom himself is forced to allow, crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexûs perpetratæ (in Chron. p. 186.). But an original *libel* or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party, has unaccountably escaped. They affirm, that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of *his* party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Sirmond, in the first volume of his works.

⁸² The *Basilica* of Sicinius, or Liberius, is probably the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline hill. Baronius, A. D. 366. N°. 3.; and Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 3. p. 462.

⁸³ The enemies of Damasus styled him *Auriscalpius Matronarum*, the ladies ear-scratcher.

⁸⁴ Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxxii. p. 526.) describes the pride and luxury of the prelates, who reigned in the Imperial cities; their gilt car, fiery steeds, numerous train, etc. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

⁸⁵ Ammian. xxvii. 3. Perpetuo Numini, *verisque* ejus cultoribus. The incomparable pliancy of a Polytheist!

⁸⁶ Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his præfecture (xxvii. 9.), styles him præclaræ indolis, gravitatisque, senator (xxii. 7. and Vales. ad loc.). A curious inscription (Gruter MCII. N° 2.) records, in two columns, his religious and civil honours. In one line he was Pontiff of the Sun, and of Vesta, Augur, Quindecemvir, Hierophant, etc. etc. In the other, 1. Quæstor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Prætor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria. 4. Consular of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaia. 6. Præfect of Rome. 7. Prætorian præfect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 385. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 241. 736.

⁸⁷ Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus (Jerom, tom. ii. p. 165.). It is more than probable, that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.

⁸⁸ Ammian. xxvi. 5. Valesius adds a long and good note on the master of the offices.

⁸⁹ Ammian. xxvii. 1. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 208. The disgrace of the Batavians is suppressed by the contemporary soldier, from a regard for military honour, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the succeeding age.

⁹⁰ See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 587. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Mascou (Hist. of the ancient Germans, vii. .).

⁹¹ The battles are described by Ammianus (xxvii. 2.), and by Zosimus (l. iv. p. 209.); who supposes Valentinian to have been present.

⁹² Studio solitante nostrorum, occubuit. Ammian. xxvii. 10.

⁹³ The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10.); and celebrated by Ausonius (Mosell. 421, etc.), who foolishly supposes, that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Danube.

⁹⁴ Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta; ita sæpius adolescit, ut fuisset longis sæculis æstimeretur intacta. Ammian. xxviii. 5. The Count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 370.) ascribes the fecundity of the Alemanni to their easy adoption of strangers.

⁹⁵ Ammian. xxviii. 2. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 214. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, nova arma meditari; fingere terrâ seu limo simulacra.

⁹⁶ Bellicosos et pubis immensæ viribus affluentes; et ideo metuendos finitimis universis. Ammian. xxviii. 5.

⁹⁷ I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus ascribes a similar custom to Egypt; and the Chinese have imputed it to the Taksin, or Roman empire (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part. i. p. 79.).

⁹⁸ Salinarum finiumque causâ Alemannis sæpe jurgabant. Ammian. xxviii. 5. Possibly they disputed the possession of the *Sala*, a river which

produced salt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57., and Lipsius ad loc.

⁹⁹ Jam inde temporibus priscis sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt: and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form (Oros. l. vii. c. 32.). It is annihilated by the decisive authority of Pliny, who composed the history of Drusus, and served in Germany (Plin. Secund. Epist. iii. 5.), within sixty years after the death of that hero, *Germanorum genera* quinque; Vindili, quorum pars *Burgundiones*, etc. (Hist. Natur. iv. 28.).

¹⁰⁰ The wars and negotiations, relative to the Burgundians and Alemanni, are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii. 5. xxix. 4. xxx. 3.). Orosius (l. vii. c. 32.), and the Chronicles of Jerom and Cassiodorus, fix some dates, and add some circumstances.

¹⁰¹ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῆς Κιμβρικῆς χερσονήσου, Σάξονες. At the northern extremity of the peninsula (the Cimbric promontory of Pliny, iv. 27.). Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the *Cimbri*. He fills the interval between the *Saxons* and the *Cimbri* with six obscure tribes, who were united, as early as the sixth century, under the national appellation of *Danes*. See Cluver. German. Antiq. l. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.

¹⁰² M. d'Anville (Etablissement des Etats de l'Europe, etc. p. 19—26.) has marked the extensive limits of the Saxony of Charlemagne.

¹⁰³ The fleet of Drusus had failed in their attempt to pass, or even to approach, the *Sound* (styled, from an obvious resemblance, the columns of Hercules); and the naval enterprize was never resumed (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 34). The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic. (c. 44, 45.), was obtained by their land journies in search of amber.

¹⁰⁴ Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus, ———
Sperabat; cui pelle salum fulcare Britannum
Ludus; et affuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Sidon. in Panegy. Avit. 369.

The genius of Cæsar imitated, for a particular service, these rude, but light, vessels, which were likewise used by the natives of Britain (Comment. de Bell. Civil. i. 51. and Guichardt, Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires, tom. ii. p. 41, 42.). The British vessels would now astonish the genius of Cæsar.

¹⁰⁵ The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Sidonius Apollinaris (l. viii. epist. 6. p. 223. edit. Sirmond.), and the best commentary in the Abbé du Bos (Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, etc. tom. i. l. i. c. 16. p. 148—155. See likewise p. 77, 78.).

¹⁰⁶ Ammian. (xxviii. 5.) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 32.) more clearly expresses their real guilt; virtute atque agilitate terribiles.

¹⁰⁷ Symmachus (l. ii. epist. 46.) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont,

might condemn (l. viii. epist. 6.), with *less* inconsistency, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

¹⁰⁸ In the beginning of the last century, the learned Cambden was obliged to undermine, with respectful scepticism, the romance of *Brutus*, the Trojan; who is now buried, in silent oblivion, with *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that some champions of the *Milesian colony* may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people dissatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any visions of their past or future glory.

¹⁰⁹ Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was their sober deliberate opinion. "In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas . . . "fermo haud multum diversus (in Vit. Agric. c. xi.)." Cæsar had observed their common religion (Comment. de Bello Gallico, vi. 13.); and in his time, the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at least an historical event (v. 10.). Cambden, the British Strabo, has modestly ascertained our genuine antiquities (Britannia, vol. i. Introduction, p. ii—xxx.).

¹¹⁰ In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders, whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See, Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, etc. of the Caledonians, by Dr. John Macpherson, London, 1768, in 4to; and, Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, Esq; London, 1773, in 4to, third edit. Dr. Macpherson was a minister in the Isle of Sky: and it is a circumstance honourable for the present age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticism, should have been composed in the most remote of the Hebrides.

¹¹¹ The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in the last moments of its decay, and strenuously supported, by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 430, 431.; and Genuine History of the Britons asserted, etc. p. 154—293.). Yet he acknowledges, 1. *That* the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 340.) were already settled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. *That all* the accounts of such emigrations, which have been asserted, or received, by Irish bards, Scotch historians, or English antiquaries (Buchanan, Cambden, Usher, Stillingfleet, etc.), are totally fabulous. 3. *That* three of the Irish tribes, which are mentioned by Ptolemy (A. D. 150.), were of Caledonian extraction. 4. *That* a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the house of Fingal, acquired and possessed the monarchy of Ireland. After these concessions, the remaining difference between Mr. Whitaker and his adversaries is minute and obscure. The *genuine history*, which he produces, of a Fergus, the cousin of Ossian, who was transplanted

(A. D. 320.) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural supplement to the Erse poetry; and the feeble evidence of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century. The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question, which he so *vehemently* debates, and so *absolutely* decides.

¹¹² Hyeme tumentes ac sævientes undas calcâstis Oceani sub remis vestris; . . . insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit. Julius Firmicus Maternus de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 464. edit. Gronov. ad calcem Minuc. Fæl. See Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 336.).

¹¹³ Libanius, Orat. parent. c. xxxix. p. 264. This curious passage has escaped the diligence of our British antiquaries.

¹¹⁴ The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, etc. of the *stranger*. See Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 343.; and Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, p. 242—286.

¹¹⁵ Lord Lyttleton has circumstantially related (History of Henry II. vol. i. p. 182.), and Sir David Dalrymple has slightly mentioned (Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 69.), a barbarous inroad of the Scots, at a time (A. D. 1137.) when law, religion, and society, must have softened their primitive manners.

¹¹⁶ Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio. Ammian. xxvi. 8. Cambden (Introduct. p. clii.) has restored their true name in the text of Jerom. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerom had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum (Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. xl.).

¹¹⁷ Cum ipse adolescentulus in Galliâ viderim Attacottos (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges, et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, pastorum *nates* et feminarum *papillas* folere abscindere; et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari. Such is the evidence of Jerom (tom. ii. p. 75.), whose veracity I find no reason to question.

¹¹⁸ Ammianus has concisely represented (xx. i. xxvi. 4. xxvii. 8. xxviii. 3.) the whole series of the British war.

¹¹⁹ Horrescit ratibus . . . impervia Thule.

Ille nec falso nomine Pictos

Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucrone fecutus

Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

Claudian, in iii. Conf. Honorii, ver. 53, etc.

——Maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcades : incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

In iv. Conf. Hon. v. 31, etc.

See likewise Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 5.). But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the *British* victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. v. 2.) with his real character (Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. 16.).

¹²⁰ Ammianus frequently mentions their *concilium annuum*, legiti-

mum, etc. Leptis and Sabrata are long since ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, still flourishes under the provincial denomination of *Tripoli*. See Cellarius (Geograph. Antiqua, tom. ii. part. ii. p. 81.), D'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 71, 72.), and Marmol. (Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.).

¹²¹ Ammian. xviii. 6. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 25. 676.) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of Count Romanus.

¹²² The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure: and Orosius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 551. edit. Havercamp.) seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens. Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. 691.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient and sure-footed mule of the Alps may be trusted in the most slippery paths.

¹²³ Ammian. xxix. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical land-marks.

¹²⁴ Ammianus, xxviii. 4. Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. p. 551, 552. Jerom. in Chron. p. 187.

¹²⁵ Leo Africanus (in the Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 78—83.) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country; which are more minutely described in the Afrique de Marmol. tom. iii. p. 1—54.

¹²⁶ This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five, to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 426.

¹²⁷ *Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semiferi . . . Blemmyes, Satyri, etc.* Pomponius Mela, i. 4. p. 26. edit. Voss. in 8vo. Pliny *philosophically* explains (vi. 35.) the irregularities of nature, which he had *credulously* admitted (v. 8.).

¹²⁸ If the satyr was the Orang-outang, the great human ape (Buffon. Hist. Nat. tom. xiv. p. 43, etc.), one of that species might actually be shewn alive at Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais (Jerom. in Vit. Paul. Eremit. i. p. 238.).

¹²⁹ St. Anthony likewise met one of *these* monsters; whose existence was seriously asserted by the emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his præfect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of an *Hippocentaur*; which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the Imperial palace. See Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 3.), and the judicious observations of Freret (Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. vii. p. 321, etc.).

¹³⁰ The fable of the pigmies is as old as Homer (Iliad. iii. 6.). The pigmies of India and Æthiopia were (*trispithami*) twenty-seven inches high.

high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched, in battle array, to destroy the cranes eggs, aliter (says Pliny) *futuris gregibus non resisti*. Their houses were built of mud, feathers, and egg-shells. See Pliny (vi. 35. vii. 2.) and Strabo (l. ii. p. 121.).

¹³¹ The third and fourth volumes of the valuable *Histoire des Voyages* describe the present state of the negroes. The nations [of the sea-coast have been polished by European commerce; and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonies.

¹³² *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, etc. tom. iv. p. 192.

¹³³ The evidence of Ammianus is original and decisive (xxvii. 12.), Moses of Chorene (l. iii. c. 17. p. 249. and c. 34. p. 269.), and Procopius (*de Bell. Persico*, l. i. c. 5. p. 17. edit. Louvre), have been consulted: but those historians, who confound distinct facts, repeat the same events, and introduce strange stories, must be used with diffidence and caution.

¹³⁴ Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis; under whose walls Caius, the grandson of Augustus, was wounded. This fortress was situate above Amida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See d'Anville, *Geographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 106.

¹³⁵ Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 701.) proves, from chronology, that Olympias must have been the mother of Para.

¹³⁶ Ammianus xxvii. 12. xxix. l. xxx. 1, 2.) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* l. iii. c. 28. p. 261. c. 31. p. 266. c. 35. p. 271.) affords some additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable.

¹³⁷ Artaxerxes was successor and brother (*the cousin-german*) of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his son Sapor III. (*Agathias*, l. iv. p. 136. edit. Louvre.). See the *Universal History*, vol. xi. p. 86. 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sassanian dynasty with erudition and diligence: but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two distinct histories.

¹³⁸ Pacatus in *Panegy. Vet.* xii. 22. and Orosius, l. vii. c. 34. *Ictumque tum fœdus est, quo universus Oriens usque ad nunc (A. D. 416.) tranquillissime fruitur.*

¹³⁹ See in Ammianus (xxx. 1.) the adventures of Para. Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, story of his son Gnelus; who afterwards made himself popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning king (iii. c. 21, etc. p. 253, etc.).

¹⁴⁰ The concise account of the reign and conquests of Hermanric, seems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 28.) borrowed from the Gothic histories of Ablavius, or Cassiodorus.

¹⁴¹ M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 311 — 329.) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the *Vasinobroncæ*, on account of the immoderate length of their name.

Yet the French envoy to Ratisbon, or Dresden, must have traversed the country of the *Mediomatrici*.

¹⁴² The edition of Grötius (Jornandes, p. 642.) exhibits the name of *Æstri*. But reason, and the Ambrosian MS. have restored the *Æstii*, whose manners and situation are expressed by the pencil of Tacitus (Germania, c. 45.).

¹⁴³ Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) observes, in general terms: Ermenrichi.... nobilissimi Regis, et, per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis gentibus formidati, etc.

¹⁴⁴ Valens docetur relationibus Ducum, gentem Gothorum, eâ tempestate intactam ideoque fœvissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadendam parari collimitia Thraciarum. Ammian. xxvi. 6.

¹⁴⁵ M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 332.) has curiously ascertained the real number of these auxiliaries. The 3000 of Ammianus, and the 10,000 of Zosimus, were only the first divisions of the Gothic army.

¹⁴⁶ The march, and subsequent negociation, are described in the Fragments of Eunapius. Excerpt. Legat. p. 18. edit. Louvre. The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the Barbarians, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature; but their legs were clumsy, and their shoulders were narrow.

¹⁴⁷ Valens enim, ut consulto placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos ratione justâ permotus. Ammianus (xxvii. 4.) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war.

¹⁴⁸ Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek sophist must have considered as *one* and the *same* war, the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius.

¹⁴⁹ The Gothic war is described by Ammianus (xxvii. 5.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 211—214.), and Themistius (Orat. x. p. 129—141.). The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens on the Danube, to Achilles in the Scamander. Jornandes forgets a war peculiar to the *Visti*-Goths, and inglorious to the Gothic name (Mascou's Hist. of the Germans, vii. 3.).

¹⁵⁰ Ammianus (xxix. 6.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 219, 220) carefully mark the origin and progress of the Quadic and Sarmatian war.

¹⁵¹ Ammianus (xxx. 5.), who acknowledges the merit, has censured, with becoming asperity, the oppressive administration of Petronius Probus. When Jerom translated, and continued, the Chronicle of Eusebius (A. D. 380. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xii. p. 53. 626.), he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion of his country, in the following words: "Probus P. P. Illyrici iniquissimis, tributorum exactionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, quam a Barbaris

vastarentur, *erast.*” (Chron. edit. Scaliger, p. 187. Animadvers. p. 259.). The Saint afterwards formed an intimate and tender friendship with the widow of Probus; and the name of Count Equitius, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the text.

¹⁵² Julian (Orat. vi. p. 198.) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himself ridiculous and unhappy, by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

¹⁵³ Ammian. xxx. 5. Jerom, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuses him even this last consolation of revenge. Genitali vastato solo, et *inultam* patriam derelinquens (tom. i. p. 26.).

¹⁵⁴ See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus (xxx. 6.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 221.), Victor (in Epitom.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.), and Jerom. (in Chron. p. 187, and tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodor.). There is much variety of circumstances among them; and Ammianus is so eloquent, that he writes nonsense.

¹⁵⁵ Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.) is the only original witness of this foolish story, so repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it scarcely deserves the formal and elaborate dissertation of M. Bonamy (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx. p. 394—405.). Yet I would preserve the natural circumstance of the bath; instead of following Zosimus, who represents Justina as an old woman, the widow of Magnentius.

¹⁵⁶ Ammianus (xxvii. 6.) describes the form of this military election, and *august* investiture. Valentinian does not appear to have consulted or even informed, the senate of Rome.

¹⁵⁷ Ammianus, xxx. 10. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 707—709.), that Gratian reigned in Italy, Africa and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.

C H A P. X X V I.

¹ Such is the bad taste of Ammianus (xxvi. 10.), that it is not easy to distinguish his facts from his metaphors. Yet he positively affirms, that he saw the rotten carcase of a ship, *ad secundum lapidem*, at Methone, or Modon, in Peloponnesus.

² The earthquakes and inundations are variously described by Libanius (Orat. de ulciscendâ Juliani necē, c. x. in Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 158. with a learned note of Olearius), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 221.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 2.), Cedrenus (p. 310. 314.), and Jerom (in Chron. p. 186. and tom. i. p. 250. in Vit. Hilarion.). Epidaurus must have been overwhelmed, had not the prudent citizens placed St. Hilarion, an Egyptian monk, on the beach. He made the sign of the cross. The mountain wave stopped, bowed, and returned.

³ Dicæarchus, the Peripatetic, composed a formal treatise, to prove this obvious truth; which is not the most honourable to the human species (Cicero, de Officiis, ii. 5.).

⁴ The original Scythians of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 47—57. 99—101.) were confined by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a square of 4000 stadia (400 Roman miles). See d'Anville, (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxxv. p. 573—591.) Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 155. edit. Wesseling) has marked the gradual progress of the *name* and nation.

⁵ The *Tatars*, or Tartars, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the subjects, of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zingis Khan, and his successors, the Tartars formed the vanguard; and the name, which first reached the ears of foreigners, was applied to the whole nation (Freret, in the Hist. de l'Académie, tom. xviii. p. 60.). In speaking of all, or any, of the northern shepherds of Europe, or Asia, I indifferently use the appellations of *Scythians*, or *Tartars*.

⁶ Imperium Asiæ ter quæivere: ipsi perpetuo ab alieno Imperio aut intacti, aut invicti, mansere. Since the time of Justin (ii. 2.) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words (tom. x. p. 64. Hist. Générale, c. 156.), has abridged the Tartar conquests.

Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar,

Has Scythia breath'd the living cloud of war.

⁷ The fourth book of Herodotus affords a curious, though imperfect, portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who describe the uniform scene, the Khan of Khowaresin, Abulghazi Bahadur, expresses his native feelings; and his Genealogical History of the *Tatars* has been copiously illustrated by the French and English editors. Carpin, Ascelin, and Rubruquis (in the Hist. des Voyages, tom. vii.), represent the Moguls of the fourteenth century. To these guides I have added Gerbillon, and the other jesuits (Description de la Chine, par du Halde, tom. iv.), who accurately surveyed the Chinese Tartary, and that honest and intelligent traveller Bell, of Antermony (two volumes in 4to. Glasgow, 1763.).

⁸ The Uzbeks are the most altered from their primitive manners; 1. by the profession of the Mahometan religion; and, 2. by the possession of the cities and harvests of the great Bucharra.

⁹ Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en général cruels et féroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous les lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbarie Angloise est connue, etc. Emile de Rousseau, tom. i. p. 274. Whatever we may think of the general observation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his example. The good-natured complaints of Plutarch, and the pathetic lamentations of Ovid, seduce our reason, by exciting our sensibility.

¹⁰ These Tartar emigrations have been discovered by M. de Guignes (Histoire des Huns, tom. i. ii.), a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language; who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.

¹¹ A plain in the Chinese Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the missionaries to be three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Montesquieu, who has used, and abused, the relations of travellers, deduces the revolutions of Asia from this important circumstance, that heat and cold, weakness and strength, touch each other without any temperate zone. (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xvii. c. 3.).

¹² Petit de la Chroix (*Vie de Gengiscan*, l. iii. c. 7.) represents the full glory and extent of the Mogul chace. The Jesuits Gerbillon and Verbiest followed the emperor Kambi when he hunted in Tartary (*Duhalde, Description de la Chine*, tom. iv. p. 81. 290, etc. folio edit.). His grandson, Kienlong, who unites the Tartar discipline with the laws and learning of China, describes (*Eloge de Monkden*, p. 273—285.), as a poet, the pleasures which he had often enjoyed, as a sportsman.

¹³ See the second volume of the Genealogical History of the Tartars: and the lists of the Khans, at the end of the life of Gengis, or Zingis. Under the reign of Timur, or Tamerlane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of Khan; and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of Emir, or Sultan. Abulghazi, part v. c. 4. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 878.

¹⁴ See the Diets of the ancient Huns (*de Guignes*, tom. ii. p. 26.), and a curious description of those of Zingis (*Vie de Gengiscan*, l. i. c. 6. l. iv. c. 11.). Such assemblies are frequently mentioned in the Persian history of Timur; though they served only to countenance the resolutions of their master.

¹⁵ Montesquieu labours to explain a difference, which has not existed, between the liberty of the Arabs, and the *perpetual* slavery of the Tartars (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xvii. c. 5. l. xviii. c. 19, etc.).

¹⁶ Abulghazi Khan, in the two first parts of his Genealogical History, relates the miserable fables and traditions of the Uzbek Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.

¹⁷ In the thirteenth book of the *Iliad*, Jupiter turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy, to the plains of Thrace and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold a more peaceful or innocent scene.

¹⁸ Thucydides, l. ii. c. 97.

¹⁹ See the fourth book of Herodotus. When Darius advanced into the Moldavian desert, between the Danube and the Niester, the king of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a bird, and five arrows; a tremendous allegory!

²⁰ These wars and heroes may be found, under their respective *titles*, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot. They have been celebrated in an epic poem of sixty thousand rhymed couplets, by Ferdusi, the Homer of Persia. See the History of Nader Shah, p. 145. 165. The public must lament, that Mr. Jones has suspended the pursuit of Oriental learning.

²¹ The Caspian sea, with its rivers, and adjacent tribes, are laboriously illustrated in the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, which compares the true geography, and the errors produced by the vanity or ignorance of the Greeks.

²² The original seat of the nation appears to have been in the Northwest of China, in the provinces of Chenfi and Chanfi. Under the two first dynasties, the principal town was still a moveable camp; the villages were thinly scattered; more land was employed in pasture than in tillage; the exercise of hunting was ordained to clear the country from wild beasts; Petcheli (where Pekin stands) was a desert; and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the *Han* (before Christ 206.) gave the empire its actual form and extent.

²³ The æra of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 2952 to 2132 years before Christ; and the year 2637 has been chosen for the lawful epoch, by the authority of the present emperor. The difference arises from the uncertain duration of the two first dynasties; and the vacant space that lies beyond them, as far as the real, or fabulous, times of Fohi, or Hoangti. Sematien dates his authentic chronology from the year 841: the thirty-six eclipses of Confucius (thirty-one of which have been verified) were observed between the years 722 and 480 before Christ. The *historical period* of China does not ascend above the Greek Olympiads.

²⁴ After several ages of anarchy and despotism, the dynasty of the Han (before Christ 206.) was the æra of the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were restored; the characters were improved and fixed; and the future preservation of books was secured, by the useful inventions of ink, paper, and the art of printing. Ninety-seven years before Christ, Sematien published the first history of China. His labours were illustrated, and continued, by a series of one hundred and eighty historians. The substance of their works is still extant; and the most considerable of them are now deposited in the king of France's library.

²⁵ China has been illustrated by the labours of the French; of the missionaries at Pekin, and Messrs. Freret, and the Guignes, at Paris. The substance of the three preceding notes is extracted from *The Chou-king*, with the preface and notes of M. de Guignes, Paris, 1770: *The Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, translated by the P. de Mailla, under the name of *Hist. Générale de la Chine*, tom. i. p. xlix—cc.; the *Mémoires sur la Chine*, Paris, 1776, etc. tom. i. p. 1—323. tom. ii. p. 5—364.; the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. i. p. 1—131. tom. v. p. 345—362.; and the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 377—402. tom. xv. p. 495—564. tom. xviii. p. 178—295. tom. xxxvi. p. 164—238.

²⁶ See the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii. and the *Genealogical History*, vol. ii. p. 620—664.

²⁷ M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 1—124.) has given the original history of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chinese geography of their

country (tom. i. part. ii. p. lv. — lxiii.), seems to comprise a part of their conquests.

²⁸ See in Duhalde (tom. iv. p. 18—65.) a circumstantial description, with a correct map, of the country of the Mongous.

²⁹ The Igours, or Vigours, were divided into three branches; hunters, shepherds, and husbandmen; and the last class was despised by the two former. See Abulghazi, part ii. c. 7.

³⁰ Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv. p. 17—33. The comprehensive view of M. de Guignes has compared these distant events.

³¹ The fame of Sovou, or So-ou, his merit, and his singular adventures, are still celebrated in China. See the Eloge de Moukden, p. 20. and notes, p. 241—247.; and Mémoires sur la Chine, tom. iii. p. 317—360.

³² See Isbrand Ives, in Harris's collection, vol. ii. p. 931; Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 247—254.; and Gmelin, in the Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 283—329. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the *holy sea* grows angry and tempestuous, if any one presumes to call it a *lake*. This grammatical nicety often excites a dispute, between the absurd superstition of the mariners, and the absurd obstinacy of travellers.

³³ The construction of the wall of China is mentioned by Duhalde (tom. ii. p. 45.) and de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 59.).

³⁴ See the life of Lieoupang, or Kaoti, in the Hist. de la Chine, published at Paris 1777, etc. tom. i. p. 442—522. This voluminous work is the translation (by the P. de Mailla) of the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, the celebrated abridgment of the great History of Semakouang (A. D. 1084.) and his continuators.

³⁵ See a free and ample memorial, presented by a Mandarin to the emperor Venti (before Christ 180—157), in Duhalde (tom. ii. p. 412—426.); from a collection of State papers, marked with the red pencil by Kamhi himself (p. 384—612.). Another memorial from the minister of war (Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 555.) supplies some curious circumstances of the manners of the Huns.

³⁶ A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute (Hist. de la Conquête de la Chine, par les Tartares Manchoux, tom. i. p. 186, 187. with the note of the editor).

³⁷ De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 62.

³⁸ See the reign of the emperor Vouti, in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 1—98. His various and inconsistent character seems to be impartially drawn.

³⁹ This expression is used in the memorial to the emperor Venti (Duhalde, tom. ii. p. 417.). Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco-Polo and Isaac Vossius, we may rationally allow for Pekin, two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the South, which contain the manufactures of China, are still more populous.

⁴⁰ See the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 150., and the subsequent events under the proper years. This memorable festival is celebrated in the *Eloge de Moukden*, and explained in a note by the P. Gaubil, p. 89, 90.

⁴¹ This inscription was composed on the spot by Pankou, President of the Tribunal of History (Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 392.). Similar monuments have been discovered in many parts of Tartary (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 122.).

⁴² M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 189.) has inserted a short account of the Sienpi.

⁴³ The æra of the Huns is placed, by the Chinese, 1210 years before Christ. But the series of their kings does not commence till the year 230. (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 21. 123.)

⁴⁴ The various accidents of the downfall and flight of the Huns, are related in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 88. 91. 95. 139, etc. The small numbers of each hord may be ascribed to their losses and divisions.

⁴⁵ M. de Guignes has skilfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary (tom. ii. p. 123. 277, etc. 325, etc.).

⁴⁶ Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana when it was invaded (A. D. 1218.) by Zingis and his moguls. The Oriental historians (see d'Herbelot, *Petit de la Croix*, etc.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century, the same provinces of Chorasmia and Mawaralnahr were described by Abulfeda (*Hudson, Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.). Their actual misery may be seen in the *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, p. 423—469.

⁴⁷ Justin (xli. 6.) has left a short abridgment of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their industry I should ascribe the new and extraordinary trade, which transported the merchandizes of India into Europe, by the Oxus, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Phasis, and the Euxine. The other ways, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Seleucides and the Ptolemies. (See *l'Esprit des Loix*, l. xxi.)

⁴⁸ Procopius de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 3. p. 9.

⁴⁹ In the thirteenth century, the monk Rubruquis (who traversed the immense plain of Kipzak, in his journey to the court of the Great Khan) observed the remarkable name of *Hungary*, with the traces of a common language and origin (*Hist. des Voyages*, tom. vii. p. 269.)

⁵⁰ Bell (vol. i. p. 29—34.), and the editors of the *Genealogical History* (p. 539.), have described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present century.

⁵¹ This great transmigration of 300,000 Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the year 1771. The original narrative of Kien-long, the reigning emperor of China, which was intended for the inscription of a column, has been translated by the missionaries of Pekin (*Mémoire sur la Chine*, tom. i. p. 401—418.). The emperor affects the smooth and specious language of the Son of Heaven, and the Father of his People.

⁵² The Kang-Mou (tom. iii. p. 447.), ascribes to their conquests a space of 14,000 *lis*. According to the present standard, 200 *lis* (or more accurately 193.) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are strong reasons to believe that the ancient *li* scarcely equalled one half of the modern. See the elaborate researches of M. d'Anville, a geographer, who is not a stranger in any age, or climate, of the globe (*Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. ii. p. 123—502. Mésures Itinéraires, p. 154—167.*).

⁵³ See the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 125—144. The subsequent history (p. 145—277.) of three or four Hunnic dynasties evidently proves, that their martial spirit was not impaired by a long residence in China.

⁵⁴ Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Judicatur ibi beatus qui in proelio profuderit animam: senescentes etiam et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus infectantur. We must think highly of the conquerors of *such* men.

⁵⁵ On the subject of the Alani, see Ammianus (xxxi. 2.), Jornandes (*de Rebus Geticis*, c. 24.), M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 279.), and the *Genealogical History of the Tartars* (tom. ii. p. 617.).

⁵⁶ As we are possessed of the authentic history of the Huns, it would be impertinent to repeat, or to refute, the fables, which misrepresent their origin and progress, their passage of the mud or water of the Mæotis, in pursuit of an ox or stag, les Indes qu'ils avaient découvertes, etc. (*Zosimus*, l. iv. p. 224. *Sozomen*, l. vi. c. 37. *Procopius Hist. Miscell.* c. 5. *Jornandes*, c. 24. *Grandeur et Décadence*, etc. *des Romains*, c. 17.).

⁵⁷ Prodigiosæ formæ, et pandi; ut bipedes existimes bestias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus, effigiati stipites dolantur incompti. *Ammian.* xxxi. 1. *Jornandes* (c. 24.) draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face. Species pavendâ nigredine . . . quædam deformis offa, non facies; habensque magis puncta, quam lumina. See *Buffon*, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 380.

⁵⁸ This execrable origin, which *Jornandes* (c. 24.) describes with the rancour of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleasing fable of the Greeks (*Herodot.* l. iv. c. 9, etc.).

⁵⁹ The Roxolani may be the fathers of the Ρως, the *Russians* (*d'Anville*, *Empire de Russie*, p. 1—10.), whose residence (A. D. 862.) about Novogrod Veliki cannot be very remote from that which the *Geographer of Ravenna* (i. 12. iv. 4. 46. v. 28. 30.) assigns to the Roxolani (A. D. 886.).

⁶⁰ The text of Ammianus seems to be imperfect, or corrupt; but the nature of the ground explains, and almost defines, the Gothic rampart. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, etc. tom. xxviii. p. 444—462.

⁶¹ M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 407.) has

conceived a strange idea, that Alavivus was the same person as Ulphilas, the Gothic bishop: and that Ulphilas, the grandson of a Cappadocian captive, became a temporal prince of the Goths.

⁶² Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 24.) describe the subversion of the Gothic empire by the Huns.

⁶³ The Chronology of Ammianus is obscure and imperfect. Tillemont has laboured to clear and settle the annals of Valens.

⁶⁴ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 223. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 38. The Isaurians, each winter, infested the roads of Asia Minor, as far as the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Basil, Epist. ccl. apud Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 106.

⁶⁵ The passage of the Danube is exposed by Ammianus (xxxi. 3, 4.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 223, 224.), Eunapius in Excerpt. Legat. p. 19, 20.), and Jornandes (c. 25, 26.). Ammianus declares (c. 5.), that he means only, *ipsas rerum digerere summitates*. But he often takes a false measure of their importance; and his superfluous prolixity is disagreeably balanced by his unseasonable brevity.

⁶⁶ Chishull, a curious traveller, has remarked the breadth of the Danube, which he passed to the south of Bucharest, near the conflux of the Argish (p. 77.). He admires the beauty and spontaneous plenty of Mæsia, or Bulgaria.

⁶⁷ Quem si scire velit, Libyci velit æquoris idem

Scire quam multæ Zephyro truduntur harenæ.

Ammianus has inserted, in his prose, these lines of Virgil (Georgic. l. ii.), originally designed by the poet to express the impossibility of numbering the different sorts of vines. See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xiv.

⁶⁸ Eunapius and Zosimus curiously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it must be presumed, that they were the manufactures of the provinces; which the Barbarians had acquired as the spoils of war; or as the gifts, or merchandise, of peace.

⁶⁹ *Decem libras*; the word *silver* must be understood. Jornandes betrays the passions and prejudices of a Goth. The servile Greeks, Eunapius and Zosimus, disguise the Roman oppression, and execrate the perfidy of the Barbarians. Ammianus, a patriot historian, slightly, and reluctantly, touches on the odious subject. Jerom, who wrote almost, on the spot, is fair, though concise. *Per avaritiam Maximi ducis, ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt* (in Chron.).

⁷⁰ Ammianus, xxxi. 4, 5.

⁷¹ *Vexillis de more sublati, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis*. Ammian. xxxi. 5. These are the *rauca cornua* of Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 57.), the large horns of the *Uri*, or wild bull; such as have been more recently used by the Swiss Cantons of Uri and Underwald (Simler de Republicâ Helvet. l. ii. p. 201. edit. Fufelin. Tigur. 1734.). Their military horn is finely, though perhaps casually, introduced in an original narrative of the battle of Nancy (A. D. 1477.). "Attendant le combat le dit cor fut corné par trois fois, tant que le vent du souffleur pouvait

“durer : ce qui esbahit fort Monsieur de Bourgoigne ; *car déjà à Morat l’avoit ouy.*” (See the Pièces justificatives in the 4to edition of Philippe de Comines, tom. iii. p. 493.)

⁷² Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 26. p. 648. edit. Grot. These *splendidi panni* (they are comparatively such) are undoubtedly transcribed from the larger histories of Priscus, Ablavius, or Cassiodorus.

⁷³ Cum populis suis longe ante suscepti. We are ignorant of the precise date and circumstances of their transmigration.

⁷⁴ An Imperial manufacture of shields, etc. was established at Hadrianople; and the populace were headed by the *Fabricenses*, or workmen (Vales. ad Ammian. xxxi. 6.).

⁷⁵ Pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans. Ammian. xxxi. 7.

⁷⁶ These mines were in the country of the Bessi, in the ridge of mountains, the Rhodope, that runs between Philippi and Philippopolis; two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the value, not the weight, of a thousand talents (200,000 l.); a revenue which paid the phalanx, and corrupted the orators of Greece. See Diodor. Siculus, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 88. edit. Wesseling. Godefroy’s Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. iii. p. 496. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 676. 857. D’Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 336.

⁷⁷ As those unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted severe laws to drag them from their hiding-places. Cod. Theodosian. l. x. tit. xix. leg. 5. 7.

⁷⁸ See Ammianus, xxxi. 5, 6. The historian of the Gothic war loses time and space, by an unseasonable recapitulation of the ancient inroads of the Barbarians.

⁷⁹ The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 226, 227. edit. Wesseling) marks the situation of this place about sixty miles north of Tomi, Ovid’s exile; and the name of *Salices* (the willows) expresses the nature of the soil.

⁸⁰ This circle of waggons, the *Carrago*, was the usual fortification of the Barbarians (Vegetius de Re Militari, l. iii. c. 10. Valesius ad Ammian. xxxi. 7.). The practice and the name were preserved by their descendants, as late as the fifteenth century. The *Charroy*, which surrounded the *Ost*, is a word familiar to the readers of Froissard or Comines.

⁸¹ Statim ut accensi malleoli. I have used the literal sense of real torches or beacons: but I almost suspect, that it is only one of those turgid metaphors, those false ornaments, that perpetually disfigure the style of Ammianus.

⁸² Indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi. Ammian. xxxi. 7. The historian might have viewed these plains, either as a soldier, or as a traveller. But his modesty has suppressed the adventures of his own life subsequent to the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian. We are

ignorant of the time when he quitted the service, and retired to Rome, where he appears to have composed his History of his Own Times.

⁸³ Ammian. xxxi. 8.

⁸⁴ Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem, et obscenæ vitæ flagitiis ita accipimus merfam; ut apud eos nefandi concubitûs fœdere copulentur mares puberes, ætatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro, si qui jam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti. Ammian. xxxi. 9. Among the Greeks likewise, more especially among the Cretans, the holy bands of friendship were confirmed, and sullied, by unnatural love.

⁸⁵ Ammian. xxxi. 8, 9. Jerom (tom. i. p. 26.) enumerates the nations, and marks a calamitous period of twenty years. This epistle to Heliodorus was composed in the year 397. (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xii. p. 645.).

⁸⁶ The field of battle, *Argentaria*, or *Argentovaria*, is accurately fixed by M. d'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 96—99.) at twenty-three Gallic leagues, or thirty-four and a half Roman miles, to the south of Strasburgh. From its ruins the adjacent town of *Colmar* has arisen.

⁸⁷ The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) may derive some additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerom, and the History of Orosius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 252. edit. Havercamp.).

⁸⁸ Moratus paucissimos dies, seditione popularium levium pulsus. Ammian. xxxi. 11. Socrates (l. iv. c. 38.) supplies the dates and some circumstances.

⁸⁹ Vivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque, et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit. Ammianus, xxxi. 9. Those cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifale, appear in a very desolate state. See Muratori, Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i. Dissertat. xxi. p. 354.

⁹⁰ Ammian. xxxi. 11. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 228—230. The latter expatiates on the desultory exploits of Sebastian, and dispatches, in a few lines, the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the ecclesiastical critics, who hate Sebastian, the praise of Zosimus is disgrace (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 121.). His prejudice and ignorance undoubtedly render him a very questionable judge of merit.

⁹¹ Ammianus (xxxi. 12, 13.) almost alone describes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We might censure the vices of his style, the disorder and perplexity of his narrative: but we must now take leave of this impartial historian; and reproach is silenced by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

⁹² The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus, and the twelve of Idatius, can only embarrass those critics (Valesius ad loc.), who suppose a great army to be a mathematical point, without space or dimensions.

⁹³ Nec ulla, annalibus, præter Cannensem pugnam ita ad inter-
necionem res legitur gesta. Ammian xxxi. 13. According to the grave
Polybius, no more than 370 horse, and 3000 foot, escaped from the
field of Cannæ: 10,000 were made prisoners; and the number of the
slain amounted to 5630 horse, and 70,000 foot (Polyb. l. iii. p. 371.
edit. Casaubon, in 8vo). Livy (xxii. 49.) is somewhat less bloody: he
slaughters only 2700 horse, and 40,000 foot. The Roman army was
supposed to consist of 87,200 effective men (xxii. 36.).

⁹⁴ We have gained some faint light from Jerom (tom. i. p. 26. and
in Chron. p. 188.), Victor (in Epitome), Orosius (l. vii. c. 53. p. 555.),
Jornandes (c. 27.), Zosimus (iv. c. 239.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 38.),
Sozomen (l. vi. c. 40.), Idatius (in Chron.). But their united evidence,
if weighed against Ammianus alone, is light and unsubstantial.

⁹⁵ Libanius de ulciscend. Julian. Nece, c. 3. in Fabricius, Bibliot.
Græc. tom. vii. p. 146—148.

⁹⁶ Valens had gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the
Saracens, whose vexatious inroads were felt on the borders of Phœnicia,
Palestine, and Egypt. The Christian faith had been lately introduced
among a people, reserved, in a future age, to propagate another religion
(Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 104. 106. 141. Mém.
Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 593.).

⁹⁷ Crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, subraucum et
lugubre strepens. Ammian. xxxi. 16. and Valef. ad loc. The Arabs
often fought naked; a custom which may be ascribed to their sultry
climate, and ostentatious bravery. The description of this unknown
savage is the lively portrait of Derar, a name so dreadful to the Christians
of Syria. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 72. 84. 87.

⁹⁸ The series of events may still be traced in the last pages of Am-
mianus (xxx. 15. 16.). Zosimus (l. iv. p. 227. 231.), whom we are
now reduced to cherish, misplaces the fall of the Arabs before the
death of Valens. Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legation, p. 20.) praises the
fertility of Thrace, Macedonia, etc.

⁹⁹ Observe with how much indifference Cæsar relates, in the Com-
mentaries of the Gallic war; *that* he put to death the whole senate of
the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy (iii. 16.); *that* he laboured
to extirpate the whole nation of the Eburones (vi. 31.); *that* forty
thousand persons were massacred at Bourges by the just revenge of his
soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex (vii. 27.), etc.

¹⁰⁰ Such are the accounts of the Sack of Magdeburgh, by the eccle-
siastic and the fisherman which Mr. Harte has transcribed (Hist. of
Gustaphus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 313—320.), with some apprehension
of violating the *dignity* of history.

¹⁰¹ Et vastatis urbibus, hominibusque interfectis, solitudinem et
raritatem bestiarum quoque fieri, *et volatilium, pisciumque*: testis Illyricum
est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum (Pannonia); ubi
præter cælum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et condensa sylvarum

cuncta perierunt. Tom. vii. p. 250. ad 1. Cap. Sophonias, and tom. i. p. 26.

¹⁰² Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 20.) foolishly supposes a præternatural growth of the young Goths; that he may introduce Cadmus's armed men, who sprung from the dragon's teeth, etc. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times.

¹⁰³ Ammianus evidently approves this execution, *efficacia velox et salutaris*, which concludes his work (xxxi. 16.). Zosimus, who is curious and copious (l. iv. p. 233—236.), mistakes the date, and labours to find the reason, why Julius did not consult the emperor Theodosius; who had not yet ascended the throne of the East.

¹⁰⁴ A life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the last century (Paris 1679, in 4to; 1680, in 12mo), to inflame the mind of the young Dauphin with Catholic zeal. The author, Flechier, afterwards bishop of Nîmes, was a celebrated preacher; and his history is adorned, or tainted, with pulpit-eloquence; but he takes his learning from Baronius, and his principles from St. Ambrose and St. Augustin.

¹⁰⁵ The birth, character, and elevation of Theodosius, are marked in Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 10, 11, 12.), Themistius (Orat. xiv. p. 182.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 231.), Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 25.), Orosius (l. vii. c. 34.), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 2.), Socrates (l. v. c. 2.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 5.), Philostorgius (l. ix. c. 17. with Godefroy, p. 393.), the Epitome of Victor, and the Chronicles of Prosper, Idatius, and Marcellinus, in the *Thesaurus Temporum* of Scaliger.

¹⁰⁶ Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 716, etc.

¹⁰⁷ *Italica*, founded by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of Italy. The ruins still appear, about a league above Seville, but on the opposite bank of the river. See the *Hispania Illustrata* of Nonius, a short, though valuable, treatise. C. xvii. p. 64—67.

¹⁰⁸ I agree with Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 726.) in suspecting the royal pedigree, which remained a secret till the promotion of Theodosius. Even after that event, the silence of Pacatus outweighs the venal evidence of Themistius, Victor, and Claudian, who connect the family of Theodosius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian.

¹⁰⁹ Pacatus compares, and consequently prefers, the youth of Theodosius, to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the second Africanus; who, like him, had served under their fathers (xii. 8.).

¹¹⁰ Ammianus (xxix. 6.) mentions this victory of Theodosius Junior *Dux Mæsiæ, primâ etiam tum lanugine juvenis, princeps postea perfectissimus*. The same fact is attested by Themistius and Zosimus: but Theodoret (l. v. c. 5.), who adds some curious circumstances, strangely applies it to the time of the Interregnum.

¹¹¹ Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 9.) prefers the rustic life of

Theodosius to that of Cincinnatus : the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty.

¹¹² M. d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 25.) has fixed the situation of Caucha, or Coca, in the old province of Gallicia, where Zosimus and Idatius have placed the birth, or patrimony, of Theodosius.

¹¹³ Let us hear Ammianus himself. Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Cæsaris Nervæ exorsus, adusque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensurâ : nunquam, ut arbitror, sciens, silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores ætate, doctrinisque florentes. Quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros, procedere linguas ad majores moneo stilos. Ammian. xxxi. 16. The first thirteen books, a superficial epitome of two hundred and fifty-seven years, are now lost : the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times.

¹¹⁴ Ammianus was the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in the Latin language. The East, in the next century, produced some rhetorical historians, Zosimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, etc. See Vossius de Historicis Græcis, l. ii. c. 18. de Historicis Latinis, l. ii. c. 10, etc.

¹¹⁵ Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 344. edit. Montfaucon. I have verified, and examined, this passage : but I should never, without the aid of Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 152.), have detected an historical anecdote, in a strange medley of moral and mystic exhortations, addressed, by the preacher of Antioch, to a young widow.

¹¹⁶ Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legation. p. 21.

¹¹⁷ See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws. Codex Theodos. tom. i. Prolegomen. p. xcix—civ.

¹¹⁸ Most writers insist on the illness, and long repose, of Theodosius, at Thessalonica : Zosimus, to diminish his glory ; Jornandes, to favour the Goths ; and the ecclesiastical writers, to introduce his baptism.

¹¹⁹ Compare Themistius (Orat. xiv. p. 181.) with Zosimus (iv. p. 232.), Jornandes (c. xxvii. p. 649.), and the prolix Commentary of M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, etc. tom. vi. p. 477—552.). The Chronicles of Idatius and Marcellinus allude, in general terms, to, magna certamina, magna multaque prælia. The two epithets are not easily reconciled.

¹²⁰ Zosimus (l. iv. p. 232.) styles him a Scythian, a name which the more recent Greeks seem to have appropriated to the Goths.

¹²¹ The reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jornandes, or the author whom he transcribed. Regiam urbem ingressus est, miransque, En, inquit, cerno quod sæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis. Et huc illuc oculos volvens, nunc situm urbis commeatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara prospectans, miratur ; populosque diversarum gentium, quasi fonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente undâ, sic quoque militem ordinatum aspiciens. Deus, inquit,

est sine dubio terrenus Imperator, et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit. Jornandes (c. xxviii. p. 650.) proceeds to mention his death and funeral.

¹²² Jornandes, c. xxviii. p. 650. Even Zosimus (l. iv. p. 246.) is compelled to approve the generosity of Theodosius, so honourable to himself, and so beneficial to the public.

¹²³ The short, but authentic, hints in the *Fasti* of Idatius (Chron. Scaliger, p. 52.) are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth oration of Themistius is a compliment to Peace, and the consul Saturninus (A. D. 383.).

¹²⁴ Ἔθνος το Σκυθικόν πασιν αγνωστον. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 252.

¹²⁵ I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the μονοξύλα of the Barbarians, the single trees hollowed into the shape of a boat, πληθει μονοξύλων εμβιβασαντες. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 253.

Ausi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi
In lintres fregere nemus: ter mille ruebant
Per fluvium plenæ cuneis immanibus alni.

Claudian, in iv. Conf. Hon. 623.

¹²⁶ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 252—255. He too frequently betrays his poverty of judgment, by disgracing the most serious narratives with trifling and incredible circumstances.

¹²⁷ — Odothæi Regis *opima*

Retulit —

Ver. 632.

The *opima* were the spoils, which a Roman general could only win from the king, or general, of the enemy, whom he had slain with his own hands: and no more than three such examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome.

¹²⁸ See Themistius, Orat. xvi. p. 211. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 152.) mentions the Phrygian colony:

— Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis

Phryx ager —

and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus, and Hermus.

¹²⁹ Compare Jornandes (c. xx. 27.), who marks the condition and number of the Gothic *Fœderati*, with Zosimus (l. iv. p. 258.), who mentions their golden collars; and Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 37.), who applauds, with false or foolish joy, their bravery and discipline.

¹³⁰ Amator pacis generisque Gothorum, is the praise bestowed by the Gothic historian (c. xxix.), who represents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, slow to anger, and patient of injuries. According to Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

¹³¹ Besides the partial invectives of Zosimus (always discontented with the Christian reigns), see the grave representations which Synesius addresses to the emperor Arcadius (de Regno, p. 25, 26. edit. Petav.).

The

The philosophic bishop of Cyrene was near enough to judge; and he was sufficiently removed from the temptation of fear, or flattery.

¹³² Themistius (Orat. xvi. p. 211, 212.) composes an elaborate and rational apology, which is not, however, exempt from the puerilities of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could *only* charm the wild beasts of Thrace: but Theodosius enchanted the men and women, whose predecessors in the same country had torn Orpheus in pieces, etc.

¹³³ Constantinople was deprived, half a day, of the public allowance of bread, to expiate the murder of a Gothic soldier: *κινδυνος Σκυθικόν* was the guilt of the people. Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 394. édit. Morel.

¹³⁴ Zosimus l. iv. p. 267—271. He tells a long and ridiculous story of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five horsemen, of a spy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old woman's cottage, etc.

¹³⁵ Compare Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 21, 22.) with Zosimus (l. iv. p. 279.). The difference of circumstances and names must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Fravitta, or Travitta, was afterwards consul (A. D. 401.), and still continued his faithful service to the eldest son of Theodosius (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom v. p. 467.).

¹³⁶ Les Goths ravagerent tout depuis le Danube jusqu'au Bosphore; exterminèrent Valens et son armée; et ne repassèrent le Danube, que pour abandonner l'affreuse solitude qu'ils avoient faite (Oeuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii. p. 479; Considerations sur les *Causes* de la Grandeur et de la Decadence des Romains, c. xvii.). The president Montesquieu seems ignorant, that the Goths, after the defeat of Valens, *never* abandoned the Roman territory. It is now thirty years, says Claudian (de Bello Getico, 166, etc. A. D. 404.),

Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones,
Atque Istrum transecta semel, vestigia fixit
Threicio funesta solo —

The error is inexcusable; since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the Western Empire of Rome.

N O T E S
T O T H E
F I F T H V O L U M E.

C H A P. X X V I I.

¹ Valentinian was less attentive to the religion of his son; since he entrusted the education of Gratian to Ausonius, a professed Pagan (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. p. 125—138.). The poetical fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age.

² Ausonius was successively promoted to the Prætorian præfecture of Italy (A. D. 377.), and of Gaul (A. D. 378.), and was at length invested with the consulship (A. D. 379.). He expressed his gratitude in a servile and insipid piece of flattery (*Actio Gratiarum*, p. 699—736.), which has survived more worthy productions.

³ *Disputare de principali judicio non oportet. Sacrilegii enim instar est dubitare, an is dignus sit, quem elegerit imperator.* Codex Justinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 3. This convenient law was revived and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the feeble court of Milan.

⁴ Ambrose composed, for his instruction, a theological treatise on the faith of the Trinity: and Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 158. 169.) ascribes to the archbishop the merit of Gratian's intolerant laws.

⁵ *Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem, nesciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant, et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt.* Codex Justinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 1. Theodosius indeed may claim his share, in the merit of this comprehensive law.

⁶ Ammianus (xxx. 10.) and the younger Victor acknowledge the virtues of Gratian; and accuse, or rather lament, his degenerate taste. The odious parallel of Commodus is saved by “*licet incruentus* ; ” and perhaps Philostorgius (l. x. c. 10. and Godefroy, p. 412.) had guarded, with some similar reserve, the comparison of Nero.

⁷ Zosimus (l. iv. p. 247.) and the younger Victor ascribe the revolution to the favour of the Alani, and the discontent of the Roman troops. *Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferebat veteri ac Romano militi.*

* Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, is a memorable expression, used by Jerom in the Pelagian controversy, and variously, tortured in the disputes of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the last age appeared to justify the image of the sublime Bossuet, "cette isle, plus orageuse que les mers qui l'environnent."

⁹ Zosimus says of the British foldiers; των αλλων απαντων πλεον αυθαδεια και θυμω νικουμενους.

¹⁰ Helena the daughter of Eudda. Her chapel may still be seen at Caer-segont, now Caer-narvon (Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 168. from Rowland's Mona Antiqua.). The prudent reader may not perhaps be satisfied with such Welsh evidence.

¹¹ Cambden (vol. i. introduct. p. ci.) appoints him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquities is followed, as usual, by his blind progeny. Pacatus and Zosimus had taken some pains to prevent this error, or fable; and I shall protect myself by their decisive testimonies. Regali habitu *exulem* suum, illi exules orbis induerunt (in Panegyri, Vet. xii. 23.), and the Greek historian, still less equivocally, αυτος (Maximus) δε εδε εις αρχην εντιμον ετυχη προελθων (l. iv. p. 248.).

¹² Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. ii. 7. Orosius, l. vii. c. 34. p. 556. They both acknowledge (Sulpicius had been his subject) his innocence and merit. It is singular enough, that Maximus should be less favourably treated by Zosimus, the partial adversary of his rival.

¹³ Archbishop Usher (Antiquitat. Britan. Eccles. p. 107, 108.) has diligently collected the legends of the island, and the continent. The whole emigration consisted of 30,000 foldiers, and 100,000 plebeians who settled in Bretagne. Their destined brides, St. Ursula with 11,000 noble, and 60,000 plebeian, virgins, mistook their way; landed at Cologne, and were all most cruelty murdered by the Huns. But the plebeian sisters have been defrauded of their equal honours; and, what is still harder, John Trithemius presumes to mention the *children* of these British *virgins*.

¹⁴ Zosimus (l. iv. p. 248, 249.) has transported the death of Gratian from Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyons) to Singidunum in Moesia. Some hints may be extracted from the Chronicles; some lies may be detected in Sozomen (l. vii. c. 13.) and Socrates (l. v. c. 11.). Ambrose is our most authentic evidence (tom. i. Enarrat. in Psalm. lxi. p. 961. tom. ii. epist. xxiv. p. 888, etc. and de Obitu Valentinian. Consolat. N° 28. p. 1182.).

¹⁵ Pacatus (xii. 28) celebrates his fidelity, while his treachery is marked in Prosper's Chronicle, as the cause of the ruin of Gratian. Ambrose, who has occasion to exculpate himself, only condemns the death of Vallio, a faithful servant of Gratian (tom. ii. epist. xxiv. p. 891. edit. Benedict.).

¹⁶ He protested, nullum ex adversariis nisi in acie occubuisse. Sulp. Severus in Vit. B. Martin. c. 23. The orator of Theodosius bestows

reluctant, and therefore weighty, praise on his clemency. Si cui ille, pro ceteris sceleribus suis, *minus crudelis* fuisse videtur (Panegy. Vet. xii. 28.).

¹⁷ Ambrose mentions the laws of Gratian, quas non abrogavit hostis (tom. ii. epist. xvii. p. 827.).

¹⁸ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 251, 252. We may disclaim his odious suspicions; but we cannot reject the treaty of peace, which the friends of Theodosius have absolutely forgotten, or slightly mentioned.

¹⁹ Their oracle, the archbishop of Milan, assigns to his pupil Gratian an high and respectable place in heaven (tom. ii. de Obi. Val. Consol. p. 1193.).

²⁰ For the baptism of Theodosius, see Sozomen (l. vii. c. 4.), Socrates (l. v. c. 6.), and Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.).

²¹ Ascolius, or Acholius, was honoured by the friendship, and the praises, of Ambrose; who styles him, murus fidei atque sanctitatis (tom. ii. epist. xv. p. 820.); and afterwards celebrates his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy, etc. (epist. xvi. p. 822.) a virtue which does not appertain either to a *wall*, or a *bishop*.

²² Codex Theodof. l. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 5—9. Such an edict deserved the warmest praises of Baronius, auream sanctionem, edictum pium et salutare. — Sic itur ad astra.

²³ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 6. Theodoret, l. v. c. 16. Tillemont is displeased (Mém. Eccléf. tom. vi. p. 627, 628.) with the terms of "rustic bishop," "obscure city." Yet I must take leave to think, that both Amphilocheus and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire.

²⁴ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 5. Socrates, l. v. c. 7. Marcellin. in Chron. The account of forty years must be dated from the election or intrusion of Eusebius; who wisely exchanged the bishopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

²⁵ See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 71. The thirty-third Oration of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the *words* of this remarkable passage; which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar.

²⁶ See the thirty-second Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in 1800 jambics. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

²⁷ I confess myself deeply indebted to the *two* lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. ix. p. 305—560, 692—731.), and Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 1—128.).

²⁸ Unless Gregory Nazianzen mistook thirty years in his own age;

he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The preposterous chronology of Suidas has been graciously received; because it removes the scandal of Gregory's father, a saint likewise, begetting children, after he became a bishop (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf. tom. ix. p. 693—697.*).

²⁹ Gregory's Poem on his own Life contains some beautiful lines (tom. ii. p. 8.), which burst from the heart, and speak the pangs of injured and lost friendship:

..... πονοὶ κοινοὶ λόγων,
Ομοσεγὸς τε καὶ συνεσῖος βίος,
Νῆς εἰς ἐν ἀμφοῖν
Λισκεδᾶσαι πάντα, ἐρριπταὶ χαμαὶ,
Αὐραὶ φέρῃσι τὰς παλαιὰς ἐλπίδας.

In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:

Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
The sister's vows, etc.

Shakespeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen: he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of Nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain.

³⁰ This unfavourable portrait of Sasima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen (tom. ii. de Vitâ suâ, p. 7, 8.). Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archilais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the *Itinerary of Antoninus* (p. 144. edit. Wesseling.).

³¹ The name of Nazianzus has been immortalised by Gregory; but his native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæsarea (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf. tom. ix. p. 692.*), is mentioned by Pliny (vi. 3.), Ptolemy, and Hierocles (*Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 709.*). It appears to have been situate on the edge of Isauria.

³² See Ducange, *Constant. Christiana*, l. iv. p. 141, 142. The *θεῖα δύναμις* of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

³³ Tillemont (*Mém. Eccléf. tom. ix. p. 432.*) etc.) diligently collects, enlarges, and explains, the oratorical and poetical hints of Gregory himself.

³⁴ He pronounced an oration (tom. i. Orat. xxiii. p. 409.) in his praise; but after their quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron (see Jerom, tom. i. in *Catalog. Script. Eccléf. p. 301.*). I touch slightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

³⁵ Under the modest emblem of a dream, Gregory (tom. ii. *carmen ix. p. 78.*) describes his own success with some human complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his auditor St. Jerom (tom. i. *Epist. ad Nepotian. p. 14.*) that the preacher understood the true value of popular applause.

³⁶ *Lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint*, is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerom.

³⁷ Socrates (l. v. c. 7.) and Sozomen (vii. c. 5.) relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He considered, says Socrates, that it is difficult to *resist* the powerful; but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to *submit*.

³⁸ See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vitâ suâ, p. 21, 22. For the sake of posterity, the bishop of Constantinople records a stupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning; but the sun broke forth, when the procession entered the church.

³⁹ Of the three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret alone (l. v. c. 7.) has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728) judiciously removes, from the reign of Gratian, to that of Theodosius.

⁴⁰ I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions (l. ix. c. 19.) the expulsion of Damophilus. The Eunomian historian has been carefully strained through an orthodox sieve.

⁴¹ Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 91—105.) of the theological sermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, etc. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be stiled *Tritheists*, as *Distheists*. Gregory himself was almost a Tritheist; and his monarchy of heaven resembles a well-regulated aristocracy.

⁴² The First general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican: but the popes had long hesitated, and their hesitation perplexes, and almost staggers, the humble Tillemont, (Mém. Eccléf. tom. xi. p. 499, 500.).

⁴³ Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most popular ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*, for the sake of peace, the bishopric of Antioch (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 3. 11. Socrates, l. v. c. 5.). Tillemont thinks it his duty to disbelieve the story; but he owns that there are many circumstances in the life of Flavian, which *seem* inconsistent with the praises of Chrysostom, and the character of a saint (Mém. Eccléf. tom. x. p. 541.).

⁴⁴ Consult Gregory Nazianzen, de Vitâ suâ, tom. ii. p. 25—28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their assemblies, may be seen in verse and prose (tom. i. orat. i. p. 33. epist. lv. p. 814. tom. ii. carmen x. p. 81.). Such passages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc.

⁴⁵ See Gregory, tom. ii. de Vitâ suâ, p. 28—31. The fourteenth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second orations were pronounced in the several stages of this business. The peroration of the last (tom. i. p. 528.), in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the East and the West, etc. is pathetic, and almost sublime.

⁴⁶ The whimsical ordination of Nectarius is attested by Sozomen (l. vii. c. 8.); but Tillemont observes (Mém. Eccléf. tom. ix. p. 719.),

Après tout, ce narré de Sozomene est si honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mêle, et sur-tout pour Theodose, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le détruire, qu'à le soutenir; an admirable canon of criticism!

⁴⁷ I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper; when it was not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople.

⁴⁸ See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6 — 23., with Godfrey's commentary on each law, and his general summary, or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi. p. 104—110.

⁴⁹ They always kept their Easter, like the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and thus pertinaciously opposed the Roman church and Nicene synod, which had *fixed* Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's Antiquities, l. xx. c. 5. vol. ii. p. 309. fol. edit.

⁵⁰ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 12.

⁵¹ See the sacred History of Sulpicius Severus (l. ii. p. 437 — 452. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647.), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (Credibility, etc. part ii. vol. ix. p. 256 — 350.) has laboured this article, with pure learning, good sense, and moderation. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii. p. 491—527.) has raked together all the dirt of the fathers: an useful scavenger;

⁵² Severus Sulpicius mentions the arch-heretic with esteem and pity. *Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium, prorsus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cerneret* (Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 439.). Even Jerom (tom. i. in Script. Ecclesi. p. 302.) speaks with temper of Priscillian and Latronian.

⁵³ The bishopric (in Old Castile) is now worth 20,000 ducats a year (Busching's Geography, vol. ii. p. 308.), and is therefore much less likely to produce the author of a new heresy.

⁵⁴ *Exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas* (Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. xii. 29.). Such was the idea of a humane, though ignorant, polytheist.

⁵⁵ One of them was sent in Syllinam insulam quæ ultra Britanniam est. What must have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly (Cambden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 1519.)?

⁵⁶ The scandalous calumnies of Augustin, Pope Leo, etc. which Tillemont swallows like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may suggest some candid suspicions in favour of the older Gnostics.

⁵⁷ Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xxiv. p. 891.

⁵⁸ In the Sacred History and the Life of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus uses some caution; but he declares himself more freely in the Dialogues (iii. 15.). Martin was reprov'd, however, by his own conscience, and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with so much ease.

⁵⁹ The Catholic presbyter (Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 448.), and the pagan

Orator (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 29.), reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ithacius.

⁶⁰ The life of St. Martin, and the Dialogues concerning his miracles contain facts adapted to the grossest barbarism, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between good taste and good sense, that I am always astonished by this contrast.

⁶¹ The short and superficial life of St. Ambrose, by his deacon Paulinus (Appendix ad edit. Benedict. p. i. — xv.), has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. x. p. 78 — 306.), and the Benedictine editors (xxxi — lxxiii.), have laboured with their usual diligence.

⁶² Ambrose himself (tom. ii. epist. xxiv. p. 888 — 891.) gives the emperor a very spirited account of his own embassy.

⁶³ His own representation of his principles and conduct (tom. ii. epist. xx. xxi. xxii. p. 852 — 880.) is one of the curious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the sermon *de Basilicis non tradendis*.

⁶⁴ Retz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appease the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, etc. *A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de respect, de douleur, de regret, et de soumission, etc.* (Mémoires, tom. i. p. 140.) Certainly I do not compare either the causes, or the men; yet the coadjutor himself had some idea (p. 84.) of imitating St. Ambrose.

⁶⁵ Sozomen alone (l. vii. c. 13.) throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

⁶⁶ *Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesiâ mori parata cum episcopo suo . . . Nos adhuc frigidi excitabamur tamen civitate attonitâ atque turbatâ.* Augustin. Confession. l. ix. c. 7.

⁶⁷ Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. ii. p. 78. 498. Many churches in Italy, Gaul, etc. were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervase seems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

⁶⁸ *Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut prisca ætas ferebat.* Tom. ii. epist. xxii. p. 875. The size of these skeletons was fortunately, or skilfully, suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decrease of the human stature: which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

⁶⁹ Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xxii. p. 875. Augustin. Confes. l. ix. c. 7. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 8. Paulin. in Vitâ St. Ambros. c. 14. in Append. Benedict. p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life (at least twenty-five years) to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worship of relics, as well as the Nicene creed.

⁷⁰ Paulin. in Vit. St. Ambros. c. 5. in Append. Benedict. p. 5.

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⁷¹ Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. x. p. 190. 750. He partially allows the mediation of Theodosius; and capriciously rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

⁷² The modest censure of Sulpicius (*Dialog.* iii. 15.) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Pacatus (xii. 25, 26.).

⁷³ *Esto tutior adversus hominem, pacis involucro tegentem*, was the wise caution of Ambrose (tom. ii. p. 891.), after his return from his second embassy.

⁷⁴ Baronius (A. D. 387. N°. 63.) applies to this season of public distress some of the penitential sermons of the archbishop.

⁷⁵ The flight of Valentinian, and the love of Theodosius for his sister, are related by Zosimus (l. iv. p. 263, 264.). Tillemont produces some weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the second marriage of Theodosius (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 740.), and consequently to refute ces contes de Zosime, qui feroient trop contraires à la piété de Theodose.

⁷⁶ See Godefroy's *Chronology of the Laws*, *Cod. Theodof.* tom. i. p. cxix.

⁷⁷ Besides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles and ecclesiastical history, Zosimus (l. iv. p. 259—267.), Orosius (l. vii. c. 35.), and Pacatus (in *Panegy. Vet.* xii. 30—47.), supply the loose and scanty materials of this civil war. Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 952, 953.) darkly alludes to the well known events of a magazine surprised, an action at Petovio, a Sicilian, perhaps a naval, victory, etc. Ausonius (p. 256. edit. Toll.) applauds the peculiar merit, and good fortune, of Aquileia.

⁷⁸ *Quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum filuisse de principe* (Pacat. in *Panegy. Vet.* xii. 2.). Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome (A. D. 388.). He was afterwards proconsul of Africa; and his friend Ausonius praises him as a poet, second only to Virgil. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 303.

⁷⁹ See the fair portrait of Theodosius, by the younger Victor; the strokes are distinct, and the colours are mixed. The praise of Pacatus is too vague: and Claudian always seems afraid of exalting the father above the son.

⁸⁰ Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 955. Pacatus, from the want of skill, or of courage, omits this glorious circumstance.

⁸¹ Pacat. in *Panegy. Vet.* xii. 20.

⁸² Zosimus, l. iv. p. 271, 272. His partial evidence is marked by an air of candour and truth. He observes these vicissitudes of sloth, and activity, not as a vice, but as a singularity, in the character of Theodosius.

⁸³ This choleric temper is acknowledged, and excused, by Victor. *Sed habes* (says Ambrose, in decent and manly language, to his

sovereign) naturæ impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad misericordiam: si quis stimulet, in magis exfuscitas, ut eum revocare vix possis (tom. ii. epist. li. p. 998.). Theodosius (Claud. in iv. Conf. Hon. 266, etc.) exhorts his son to moderate his anger.

⁸⁴ The Christians and Pagans agreed in believing, that the sedition of Antioch was excited by the dæmons. A gigantic woman (says Sozomen, l. vii. c. 23.) paraded the streets with a scourge in her hand. An old man (says Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 396.) transformed himself into a youth, then a boy, etc.

⁸⁵ Zosimus, in his short and disingenuous account (l. iv. p. 258, 259.), is certainly mistaken in sending Libanius himself to Constantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

⁸⁶ Libanius (Orat. i. p. 6. edit. Venet.) declares, that, under such a reign, the fear of a massacre was groundless and absurd, especially in the emperor's absence; for his presence, according to the eloquent slave, might have given a sanction to the most bloody acts.

⁸⁷ Laodicea, on the sea-coast, sixty-five miles from Antioch (see Noris Epoch. Syro-Maced. Dissert. iii. p. 230.). The Antiochians were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia should presume to intercede for them.

⁸⁸ As the days of the tumult depend on the *moveable* festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 387 has been preferred, after a laborious inquiry, by Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 741—744.) and Montfaucon (Chrysoſtom, tom. xiii. p. 105—110.).

⁸⁹ Chrysoſtom opposes *their* courage which was not attended with much risk, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics.

⁹⁰ The sedition of Antioch is represented in a lively, and almost dramatic, manner, by two orators, who had their respective shares of interest and merit. See Libanius (Orat. xiv. xv. p. 389—420. edit. Morel. Orat. i. p. 1—14. Venet. 1754.), and the twenty orations of St. John Chrysoſtom, *de Statuis* (tom. ii. p. 1—225. edit. Montfaucon.). I do not pretend to *much* personal acquaintance with Chrysoſtom; but Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 263—283.) and Hermant (Vie de St. Chrysoſtome, tom. i. p. 137.—224.) had read him with pious curiosity, and diligence.

⁹¹ The original evidence of Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. li. p. 998.). Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 24.) is delivered in vague expressions of horror and pity. It is illustrated by the subsequent and unequal testimonies of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25.), Theodorët (l. v. c. 17.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 62.), Cedrenus (p. 317.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 34.). Zosimus *alone*, the partial enemy of Theodosius, most unaccountably passes over in silence the worst of his actions.

⁹² See the whole transaction in Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xl, xli. p. 946—956.) and his biographer Paulinus (c. 23.). Bayle and

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Barbeyrac (*Morales des Pères*, c. xvii. p. 325, etc.) have justly condemned the archbishop.

⁹³ His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond-tree, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the peroration is direct and personal.

⁹⁴ *Hodie, Episcopo, de me proposuisti.* Ambrose modestly confessed it: but he sternly reprimanded Timasius, general of the horse and foot, who had presumed to say, that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

⁹⁵ Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his spiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the destruction of their synagogue. *Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 9.* with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 225.

⁹⁶ Ambros. tom. ii. epist. li. p. 997—1001. His Epistle is a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste, or genius; without the spirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerom, or the grave energy of Augustin.

⁹⁷ According to the discipline of St. Basil (*Canon lvi.*), the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner; *five* an hearer; *seven* in a prostrate state; and *four* in a standing posture. I have the original (*Beveridge, Pandect. tom. ii. p. 47—151.*) and a translation (*Char-don, Hist. des Sacramens, tom. iv. p. 219—277.*) of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

⁹⁸ The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose (tom. vi. de Obit. Theodos. c. 34. p. 1207.), Augustin. (*de Civitat. Dei*, v. 26.), and Paulinus (in *Vit. Ambros. c. 24.*). Socrates is ignorant; Sozomen (*l. vii. c. 25.*) concise; and the copious narrative of Theodoret (*l. v. c. 18.*) must be used with precaution.

⁹⁹ *Codex Theodos. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 13.* The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myself inclined to favour the honest efforts of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 721.*) and Pagi (*Critica, tom. i. p. 578.*).

¹⁰⁰ *Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, est un lion qui cède à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaise. Esprit des Loix, l. xxiv. c. 2.*

¹⁰¹ *Τὸτο περὶ τῆς εὐεργετίας καθικόν εδοξεν εἶναι*, is the niggard praise of Zosimus himself (*l. iv. p. 267.*). Augustin says, with some happiness of expression, *Valentinianum. . . misericordissimâ veneratione restituit.*

¹⁰² Sozomen, *l. vii. c. 14.* His chronology is very irregular.

¹⁰³ See Ambrose (tom. ii. de Obit. Valentinian. c. 15, etc. p. 1178, c. 36, etc. p. 1184.). When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he fasted himself; he refused to see an handsome actresses, etc. Since he ordered his wild beasts to be killed, it is ungenerous in Philostorgius (*l. xi. c. 1.*) to reproach him with the love of that amusement.

¹⁰⁴ Zosimus (l. iv. p. 275.) praises the enemy of Theodosius. But he is detested by Socrates (l. v. c. 25.) and Orosius (l. vii. c. 35.).

¹⁰⁵ Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9. p. 165. in the second volume of the *Historians of France*) has preserved a curious fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, an historian far more valuable than himself.

¹⁰⁶ Godefroy (*Differtat. ad Philostorg.* p. 429—434.) has diligently collected all the circumstances of the death of Valentinian II. The variations, and the ignorance, of contemporary writers, prove that it was secret.

¹⁰⁷ De Obitu Valentinian. tom. ii. p. 1173—1196. He is forced to speak a discreet and obscure language: yet he is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other ecclesiastic, would have dared to be.

¹⁰⁸ See c. 51. p. 1188. c. 75. p. 1193. Don Chardon (*Hist. des Sacréments*, tom. i. p. 86.), who owns that St. Ambrose most strenuously maintains the *indispensable* necessity of baptism, labours to reconcile the contradiction.

¹⁰⁹ Quem sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul, is the contemptuous expression of Claudian (iv. Conf. Hon. 74.). Eugenius professed Christianity; but his secret attachment to Paganism (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Philostorg. l. xi. c. 2.) is probable in a grammarian, and would secure the friendship of Zosimus (l. iv. p. 276, 277.).

¹¹⁰ Zosimus (l. iv. p. 278.) mentions this embassy; but he is diverted by another story from relating the event.

¹¹¹ Συνεταράξεν η τῆς γαμετῆ Γαλλὰ τὰ βασιλεια τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐλοφουρομένην. Zosim. l. iv. p. 277. He afterwards says (p. 280.), that Galla died in childbed; and intimates, that the affliction of her husband was extreme, but short.

¹¹² Lycopolis is the modern Siut, or Osiot, a town of Said, about the size of St. Denys, which drives a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar; and has a very convenient fountain, “cujus potu signa virginitatis eripiuntur.” See d’Anville, *Description de l’Egypte*, p. 181. Abulfeda, *Descript. Ægyp.* p. 4. and the curious Annotations, p. 25. 92. of his editor Michaelis.

¹¹³ The life of John of Lycopolis is described by his two friends, Rufinus (l. ii. c. 1. p. 449.) and Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac.* c. 43. p. 738.), in Rosweyde’s great Collection of the *Vitæ Patrum*. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. x. p. 718. 720.) has settled the Chronology.

¹¹⁴ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Claudian (in *Eutrop.* l. i. 312.) mentions the eunuch’s journey: but he most contemptuously derides the Egyptian dreams, and the oracles of the Nile.

¹¹⁵ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 280. Socrates, l. vii. 10. Alaric himself (*de Bell. Getico*, 524.) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits against the Romans.

. . . . Tot Augustus Hebro qui teste fugavi.

Yet his vanity could scarcely have proved this *plurality* of flying emperors.

¹¹⁶ Claudian (in iv. Conf. Honor. 77, etc.) contrasts the military plans of the two usurpers.

. . . . Novitas audere priorem

Suadebat; cautumque dabant exempla sequentem.

Hic nova moliri præceps: hic quærere tutus

Providus. Hic fufis; collectis viribus ille.

Hic vagus excurrens, hic intra claustra reductus

Diffimiles; sed morte pares.

¹¹⁷ The Frigidus; a small, though memorable, stream in the country of Goretz, now called the Vipao, falls into the Sontius, or Lifonzo, above Aquileia, some miles from the Hadriatic. See d'Anville's Ancient and Modern Maps, and the Italia Antiqua of Cluverius (tom. i. p. 188.).

¹¹⁸ Claudian's wit is intolerable: the snow was died red; the cold river smoked; and the channel must have been choaked with carcases, if the current had not been swelled with blood.

¹¹⁹ Theodoret affirms, that St. John, and St. Philip, appeared to the waking, or sleeping, emperor, on horseback, etc. This is the first instance of apostolic chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, and in the Crusades.

¹²⁰ Te propter, gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis

Obruit adversas acies; revolutaque tela

Vertit in auctores, et turbine repulit hastas.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris

Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat Æther,

Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

These famous lines of Claudian (in iii. Conf. Honor. 93, etc. A. D. 396.) are alleged by his contemporaries, Augustin and Orosius; who suppress the Pagan deity of Æolus; and add some circumstances from the information of eye-witnesses. Within four months after the victory, it was compared by Ambrose to the miraculous victories of Moses and Joshua.

¹²¹ The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. lxii. p. 1022.), Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 26—34.), Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), Orosius (l. vii. c. 35.), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 24.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 24.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 281, 282.), Claudian (in iii. Conf. Hon. 63—105. in iv. Conf. Hon. 76—117.), and the Chronicles published by Scaliger.

¹²² This disease, ascribed by Socrates (l. v. c. 25.) to the fatigues of war, is represented by Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 2.) as the effect of sloth and intemperance: for which Photius calls him an impudent liar (Godefroy, Dissert. p. 438.).

¹²³ Zosimus supposes, that the boy Honorius accompanied his

father (l. iv. p. 280.). Yet the, quanto flagrant pectora voto, is all that flattery would allow to a contemporary poet; who clearly describes the emperor's refusal, and the journey of Honorius, *after* the victory (Claudian in iii. Conf. 78—125.).

¹²⁴ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 244.

¹²⁵ Vegetius, de Re Militari, l. i. c. 10. The series of calamities, which he marks, compel us to believe, that the *Hero*; to whom he dedicates his book, is the last and most inglorious of the Valentinians.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¹ St. Ambrose (tom. ii. de Obi. Theodof. p. 1208.) expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the same subject (de Errone Profan. Relig. p. 467. edit. Gronov.) is piously inhuman. Nec filio jubet (the Mosaic Law) parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, etc.

² Bayle (tom. ii. p. 406, in his Commentaire Philosophique) justifies, and limits, these intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is laudable.

³ See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero (de Legibus, ii. 7, 8.), Livy (i. 20.), Dionysius Harlicarnassensis (l. ii. p. 119—129. edit. Hudson), Beaufort (République Romaine, tom. i. p. 1—90.), and Moyle (vol. i. p. 10—55.). The last is the work of an English Whig, as well as of a Roman antiquary.

⁴ These mystic, and perhaps imaginary, symbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It seems probable, that the Palladium was a small statue (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and distaff; that it was usually inclosed in a *seria*, or barrel; and that a similar barrel was placed by its side, to disconcert curiosity, or sacrilege. See Mezeriac (Comment. sur les Epirres d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 60—66.), and Lipsius (tom. iii. p. 610. de Vestâ, etc. c. 10.).

⁵ Cicero, frankly (ad Atticum, l. ii. epist. 5.), or indirectly (ad Familiar. l. xv. epist. 4.), confesses, that the *Augurate* is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero (iv. epist. 8.), and the chain of tradition might be continued from history, and marbles.

⁶ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 249, 250. I have suppressed the foolish pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

⁷ This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by Cæsar, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of Egypt.

⁸ Prudentius (l. ii. in initio,) has drawn a very awkward portrait

of Victory : but the curious reader will obtain more satisfaction from Montfaucon's Antiquities (tom. i. p. 341.).

⁹ See Suetonius (in August. c. 35.), and the Exordium of Pliny's Panegyric.

¹⁰ These facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and Ambrose.

¹¹ The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Constantine, does not find one Christian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xvii. p. 825.) deplores the public scandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of the faithful.

¹² Ambrose repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common sense (Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 147.), that the Christians had a majority in the senate.

¹³ The *first* (A. D. 382.) to Gratian, who refused them audience. The *second* (A. D. 384.) to Valentinian, when the field was disputed by Symmachus and Ambrose. The *third* (A. D. 388.) to Theodosius; and the *fourth* (A. D. 392.) to Valentinian. Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 372—399.) fairly represents the whole transaction.

¹⁴ Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and sacerdotal honours, represented the emperor under the two characters of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Princeps Senatus*. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.

¹⁵ As if any one, says Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 639.), should dig in the mud with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and polemic saints, treat this adversary with respect and civility.

¹⁶ See the fifty-fourth epistle of the tenth book of Symmachus. In the form and disposition of his ten books of epistles, he imitated the younger Pliny; whose rich and florid style he was supposed, by his friends, to equal or excel (Macrob. Saturnal. l. v. c. 1.). But the luxuriancy of Symmachus consists of barren leaves, without fruits, and even without flowers. Few facts, and few sentiments, can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.

¹⁷ See Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xvii, xviii. p. 825—833.). The former of these epistles is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius; who composed his two books against Symmachus (A. D. 404.) while that senator was still alive. It is whimsical enough, that Montesquieu (Considerations, etc. c. xix. tom. iii. p. 487.) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus; and amuse himself with descanting on the more remote and indirect confutations of Orosius, St. Augustin, and Salvian.

¹⁸ See Prudentius (in Symmach. l. i. 545, etc.). The Christian agrees with the Pagan Zosimus (l. iv. p. 283.), in placing this visit of Theodosius after the *second* civil war, *geminis bis victor caede*

Tyranni (l. i. 410.). But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

¹⁹ Prudentius, after proving that the sense of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say (609, etc.),

Adspice quam pleno subsellia nostra Senatû
Decernant infame Jovis pulvinar, et omne
Idolium longe purgatâ ab urbe fugandum.
Qua vocat egregii sententia Principis, illuc
Libera, cum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia tranfit.

Zosimus ascribes to the conscript fathers an heathenish courage, which few of them are found to possess.

²⁰ Jerom specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with such a believing family of children and grand children, as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself; an extraordinary proselyte! (tom. i. ad Lætam, p. 54.)

²¹ Exsultare Patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; conciliumque senûm gestire Catonum
Candidiore togâ niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales,

The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

²² Prudentius, after he has described the conversion of the senate and people, asks, with some truth and confidence,

Et dubitamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Christe, dicatam.
In leges transisse tuas?

²³ Jerom exults in the desolation of the capitol, and the other temples of Rome (tom. i. p. 54. tom. ii. p. 95.).

²⁴ Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 10. Genev. 1634. published by James Godefroy, and now extremely scarce) accuses Valentinian and Valens of prohibiting sacrifices. Some partial order may have been issued by the Eastern emperor: but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the Code, and the evidence of ecclesiastical history.

²⁵ See his laws in the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 7—11.

²⁶ Homer's sacrifices are not accompanied with any inquisition of entrails (see Feithius, Antiquitat. Homer. l. i. c. 10. 16.). The Tuscans, who produced the first *Haruspices*, subdued both the Greeks and the Romans (Cicero de Divinatione, ii. 23.).

²⁷ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 245. 249. Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. Idatius in Chron. Prosper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 389. N°. 52. Libanius (pro Templis, p. 10.) labours to prove, that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.

²⁸ Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 8. 18. There is room to believe, that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins (Libanius pro Templis, p. 26, 27. and Godefroy's notes, p. 59.).

²⁹ See this curious oration of Libanius pro Templis, pronounced,
or

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or rather composed, about the year 390. I have consulted, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's version and remarks (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 135—163.).

³⁰ See the life of Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9—14. The saint once mistook (as Don Quixote might have done) an harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.

³¹ Compare Sozomen (l. vii. c. 15.) with Theodoret (l. v. c. 21.). Between them, they relate the crusade and death of Marcellus.

³² Libanius pro Templis, p. 10—13. He rails at these black-garbed men, the Christian Monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants! *they* are temperate animals.

³³ Prosper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium; Annal. Eccles. A. D. 389. N° 8, etc. The temple had been shut some time, and the access to it was overgrown with brambles.

³⁴ Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 4. p. 468. This consecration was performed by pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favourable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

³⁵ Sophronius composed a recent and separate history (Jerom, in Script. Eccles. tom. i. p. 303.), which has furnished materials to Socrates (l. v. c. 16.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 22.), and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22.). Yet the last, who had been at Alexandria, before, and after, the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

³⁶ Gerard Vossius (Opera, tom. v. p. 80. et de Idolatria, l. i. c. 29.) strives to support the strange notion of the Fathers; that the patriarch Joseph was adored in Egypt, as the bull Apis, and the god Serapis.

³⁷ Origo dei nondum nostris celebrata. Ægyptiorum antistites *sic* memorant, etc. Tacit. Hist. iv. 83. The Greeks, who had travelled into Egypt, were alike ignorant of this new deity.

³⁸ Macrobius, Saturnal. l. i. c. 7. Such a living fact decisively proves his foreign extraction.

³⁹ At Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. The precedency which the queen assumed, may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious institution (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 31. edit. Wesseling.), and the same order is observed in Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and *Osiris*; whom he identifies with Serapis.

⁴⁰ Ammianus (xxii. 16.). The Expositio totius Mundi (p. 8. in Hudson's Geograph. Minor, tom. iii.), and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22.), celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

⁴¹ See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ix. p. 397—416. The *old* library of the Ptolemies was *totally* consumed in Cæsar's Alexandrian war. Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the *new* library of Alexandria.

Notes.

T.

⁴² Libanius (*pro Templis* p. 21.) indiscreetly provokes his Christian masters by this insulting remark.

⁴³ We may chuse between the date of Marcellinus (A. D. 389.) or that of Prosper (A. D. 391.). Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 310. 756.*) prefers the former, and Pagi de latter.

⁴⁴ Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf. tom. xi. p. 441—500.* The ambiguous situation of Theophilus, a *saint*, as the friend of Jerom; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chrysostom; produces a sort of impartiality: yet, upon the whole, the balance is justly inclined against him.

⁴⁵ Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 411.) has alleged a beautiful passage from Suidas, or rather from Damascius, which shews the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

⁴⁶ Nos vidimus armaria librorum, quibus direptis, exinanita ea a nostris hominibus, nostris temporibus memorant. Orosius, l. vi. c. 15. p. 421. edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blush.

⁴⁷ Eunapius, in the lives of Antoninus and Ædesius, execrates the sacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (*Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiii. p. 453.*) quotes an epistle of Isidore of Pelusium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worship of gold, the *auri sacra fames*.

⁴⁸ Rufinus names the priest of Saturn, who, in the character of the god, familiarly conversed with many pious ladies of quality; till he betrayed himself, in a moment of transport, when he could not disguise the tone of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æschines (see Bayle, *Dictionnaire critique*, SCAMANDRE), and the adventure of Mundus (*Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. xviii. c. 3. p. 877.* edit. Havercamp.), may prove that such amorous frauds have been practised with success.

⁴⁹ See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon (*tom. ii. p. 297.*): but the description of Macrobius (*Saturnal. l. i. c. 20.*) is much more picturesque and satisfactory.

⁵⁰ Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verendâ

Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent

In sua credebant redituras membra secures.

(*Lucan. iii. 429.*) "Is it true (said Augustus to a veteran of Italy, "at whose house he supped), that the man, who gave the first blow "to the golden statue at Anaitis, was instantly deprived of his eyes, "and of his life?" "I was that man (replied the clear-sighted "veteran), and you now sup on one of the legs of the goddesses." *Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 24.*)

⁵¹ The History of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.

⁵² Sozomen, l. vii. c. 20. I have supplied the measure. The same standard, of the inundation, and consequently of the cubit, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the

Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 344—353. Greaves's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the English measure.

⁵³ Libanius (pro templis, p. 15, 16, 17.) pleads their cause with gentle and insinuating rhetoric. From the earliest age, such feasts had enlivened the country; and those of Bacchus (Georgic. ii. 380.) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy, ad loc. Liban. and Codex Theodof. tom. vi. p. 284.

⁵⁴ Honorius tolerated these rustic festivals (A. D. 399.). "Absque ullo sacrificio, atque ullâ superstitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards he found it necessary to reiterate and enforce the same proviso (Codex Theodof. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 17. 19.).

⁵⁵ Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 12. Jortin (Remarks on Eccles. History, vol. iv. p. 134.) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiment of this intolerant law.

⁵⁶ Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be justified by the authority of St. Augustin, who thus addresses the Donatists "Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab Imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena severior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est." Epist. xciii. N°. 10. quoted by Le Clerc (Bibliothèque choisie, tom. viii. p. 277.), who adds some judicious reflections on the intolerance of the victorious Christians.

⁵⁷ Orosius, l. vii. c. 28. p. 537. Augustin (Enarrat. in Psalm. cxi. apud Lardner, Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 458.) insults their cowardice. "Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio (cum his legibus ista prohiberentur) et non negavit?"

⁵⁸ Libanius (pro Templis, p. 17, 18.) mentions, without censure, the occasional conformity, and as it were theatrical play, of these hypocrites.

⁵⁹ Libanius concludes his apology (p. 32.), by declaring to the emperor, that unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, ἰσθὶ τὰς τῶν ἀγρῶν δεσποτίας, καὶ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθῆσεντας, the proprietors will defend themselves and the laws.

⁶⁰ Paulinus, in Vit. Ambros. c. 26. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 26. Theodoret, l. 5. c. 24.

⁶¹ Libanius suggests the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodosius might enact (pro Templis, p. 32.); a rash joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

⁶² Denique pro meritis terrestribus æque rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores.

Ipse magistratum tibi consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit.

Prudent. in Symmach. i. 617, etc.

⁶³ Libanius (*pro Templis*, p. 32.) is proud that Theodosius should thus distinguish a man, who even in his *presence* would swear by Jupiter. Yet this presence seems to be no more than a figure of rhetoric.

⁶⁴ Zosimus, who styles himself Count and Ex-advocate of the Treasury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the Christian princes, and even the father of his sovereign. His work must have been privately circulated, since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius (l. iii. c. 40—42.), who lived towards the end of the sixth century.

⁶⁵ Yet the Pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God; nor does St. Augustin (v. 26.) deny the charge.

⁶⁶ The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion, above a century, under the tyranny of the Inquisition, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Geddes (*Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 1—193.)

⁶⁷ Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, etc. *Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 22. A. D. 423.* The younger Theodosius was afterwards satisfied, that his judgment had been somewhat premature.

⁶⁸ See Eunapius, in the life of the sophist Ædesius; in that of Eustathius he foretels the ruin of Paganism, *καὶ τι μυθῶδες, καὶ αἰδέες σκοτος τυραννῆσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καλλιζα.*

⁶⁹ Caius (*apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 25.*), a Roman presbyter, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus (A. D. 202—219.), is an early witness of this superstitious practice.

⁷⁰ Chrysostom. *Quod Christus sit Deus. Tom. i. nov. edit. N°. 9.* I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict the XIV th's pastoral letter on the jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

⁷¹ Male facit ergo Romanus episcopus? qui super mortuorum hominum, Petri et Pauli, secundum nos, ossa veneranda offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria. *Jerom. tom. ii. advers. Vigilant. p. 153.*

⁷² Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) bears witness to these translations, which are neglected by the ecclesiastical historians. The passion of St. Andrew at Patræ, is described in an epistle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. A. D. 60. N°. 34.*) wishes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the spiritual founder of Constantinople (*Mém. Ecclési. tom. i. p. 317—323. 588—594.*).

⁷³ Jerom. (tom. ii. p. 122.) pompously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

⁷⁴ The presbyter Vigilantius, the protestant of his age, firmly, though ineffectually, withstood the superstition of monks, relics, saints,

fasts, etc. for which Jerom compares him to the Hydra, Cerberus, the Centaurs, etc. and considers him only as the organ of the dæmon (tom. ii. p. 120—126.). Whoever will peruse the controversy of St. Jerom and Vigilantius, and St. Augustin's account of the miracles of St. Stephen, may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the Fathers.

⁷⁵ M. de Beaufobre (Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 643.) has applied a worldly sense to the pious observation of the clergy of Smyrna, who carefully preserved the relics of St. Polycarp de martyr.

⁷⁶ Martin of Tours (See his Life, c. 8. by Sulpicius Severus) extorted this confession from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural; the discovery is supposed to be miraculous. Which of the two was likely to happen most frequently?

⁷⁷ Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 415. N°. 7—16.). The Benedictine editors of St. Augustin have given (at the end of the Work de Civitate Dei) two several copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falsehood to be loose and inconsistent. The most incredible parts of the legend are smoothed and softened by Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. ii. p. 9, etc.)

⁷⁸ A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquefied at Naples, till he was superseded by St. Januarius (Ruinart. Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 529.).

⁷⁹ Augustin composed the two-and-twenty books de Civitate Dei in the space of thirteen years, A. D. 413—426 (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiv. p. 608, etc.). His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskilfully, executed.

⁸⁰ See Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 22. and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, bishop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 249.) has preserved a Gallic or Spanish proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies."

⁸¹ Burnet (de Statû Mortuorum, p. 56—84.) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they assert the sleep, or repose, of human souls till the day of judgment. He afterwards exposes (p. 91, etc.), the inconveniencies which must arise, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.

⁸² Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the bosom of Abraham (in loco refrigerii) or else under the altar of God. Nec posse suis tumulis et ubi voluerunt adesse presentes. But Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) sternly refutes this *blasphemy*. Tu Deo leges pones? Tu apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodiâ, nec sint cum Domino suo; de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et cum diabolus et dæmones toto vagentur in orbe, etc.

⁸³ Fleury, Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique, iii. p. 80.

⁸⁴ At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, 540 Jews; with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such as burning the synagogue, driving the obstinate infidels to starve among the rocks, etc. See the original letter of Severus bishop of Minorca (ad calcem St. Augustin. de Civ. Dei.) and the judicious remarks of Bafnage (tom. viii. p. 245—251.).

⁸⁵ Mr. Hume (Essays, vol. ii. p. 434.) observes, like a philosopher, the natural flux and reflux of polytheism and theism.

⁸⁶ D'Aubigné (See his own Mémoires, p. 156—160.) frankly offered, with the consent of the Huguenot ministers, to allow the first 400 years as the rule of faith. The cardinal du Perron haggled for forty years more which were indiscreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this foolish bargain.

⁸⁷ The worship practised and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, etc. is so *extremely* pure and spiritual, that their declamations against the Pagan, sometimes glance against the Jewish, ceremonies.

⁸⁸ Faustus the Manichæan accuses the Catholics of idolatry. *Vertitis idola in martyres . . . quos votis similibus colitis.* M. de Beaufobre (Hist. critique du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 629—700.), a Protestant, but a philosopher, has represented, with candour and learning, the introduction of *Christian idolatry* in the fourth and fifth centuries.

⁸⁹ The resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this idea, which he distorts, by rendering it too general and absolute (Divine Legation, vol. iv. p. 126, etc.)

⁹⁰ The imitation of Paganism is the subject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadversions obliged him to connect (vol. iii. p. 120—132.) the history of the two religions; and to prove the antiquity of the Christian copy.

CHAP. XXIX.

¹ Alecto, envious of the public felicity, convenes an infernal synod. Megæra recommends her pupil Rufinus, and excites him to deeds of mischief, etc. But there is as much difference between Claudian's fury and that of Virgil, as between the characters of Turnus and Rufinus.

² It is evident (Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 770.), though de Marca is ashamed of his countryman, that Rufinus was born at Elusa, the metropolis of Novempopulania, now a small village of Gascony (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 280.).

³ Philostorgius, l. xi. c. 3. with Godefroy's Dissert. p. 440.

⁴ A Passage of Suidas is expressive of his profound dissimulation;
βαθυγυμνων ανθρωπος και κρυψινος.

⁵ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 272, 273.

⁶ Zosimus, who describes the fall of Tatian and his son (l. iv. p. 273, 274.), asserts their innocence: and even *his* testimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies (Cod. Theodos. tom. iv. p. 489.), who accuse them of oppressing the *Curia*. The connection of Tatian with the Arians, while he was præfect of Egypt (A. D. 373.), inclines Tillemont to believe that he was guilty of every crime (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 360. Mém. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 589.)

⁷ ——— Juvenum rorantia colla

Ante patrum vultus strictâ cecidere securi.

Ibat grandævus nato moriente superstes

Post trabeas exsul.

In Rufin. i. 248.

The *facts* of Zosimus explain the *allusions* of Claudian :) but his classic interpreters were ignorant of the fourth century. The *fatal cord*, I found, with the help of Tillemont, in a sermon of St. Asterius of Amasea.

⁸ This odious law is recited, and repealed, by Arcadius. (A. D. 396.), in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 9. The sense as it is explained by Claudian (in Rufin. i. 234.) and Godefroy (tom. iii. p. 279.), is perfectly clear.

——— Exscindere cives

Funditus; et nomen gentis delere laborat.

The scruples of Pagi and Tillemont can arise only from their zeal for the glory of Theodosius.

⁹ Ammonius . . . Rufinum propriis manibus suscepit sacro fonte mundatum. See Rosweyde's Vitæ Patrum, p. 947. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 17.) mentions the church and monastery; and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. ix. p. 593.) records this synod, in which St. Gregory of Nyssa performed a conspicuous part.

¹⁰ Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 12.) praises one of the laws of Theodosius, addressed to the præfect Rufinus (l. ix. tit. iv. leg. unic.), to discourage the persecution of treasonable, or sacrilegious, words. A tyrannical statute always proves the existence of tyranny; but a laudable edict may only contain the specious professions, or ineffectual wishes, of the prince, or his ministers. This, I am afraid, is a just, though mortifying, canon of criticism.

¹¹ ——— fluctibus auri

Expleri ille calor nequit ———

- - - - -

Congestæ cumulantur opes; orbisque rapinas

Accipit una domus ———

This character (Claudian. in Rufin. i. 184—220.) is confirmed by Jerom, a disinterested witness (*dedecus insatiabilis avaritiæ*, tom. i. ad Heliodor. p. 26.), by Zosimus (l. v. p. 286.), and by Suidas, who copied the history of Eunapius.

¹² ————— *Cætera sequis;*

*Ad facinus velox; penitus regione remotas
Impiger ire vias.*

This allusion of Claudian (in Rufin. i. 241.) is again explained by the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus (l. v. p. 288, 289.).

¹³ Zosimus (l. iv. p. 243.) praises the valour, prudence, and integrity, of Bauto the Frank. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 771.

¹⁴ Arsenius escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed fifty-five years in rigid penance in the monasteries of Egypt. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xiv. p. 676—702.; and Fleury, *Hist. Ecclési.* tom. v. p. 1, etc.: but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metaphrastes.

¹⁵ This story (Zosimus, l. v. p. 290.) proves that the hymeneal rites of antiquity were still practised, without idolatry, by the Christians of the East; and the bride was *forcibly* conducted from the house of her parents to that of her husband. Our form of marriage requires, with less delicacy, the express and public consent of a virgin.

¹⁶ Zosimus (v. p. 290.), Orosius (l. vii. c. 37.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 7—100.) paints, in lively colours, the distress and guilt of the præfect.

¹⁷ Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth, and private life of the hero, are vaguely expressed in the poem on his first consulship, 35—140.

¹⁸ *Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ, et dolosæ, gentis, genere editus.* Orosius, l. vii. c. 38. Jerom (tom. i. ad Gerontiam, p. 93.) calls him a Semi-Barbarian.

¹⁹ Claudian, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flattering, portrait of Serena. That favourite niece of Theodosius was born as well as her sister Thermantia, in Spain; from whence, in their earliest youth, they were honourably conducted to the palace of Constantinople.

²⁰ Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal, or only metaphorical (See Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 75.) An old inscription gives Stilicho the singular title of *Pro-gener Divi Theodosii*.

²¹ Claudian (*Laus Serenæ*, 190. 193.) expresses, in poetic language, the “*dilectus equorum*,” and the “*gemino mox idem culmine duxit agmina*.” The inscription adds, “count of the domestics,” an important command, which Stilicho, in the height of his grandeur, might prudently retain.

²² The beautiful lines of Claudian (in i. *Conf. Stilich.* ii. 113.)

display *his* genius ; but the integrity of Stilicho (in the military administration) is much more firmly established by the unwilling evidence of Zosimus (l. v. p. 345.).

²³ ——— Si bellica moles
Ingrueret, quamvis annis et jure minori,
Cedere Grandævos equitum peditumque magistros
Adspiceres. ———

Claudian, *Laus Seren.* p. 196, etc.

A modern general would deem their submission, either heroic patriotism or abject servility.

²⁴ Compare the poem on the first consulship (i. 95—115.) with the *Laus Serenæ* (227—237. where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep inveterate malice of Rufinus.

²⁵ ——— Quem *fratribus* ipse
Discedens, clypeumque defenforemque dedisti.

Yet the nomination (iv. Conf. Hon. 432.), was private (iii. Conf. Hon. 141.) cunctos discedere . . . jubet; and may therefore be suspected. Zosimus, and Suidas, apply to Stilicho, and Rufinus, the same equal title of *Επιτροποι*, guardians, or procurators.

²⁶ The Roman law distinguishes two sorts of *minority*, which expired at the age of fourteen, and of twenty-five. The one was subject to the *tutor*, or guardian, of the person; the other to the *curator*, or trustee, of the estate (Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Rom. ad Jurisprudent. pertinent.* l. i. tit. xxii, xxiii. p. 218—232.). But these legal ideas were never accurately transferred into the constitution of an elective monarchy.

²⁷ See Claudian (i. Conf. Stilich. i. 188—242.); but he must allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return, between Milan and Leyden.

²⁸ I. Conf. Stilich. ii. 88—94. Not only the robes, and diadems of the deceased emperor, but even the helmets, sword-hilts, belts, cuirasses, etc. were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

²⁹ ——— Tantoque remoto

Principe, mutatas orbis non sensit habenas.

This high commendation (i. Conf. Stil. i. 149.) may be justified by the fears of the dying emperor (de Bell. Gildon. 292—301.); and the peace and good order which were enjoyed after his death (i. Conf. Stil. i. 150—168.).

³⁰ Stilicho's march, and the death of Rufinus, are described by Claudian (in *Rufin.* l. ii. 101—453.), Zosimus (l. v. p. 296, 297.). Sozomen (l. viii. c. 1.), Socrates (vi. c. 1.), Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 3. with Godefroy, p. 441.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

³¹ The *dissection* of Rufinus, which Claudian performs with the savage coolness of an anatomist (in *Rufin.* ii. 405—415.), is likewise specified by Zosimus and Jerom (tom. i. p. 26.).

³² The Pagan Zosimus mentions their sanctuary and pilgrimage. The

sister of Rufinus, Sylvania, who passed her life at Jerusalem, is famous in monastic history. 1. The studious virgin had diligently, and even repeatedly, perused the commentators on the Bible, Origen, Gregory, Basil, etc. to the amount of five millions of lines. 2. At the age of threescore, she could boast, that she had never washed her hands, face, or any part of her whole body; except the tips of her fingers, to receive the communion. See the *Vitæ Patrum*, p. 779. 977.

³³ See the beautiful exordium of his invective against Rufinus, which is curiously discussed by the sceptic Bayle, *Dictionnaire critique*, RUFIN. Not. E.

³⁴ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 14, 15. The new ministers attempted, with inconsistent avarice, to seize the spoils of their predecessor, and to provide for their own future security.

³⁵ See Claudian (i. Conf. Stilich. l. i. 275. 292. 296. l. ii. 83.), and Zosimus, l. v. p. 302.

³⁶ Claudian turns the consulship of the eunuch Eutropius into a national reflection (l. ii. 134.).

——— *Plaudentem cerne senatum*

Et Byzantinos proceres, Graiosque Quirites:

O patribus plebes, O digni consule patres.

It is curious to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and schism, between old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins.

³⁷ Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildo; but his Moorish extraction, his notorious actions, and the complaints of St. Augustin, may justify the poet's invectives. Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. A. D. 398. N^o. 35 — 56.*) has treated the African rebellion with skill and learning.

³⁸ *Instat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obscænus adulter.
Nulla quies: oritur prædâ cessante libido,
Divitibusque dies, et nox metuenda maritis.*

——— *Mauris clarissima quæque*

Fastidita datur. ———

Baronius condemns, still more severely, the licentiousness of Gildo; as his wife, his daughter, and his sister, were examples of perfect chastity. The adulteries of the African soldiers are checked by one of the Imperial laws.

³⁹ *Inque tuam sortem numerosas transtulit urbes.*

Claudian (*de Bell. Gildonico*, 230—324.) has touched, with political delicacy, the intrigues of the Byzantine court, which are likewise mentioned by Zosimus (l. v. p. 302.).

⁴⁰ Symmachus (l. iv. epist. 4.) expresses the judicial forms of the senate; and Claudian (i. Conf. Stilich. l. i. 325, etc.) seems to feel the spirit of a Roman.

⁴¹ Claudian finely displays these complaints of Symmachus, in a

speech of the goddess of Rome, before the throne of Jupiter (de Bell. Gildon. 28—128.).

⁴² See Claudian (in Eutrop. l. i. 401, etc. i. Conf. Stil. l. i. 306, etc. ii. Conf. Stilich. 91, etc.).

⁴³ He was of a mature age; since he had formerly (A. D. 373.) served against his brother Firmus (Ammian. xxix. 5.). Claudian, who understood the court of Milan, dwells on the injuries, rather than the merits, of Mascezel (de Bell. Gild. 389—414.). The Moorish war was not worthy of Honorius, or Stilicho, etc.

⁴⁴ Claudian, Bell. Gild. 415—423. The change of discipline allowed him to use indifferently the names of *Legio*, *Cohors*, *Manipulus*. See the *Notitia Imperii*, S. 38. 40.

⁴⁵ Orosius (l. vii. c. 36. p. 565.) qualifies this account with an expression of doubt (ut aiunt); and it scarcely coincides with the *δυναμεις αδρας* of Zosimus (l. v. p. 303.). Yet Claudian, after some declamation about Cadmus's soldiers, frankly owns, that Stilicho sent a small army; lest the rebel should fly, ne timeare times (i. Conf. Stilich. l. i. 314, etc.).

⁴⁶ Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. i. 439—448. He afterwards (515—526.) mentions a religious madman on the isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius, and his accomplices, are styled, by his commentator, Barthius, rabiosi canes diaboli. Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. xii. p. 471.) more calmly observes, that the unbelieving poet praises where he means to censure.

⁴⁷ Orosius, l. vii. c. 36. p. 564. Augustin commends two of these savage saints of the isle of Goats (epist. lxxxii. apud Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiii. p. 317. and Baronius, Annal. Eccléf. A. D. 398. N°. 51.).

⁴⁸ Here the first book of the Gildonic war is terminated. The rest of Claudian's poem has been lost; and we are ignorant *how*, or *where*, the army made good their landing in Africa.

⁴⁹ Orosius must be responsible for the account. The presumption of Gildo and his various train of Barbarians is celebrated by Claudian (i. Conf. Stil. l. i. 345—355.).

⁵⁰ St. Ambrose, who had been dead about a year, revealed, in a vision, the time and place of the victory. Mascezel afterwards related his dream to Paulinus, the original biographer of the saint, from whom it might easily pass to Orosius.

⁵¹ Zosimus (l. v. p. 303.) supposes an obstinate combat; but the narrative of Orosius appears to conceal a real fact, under the disguise of a miracle.

⁵² Tabraca lay between the two Hippos (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 112.; d'Anville, tom. iii. p. 84.). Orosius has distinctly named the field of battle, but our ignorance cannot define the precise situation.

⁵³ The death of Gildo is expressed by Claudian (i. Conf. Stil. l. 357.), and his best interpreters, Zosimus and Orosius.

⁵⁴ Claudian (ii. Conf. Stilich. 99—119.) describes their trial (*tremuit quos Africa nuper, cernunt rostra reos*), and applauds the restoration of the ancient constitution. It is here that he introduces the famous sentence, so familiar to the friends of despotism:

——— Nunquam libertas gratior exstat
Quam sub rege pio. ———

But the freedom, which depends on royal piety, scarcely deserves that appellation.

⁵⁵ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxix. leg. 3. tit. xl. leg. 19.

⁵⁶ Stilicho, who claimed an equal share in all the victories of Theodosius and his son, particularly asserts, that Africa was recovered by the wisdom of *his* counsels (see an Inscription produced by Baronius.).

⁵⁷ I have softened the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude simplicity, is almost incredible (l. v. p. 303.). Orosius damns the victorious general (p. 538.), for violating the right of sanctuary.

⁵⁸ Claudian, as the poet laureat, composed a serious and elaborate epithalamium of 340 lines; besides some gay Fescennines which were sung, in a more licentious tone, on the wedding-night.

⁵⁹ ——— Calet obvius ire

Jam princeps, tardumque capit discedere solem.

Nobilis haud aliter *sonipes*.

(de Nuptiis Honor. et Mariæ, 287.) and more freely in the Fescennines (112—126.).

Dices, *O quoties*, hoc mihi dulcius
Quam flavos *decies* vincere Sarmatas

Tum victor madido profiliis toro
Nocturni referens vulnera prælii.

⁶⁰ See Zosimus, l. v. p. 333.

⁶¹ Procopius de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. 2. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius, without adopting the singular, and, indeed, improbable tale, which is related by the Greek historian.

⁶² The lessons of Theodosius, or rather Claudian (iv. Conf. Honor. 214—418.), might compose a fine institution for the future prince of a great and free nation. It was far above Honorius, and his degenerate subjects.

C H A P. X X X.

¹ The revolt of the Goths, and the blockade of Constantinople, are distinctly mentioned by Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 7—100.), Zosimus (l. v. p. 292.), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 29.).

² ——— Alii per terga ferocis

Danubii solidata ruunt; expertaque remis

Frangunt stagna rotis.

Claudian and Ovid often amuse their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of *liquid* water, and *solid* ice. Much false wit has been expended in this easy exercise.

³ Jerom, tom. i. p. 26. He endeavours to comfort his friend Heliodorus, bishop of Altinum, for the loss of his nephew Nepotian, by a curious recapitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xii. p. 200; etc.

⁴ *Baltha*, or *bold*: origo mirifica, says Jornandes (c. 29.). This illustrious race long continued to flourish in France, in the Gothic province of Septimania, or Languedoc; under the corrupted appellation of *Baux*: and a branch of that family afterwards settled in the kingdom of Naples (Grotius in Prolegom. ad Hist. Gothic. p. 53.). The lords of Baux, near Arles, and of seventy-nine subordinate places, were independent of the counts of Provence (Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 357.).

⁵ Zosimus (l. v. p. 293—295.) is our best guide for the conquest of Greece: but the hints and allusion of Claudian are so many rays of historic light.

⁶ Compare Herodotus (l. vii. c. 176.) and Livy (xxxvi. 15.). The narrow entrance of Greece was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher.

⁷ He passed, says Eunapius (in Vit. Philosoph. p. 93. edit. Commelin, 1596.), through the streights, δια των πυλων (of Thermopylæ) παρελθεν, ωσπερ δια ραδις, και ιπποκροτος πεδις τρεχων.

⁸ In obedience to Jerom, and Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 191.), I have mixed some darker colours in the mild representation of Zosimus, who wished to soften the calamities of Athens.

Nec fera Cecropias traxissent vincula matres.

Synesius (Epist. clvi. p. 272. edit. Petav.) observes, that Athens, whose sufferings he imputes to the proconsul's avarice, was at that time less famous for her schools of philosophy than for her trade of honey.

⁹ ——— Vallata mari Scironia rupes,

Et duo continuo connectens æquora muro

Isthmos ———

Claudian de Bell. Getico, 188.

The Scironian rocks are described by Pausanias (l. i. c. 44. p. 107. edit. Kuhn) and our modern travellers, Wheeler (p. 436.) and Chandler (p. 298.). Hadrian made the road passable for two carriages.

¹⁰ Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 186. and de Bello Getico, 611, etc.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the scene of rapine and destruction.

¹¹ Τρις μακαρας Δαναοι και τετρακις, etc. These generous lines of Homer (Odys. l. v. 306.) were transcribed by one of the captive

youths of Corinth: and the tears of Mummius may prove that the rude conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of an original picture, possessed the purest source of good taste, a benevolent heart (Plutarch, *Symposiac.* l. ix. tom. ii. p. 737. edit. Wechel.).

¹² Homer perpetually describes the exemplary patience of these female captives, who gave their charms, and even their hearts, to the murderers of their fathers, brothers, etc. Such a passion (of Eriphile for Achilles) is touched with admirable delicacy by Racine.

¹³ Plutarch (in *Pyrrho*, tom. ii. p. 471. edit. Brian) gives the genuine answer in the Laconic dialect. Pyrrhus attacked Sparta with 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 24 elephants, and the defence of that open town is a fine comment on the laws of Lycurgus, even in the last stage of decay.

¹⁴ Such, perhaps, as Homer (*Iliad*, xx. 164.) has so nobly painted him.

¹⁵ Eunapius (in *Vit. Philosoph.* p. 90—93.) intimates, that a troop of Monks betrayed Greece, and followed the Gothic camp.

¹⁶ For Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honest narrative of Zosimus (l. v. p. 295, 296.), with the curious circumstantial flattery of Claudian (i. *Conf. Stilich.* l. i. 172—186. iv. *Conf. Hon.* 459—487.). As the event was not glorious, it is artfully thrown into the shade.

¹⁷ The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. This security enriched the Eleans, who were lovers of a rural life. Riches beget pride; they disdained their privilege, and they suffered. Polybius advises them to retire once more within their magic circle. See a learned and judicious discourse on the Olympic games, which Mr. West has prefixed to his translation of Pindar.

¹⁸ Claudian (in iv. *Conf. Hon.* 480.) alludes to the fact, without naming the river: perhaps the Alpheus (i. *Conf. Stil.* l. i. 185.).

—— Et Alpheus Geticis augustus acervis

Tardior ad Siculos etiamnum pergit amores.

Yet I should prefer the Peneus, a shallow stream in a wide and deep bed, which runs through Elis, and falls into the sea below Cylene. It had been joined with the Alpheus, to cleanse the Augean stable (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 760. *Chandler's Travels*, p. 286.).

¹⁹ Strabo, l. viii. p. 517. *Plin. Hist. Natur.* iv. 3. *Wheeler*, p. 308. *Chandler*, p. 275. They measured, from different points, the distance between the two lands.

²⁰ Synesius passed three years (A. D. 397—400.) at Constantinople, as deputy from Cyrene to the emperor Arcadius. He presented him with a crown of gold, and pronounced before him the instructive oration *de Regno* (p. 1—32. edit. Petav. Paris 1612.). The Philosopher was made bishop of Ptolemais, A. D. 410, and died about 430. See *Tillemont*, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xii. p. 499. 554. 683—685.

²¹ Synesius *de Regno*, p. 21—26.

²² —— qui fœdera rumpit

Ditatur: qui servat, eget: vastator Achivæ

Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
 Præfidet Illyrico: jam, quos obsedit, amicos
 Ingreditur muros; illis responsa daturus
 Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.

Claudian in Eutrop. l. ii. 212. Alaric applauds his own policy (de Bell. Getic. 533—543.), in the use which he had made of this Illyrian jurisdiction.

²³ Jornandes, c. 29. p. 651. The Gothic historian adds, with unusual spirit, Cum suis deliberans suasit suo labore quærere regna, quam alienis per otium subjacere.

²⁴ Discors odiisque anceps civilibus Orbis
 Non sua vis tutata diu, dum fœdera fallax
 Ludit, et alternæ perjuria venditat aulæ.

Claudian de Bell. Get. 565.

²⁵ Alpibus Italiæ ruptis penetrabis ad *Urbem*.

This authentic prediction was announced by Alaric, or at least by Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 547.), seven years before the event. But as it was not accomplished within the term which has been rashly fixed, the interpreters escaped through an ambiguous meaning.

²⁶ Our best materials are 970 verses of Claudian, in the poem on the Getic war, and the beginning of that which celebrates the sixth consulship of Honorius. Zosimus is totally silent; and we are reduced to such scraps, or rather crumbs, as we can pick from Orosius and the Chronicles.

²⁷ Notwithstanding the gross errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian wars of Alaric (c. 29.), his date of the consulship of Stilicho and Aurelian (A. D. 400.) is firm and respectable. It is certain, from Claudian (Tillemont Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 804.), that the battle of Pollentia was fought A. D. 403.; but we cannot easily fill the interval.

²⁸ Tantum Romanæ urbis judicium fugis, ut magis obsidionem barbaricam, quam *pacatæ* urbis judicium velis sustinere. Jerom. tom. ii. p. 239. Rufinus understood his own danger: the *peaceful* city was inflamed by the beldam Marcella, and the rest of Jerom's faction.

²⁹ Jovinian, the enemy of fasts and of celibacy, who was persecuted and insulted by the furious Jerom (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 104, etc.). See the original edict of banishment in the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 43.

³⁰ This epigram (de Sene Veronensi qui suburbium nusquam egressus est), is one of the earliest and most pleasing compositions of Claudian. Cowley's imitation (Hurd's edition, vol. ii. p. 241.) has some natural and happy strokes: but it is much inferior to the original portrait, which is evidently drawn from the life.

³¹ Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum
 Æquævumque videt consenuisse nemus.

A neighbouring wood born with himself he sees,
 And loves his old contemporary trees.

In this passage, Cowley is perhaps superior to his original; and the English poet, who was a good botanist, has concealed the *oaks*, under a more general expression.

³² Claudian de Bell. Get. 199—266. He may seem prolix: but fear and superstition occupied as large a space in the minds of the Italians.

³³ From the passages of Paulinus, which Baronius has produced (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 403. N°. 51.), it is manifest, that the general alarm had pervaded all Italy, as far as Nola in Campania, where that famous penitent had fixed his abode.

³⁴ Solus erat Stilicho, etc. is the exclusive commendation which Claudian bestows (de Bell. Get. 267.), without condescending to except the emperor. How insignificant must Honorius have appeared in his own court!

³⁵ The face of the country, and the hardness of Stilicho, are finely described (de Bell. Get. 340—363.).

³⁶ Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci.

De Bell. Get. 416.

Yet the most rapid march from Edinburgh, or Newcastle, to Milan, must have required a longer space of time than Claudian seems willing to allow for the duration of the Gothic war.

³⁷ Every traveller must recollect the face of Lombardy (see Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 279.), which is often tormented by the capricious and irregular abundance of waters. The Austrians, before Genoa, were encamped in the dry bed of the Polcevera. “Nè farebbe” (says Muratori) “mai passato per mente a que’ buoni Alemanni, che quel “picciolo torrente potesse, per così dire in un instante cangiarsi in “un terribil gigante.” (Annali d’Italia, tom. xvi. p. 443. Milan, 1753, 8vo edit.)

³⁸ Claudian does not clearly answer our question, Where was Honorius himself? Yet the flight is marked by the pursuit: and my idea of the Gothic war is justified by the Italian critics, Sigonius (tom. i. P. ii. p. 369. de Imp. Occident. l. x.) and Muratori (Annali d’Italia, tom. iv. p. 45.).

³⁹ One of the roads may be traced in the Itineraries (p. 98. 288. 294. with Wesseling’s notes). Asta lay some miles on the right hand.

⁴⁰ Asta, or Asti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleasant county, which, in the sixteenth century, devolved to the Dukes of Savoy (Leandro Alberti Descrizione d’Italia, p. 382.).

⁴¹ Nec me timor impulit ullus. He might hold this proud language the next year at Rome, five hundred miles from the scene of danger (vi. Conf. Hon. 449.).

⁴² Hanc ego vel victor regno, vel morte tenebo
Victus, humum ———

The speeches (de Bell. Get. 479—549.) of the Gothic Nestor, and Achilles, are strong, characteristic, adapted to the circumstances; and possibly not less genuine than those of Livy.

⁴³ Orosius

⁴³ Orosius (l. vii. c. 37.) is shocked at the impiety of the Romans, who attacked, on Easter-Sunday, such pious Christians. Yet, at the same time, public prayers were offered at the shrine of St. Thomas of Edessa, for the destruction of the Arian robber. See Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 529.) who quotes an homily, which has been erroneously ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

⁴⁴ The vestiges of Pollentia are twenty five miles to the south east of Turin. *Urbs*, in the same neighbourhood, was a royal chace of the king's of Lombardy, and a small river, which excused the prediction, "penetrabis ad urbem." Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 83—85.)

⁴⁵ Orosius wishes, in doubtful words, to insinuate the defeat of the Romans. "Pugnantes vicimus, victores victi sumus." Prosper (in Chron.) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers, Cassiodorus (in Chron.) and Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29.) claim a decisive victory.

⁴⁶ Demens Aufonidum gemmata monilia matrum,
Romanasque altâ famulas cervice petebat.

De Bell. Get. 627.

⁴⁷ Claudian (de Bell. Get. 580—647.) and Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 694—719.) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poetical and party writers; yet some credit is due to the most suspicious witnesses, who are checked by the recent notoriety of facts.

⁴⁸ Claudian's peroration is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbric and Gothic fields, must be understood (like Virgil's Philippi, Georgic. i. 490.) according to the loose geography of a poet. Vercellæ and Pollentia are sixty miles from each other; and the latitude is still greater, if the Cimbri were defeated in the wide and barren plain of Verona (Maffei, Verona Illustrata, P. i. p. 54—62.).

⁴⁹ Claudian and Prudentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures, and extort the historic sense of those poets.

⁵⁰ Et gravant en airain ses frêles avantages

De mes états conquis enchaîner les images.

The practice of exposing in triumph the images of kings and provinces, was familiar to the Romans. The bust of Mithridates himself was twelve feet high, of massy gold (Freinshem. Supplement. Livian. c. iii. 47.).

⁵¹ The Getic war and the sixth consulship of Honorius, obscurely connect the events of Alaric's retreat and losses.

⁵² Taceo de Alarico . . . sæpe victo, sæpe concluso, semperque dimisso. Orosius, l. vii. c. 37. p. 567. Claudian (vi. Conf. Hon. 320.) drops the curtain with a fine image.

⁵³ The remainder of Claudian's poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius, describes the journey, the triumph, and the games (330—660.).

⁵⁴ See the inscription in Mascou's History of the Ancient Germans, viii. 12. The words are positive and indiscreet, *Getarum nationem in omne ævum domitam*, etc.

⁵⁵ On the curious, though horrid, subject of the gladiators, consult the two books of the Saturnalia of Lipsius, who, as an *antiquarian*, is inclined to excuse the practice of *antiquity* (tom. iii. p. 483—545.).

⁵⁶ Cod. Theodof. l. xv. tit. xii. leg. 1. The Commentary of Godefroy affords large materials (tom. v. p. 396.) for the history of gladiators.

⁵⁷ See the peroration of Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 1121—1131.) who had doubtless read the eloquent invective of Lactantius (Divin. Institut. l. vi. c. 20.). The Christian apologists have not spared these bloody games, which were introduced in the religious festivals of Paganism.

⁵⁸ Theodoret, l. v. c. 26. I wish to believe the story of St. Telemachus. Yet no church has been dedicated, no altar has been erected, to the only monk who died a martyr in the cause of humanity.

⁵⁹ *Crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis videri solet; et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc sit.* Cicero Tusculan. ii. 17. He faintly censures the *abuse*, and warmly defends the *use*, of these sports; *oculis nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.* Seneca (epist. vii.) shews the feelings of a man.

⁶⁰ This account of Ravenna is drawn from Strabo (l. v. p. 327.), Pliny (iii. 20), Stephen of Byzantium (sub voce *Ραβερνα*, p. 651. edit. Berkel.), Claudian (in vi. Conf. Honor. 494, etc.), Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. epist. v. 3.) Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29.), Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. i. c. i. p. 309. edit. Louvre), and Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 301—307.). Yet I still want a local antiquarian, and a good topographical map.

⁶¹ Martial (epigram. iii. 56, 57.) plays on the trick of the knave, who had sold him wine instead of water; but he seriously declares, that a cistern, at Ravenna, is more valuable than a vineyard. Sidonius complains that the town is destitute of fountains and aqueducts; and ranks the want of fresh water among the local evils, such as the croaking of frogs, the stinging of gnats, etc.

⁶² The fable of Theodore and Honoria, which Dryden has so admirably transplanted from Boccacio (Giornata iii. novell. viii.) was acted in the wood of *Chiassi*, a corrupt word from *Classis*, the naval station, which, with the intermediate road or suburb, the *Via Casaris*, constituted the *triple* city of Ravenna.

⁶³ From the year 404, the dates of the Theodosian Code become sedentary at Constantinople and Ravenna. See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, tom. i. p. cxlviii. etc.

⁶⁴ See M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 179—189. tom. ii. p. 295. 334—338.

⁶⁵ Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. iii. p. 182.) has observed an

emigration from the Palus Mæotis to the north of Germany, which he ascribes to famine. But his views of ancient history are strangely darkened by ignorance and error.

⁶⁶ Zosimus (l. v. p. 331.) uses the general description of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their situation, and consequently their names, are manifestly shewn, even in the various epithets which each ancient writer may have casually added.

⁶⁷ The name of Rhadagast was that of a local deity of the Obotrites (in Mecklenburgh). A hero might naturally assume the appellation of his tutelar god; but it is not probable that the Barbarians should worship an unsuccessful hero. See Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, viii. 14.

⁶⁸ Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180.) uses the Greek word, *Οπτιματοι*; which does not convey any precise idea. I suspect that they were the princes and nobles, with their faithful companions; the knights with their squires, as they would have been styled some centuries afterwards.

⁶⁹ Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, c. 37.

⁷⁰ — Cujus agendi

Spectator vel causa fui.

Claudian, vi. Conf. Hon. 439.

is the modest language of Honorius, in speaking of the Gothic war, which he had seen somewhat nearer.

⁷¹ Zosimus (l. v. p. 331.) transports the war, and the victory of Stilicho, beyond the Danube. A strange error, which is awkwardly and imperfectly cured, by reading *Αρνον* for *Ιστρον* (Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 807.). In good policy, we must use the service of Zosimus, without esteeming or trusting him.

⁷² Codex Theodos. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 16. The date of this law (A. D. 406, May 18.) satisfies me, as it had done Godefroy (tom. ii. p. 387), of the true year of the invasion of Radagaisus. Tillemont, Pagi, and Muratori, prefer the preceding year; but they are bound, by certain obligations of civility and respect, to St. Paulinus of Nola.

⁷³ Soon after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, the senate, on a sudden emergency, armed ten legions, 3000 horse, and 42,000 foot, a force which the city could not have sent forth under Augustus (Livy, vii. 25.). This declaration may puzzle an antiquary, but it is clearly explained by Montesquieu.

⁷⁴ Machiavel has explained, at least as a philosopher, the origin of Florence, which insensibly descended, for the benefit of trade, from the rock of Fæsulæ to the banks of the Arno (Istoria Fiorentin. tom. i. l. ii. p. 36. Londra, 1747.). The Triumvirs sent a colony to Florence, which, under Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. i. 79.), deserved the reputation and name of a *flourishing* city. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 507, etc.

⁷⁵ Yet the Jupiter of Radagaisus, who worshipped Thor and Woden, was very different from the Olympic or Capitoline Jove. The accommodating temper of Polytheism might unite those various and remote deities; but the genuine Romans abhorred the human sacrifices of Gaul and Germany.

⁷⁶ Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 50.) relates this story, which he received from the mouth of Pansophia herself, a religious matron of Florence. Yet the archbishop soon ceased to take an active part in the business of the world, and never became a popular saint.

⁷⁷ Augustin de Civitat. Dei, v. 23. Orosius, l. vii. c. 37. p. 567—571. The two friends wrote in Africa, ten or twelve years after the victory; and their authority is implicitly followed by Isidore of Seville (in Chron. p. 713. edit. Grot.). How many interesting facts might Orosius have inserted in the vacant space which is devoted to pious nonsense!

⁷⁸ Franguntur montes, planumque per ardua Cæsar
Ducit opus: pandit fossas, turritaque summis
Disponit castella jugis, magnoque recessu
Amplexus fines; saltus nemorosaque tesqua
Et silvas, vastaque feras indagine claudit.

Yet the simplicity of truth (Cæsar, de Bell. Civ. iii. 44.) is far greater than the amplifications of Lucan (Pharsal. l. vi. 29—63.).

⁷⁹ The rhetorical expressions of Orosius, "In arido et aspero montis jugo;" "in unum ac parvum verticem," are not very suitable to the encampment of a great army. But Fæsulæ, only three miles from Florence, might afford space for the head-quarters of Radagaisus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman lines.

⁸⁰ See Zosimus, l. v. p. 331. and the chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.

⁸¹ Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180.) uses an expression (προσηταιριότητα, which would denote a strict and friendly alliance, and render Stilicho still more criminal. The paulisper detentus, deinde interfectus, of Orosius, is sufficiently odious.

⁸² Orosius, piously inhuman, sacrifices the king and people, Agag and the Amalekites, without a symptom of compassion. The bloody actor is less detestable than the cool unfeeling historian.

⁸³ And Claudian's muse, was she asleep? had she been ill paid? Methinks the seventh consulship of Honorius (A. D. 407) would have furnished the subject of a noble poem. Before it was discovered that the state could no longer be saved, Stilicho (after Romulus, Camillus and Marius) might have been worthily surnamed the fourth founder of Rome.

⁸⁴ A luminous passage of Prosper's Chronicle, "*In tres partes, per diversos principes, divisus exercitus,*" reduces the miracle of Florence and connects the history of Italy, Gaul, and Germany.

⁸⁵ Orosius and Jerom positively charge him with instigating the invasion. "Excitata a Stilichone gentes," etc. They must mean *indirectly*. He saved Italy at the expence of Gaul.

⁸⁶ The Count de Buat is satisfied, that the Germans who invaded Gaul were the *two-thirds* that yet remained of the army of Radagaisus. See the *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe* (tom. vii. p. 87—121. Paris, 1772.); an elaborate work, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1777. As early as 1771, I find the same idea expressed in a rough draught of the present History. I have since observed a similar intimation in Mascou (vii. 15.). Such agreement, without mutual communication, may add some weight to our common sentiment.

⁸⁷ — Provincia missos

Expellet citius fasces, quam Francia reges
Quos dederis.

Claudian (I. Conf. Stil. l. i. 235, etc.) is clear and satisfactory. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours; but the author of the *Gesta Francorum* mentions both Sunno and Marcomir, and names the latter as the father of Pharamond (in tom. ii. p. 543.). He seems to write from good materials, which he did not understand.

⁸⁸ See Zosimus (l. vi. p. 373.), Orosius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576.), and the *Chronicles*. Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9. p. 165. in the second volume of the *Historians of France*) has preserved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a Semi-barbarian.

⁸⁹ Claudian (I. Conf. Stil. l. i. 221. etc. l. ii. 186.) describes the peace and prosperity of the Gallic frontier. The Abbé Dubos (*Hist. critique*, etc. tom. i. p. 174.) would read *Alba* (a nameless rivulet of the Ardennes) instead of *Albis*; and expatiates on the danger of the Gallic cattle grazing beyond the *Elbe*. Foolish enough! In poetical geography, the Elbe, and the Hercinian, signify any river, or any wood, in Germany. Claudian is not prepared for the strict examination of our antiquaries.

⁹⁰ — Geminasque viator

Cum videat ripas, quæ sit Romana requirat.

⁹¹ Jerom, tom. i. p. 93. See in the 1st vol. of the *Historians of France*, p. 777. 782. the proper extracts from the *Carmen de Providentiâ Divinâ*, and Salvian. The anonymous poet was himself a captive, with his bishop and fellow-citizens.

⁹² The Pelagian doctrine, which was first agitated A. D. 405, was condemned, in the space of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. St. Augustin fought and conquered: but the Greek church was favourable to his adversaries; and (what is singular enough) the people did not take any part in a dispute which they could not understand.

⁹³ See the *Mémoires de Guillaume du Bellay*, l. vi. In French, the original reproof is less obvious, and more pointed, from the double sense of the word *journée*, which alike signifies, a day's travel, or a battle.

⁹⁴ Claudian (i. Conf. Stil. l. ii. 250.). It is supposed, that the Scots of Ireland invaded, by sea, the whole western coast of Britain, and some slight credit may be given even to Nennius and the Irish traditions (Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 169. Whitaker's Genuine History of the Britons, p. 199. The sixty-six lives of St. Patrick, which were extant in the ninth century, must have contained as many thousand lies; yet we may believe, that, in one of these Irish inroads, the future apostle was led away captive (Usher, Antiquit. Ecclési. Britann. p. 431. and Tillemont. Mém. Ecclési. tom. xvi. p. 456. 782, etc.).

⁹⁵ The British usurpers are taken from Zosimus (l. vi. p. 371—375.) Orosius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576. 577.), Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180, 181.), the ecclesiastical historians, and the Chronicles. The Latins are ignorant of Marcus.

⁹⁶ Cum in Constantino *inconstantiam* . . . execrarentur (Sidonius Apollinaris, l. v. epist. 9. p. 139. edit. secund. Sirmond.). Yet Sidonius might be tempted, by so fair a pun, to stigmatise a prince, who had disgraced his grandfather.

⁹⁷ *Bagaudæ* is the name which Zosimus applies to them; perhaps they deserved a less odious character (see Dubos, Hist. critique, tom. i. p. 203. and this History, vol. ii. p. 100.). We shall hear of them again.

⁹⁸ Verinianus, Didymus, Theodosius, and Lagodius, who, in modern courts, would be styled princes of the blood, were not distinguished by any rank or privileges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.

⁹⁹ These *Honoriani*, or *Honoriaci*, consisted of two bands of Scots or Attacotti, two of Moors, two of Marcomanni, the Victores, the Ascarii, and the Gallicani (Notitia Imperii, sect. xxxviii. edit. Lab.). They were part of the sixty-five *Auxilia Palatina*, and are properly styled, *ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ταῖς*, by Zosimus (l. vi. p. 374.).

¹⁰⁰ ——— Comitatur euntem

Pallor, et atra fames; et laucia lividus ora
Luctus; et interni stridentes agmine morbi.

Claudian in vi. Conf. Hon. 321, etc.

¹⁰¹ These dark transactions are investigated by the Count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. iii—viii, p. 69—206.), whose laborious accuracy may sometimes fatigue a superficial reader.

¹⁰² See Zosimus, l. v. p. 334, 335. He interrupts his scanty narrative, to relate the fable of Æmona, and of the ship Argo; which was drawn over land from that place to the Adriatic. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 25. l. ix. c. 4.) and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) cast a pale

and doubtful light; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571.) is abominably partial.

¹⁰³ Zosimus, l. v. p. 338, 339. He repeats the words of Lampadius, as they were spoke in Latin, "non est ista pax, sed pactio servitutis," and then translates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

¹⁰⁴ He came from the coast of the Euxine, and exercised a splendid office, λαμπρὰς δὲ στρατείας ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις ἀξιομένους. His actions justify his character, which Zosimus (l. v. p. 340.) exposes with visible satisfaction. Augustin revered the piety of Olympius, whom he styles a true son of the church Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 408. N°. 19, etc. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiii. p. 467, 468.) But these praises, which the African saint so unworthily bestows, might proceed, as well from ignorance, as from adulation.

¹⁰⁵ Zosimus, l. v. p. 338, 339. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 4. Stilicho offered to undertake the journey to Constantinople, that he might divert Honorius from the vain attempt. The Eastern empire would not have obeyed, and could not have been conquered.

¹⁰⁵ Zosimus l. v. p. 336—345. has copiously, though not clearly, related the disgrace and death of Stilicho. Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 177.) Orosius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571, 572.) Sozomen (l. ix. c. 4.), and Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 3. l. xii. c. 2.) afford supplemental hints.

¹⁰⁶ Zosimus, l. v. p. 333. The marriage of a Christian with two sisters, scandalises Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 557.); who expects, in vain, that pope Innocent I. should have done something in the way, either of censure, or of dispensation.

¹⁰⁷ Two of his friends are honourably mentioned (Zosimus, l. v. p. 346.): Peter, chief of the school of notaries, and the great chamberlain Deuterius. Stilicho had secured the bed-chamber; and it is surprising, that, under a feeble prince, the bed-chamber was not able to secure him.

¹⁰⁸ Orosius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571, 572.) seems to copy the false and furious manifestoes, which were dispersed through the provinces by the new administration.

¹⁰⁹ See the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. xvi. leg. 1. l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 22. Stilicho is branded with the name of *prædo publicus*, who employed his wealth, *ad omnem ditandam, inquietandamque Barbariem*.

¹¹⁰ Augustin himself is satisfied with the effectual laws, which Stilicho had enacted against heretics and idolaters; and which are still extant in the Code. He only applies to Olympius for their confirmation (Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 408. N°. 19.)

¹¹¹ Zosimus, l. 5. p. 351. We may observe the bad taste of the age, in dressing their statues with such awkward finery.

¹¹² See Rutilius Numatianus (Itinerar. l. ii. 41—60.) to whom religious enthusiasm has dictated some elegant and forcible lines. Stilicho likewise stripped the gold plates from the doors of the Capitol,

and read a prophetic sentence, which was engraven under them (Zosimus, l. v. p. 352.). These are foolish stories: yet the charge of *impiety* adds weight and credit to the praise, which Zosimus reluctantly bestows, on his virtues.

¹¹³ At the nuptials of Orpheus (a modest comparison!) all the parts of animated nature contributed their various gifts; and the gods themselves enriched their favourite. Claudian had neither flocks, nor herds, nor vines, or olives. His wealthy bride was heiress to them all. But he carried to Africa, a recommendatory letter from Serena, his Juno, and was made happy (Epist. ii. ad Serenam).

¹¹⁴ Claudian feels the honour like a man who deserved it (in præfat. Bell. Get.). The original inscription, on marble, was found at Rome, in the fifteenth century, in the house of Pomponius Lætus. The statue of a poet, far superior to Claudian, should have been erected, during his life-time, by the men of letters his countrymen, and contemporaries. It was a noble design!

¹¹⁵ See Epigram xxx.

Mallius indulget somno noctesque diesque:

Infomnis Pharius sacra, profana, rapit.

Omnibus, hoc, Italæ gentes, exposcite votis,

Mallius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.

Hadrian was a Pharian (of Alexandria). See his public life in Godefroy, Cod. Theodof. tom. vi. p. 364. Mallius did not always sleep. He composed some elegant dialogues on the Greek systems of natural philosophy (Claud. in Mall. Theodor. Conf. 51—112.).

¹¹⁶ See Claudian's first Epistle. Yet, in some places, an air of irony and indignation betrays his secret reluctance.

¹¹⁷ National vanity has made him a Florentine, or a Spaniard. But the first epistle of Claudian proves him a native of Alexandria (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. tom. iii. p. 191—202. edit. Ernest.).

¹¹⁸ His first Latin verses were composed during the consulship of Probinus, A. D. 395.

Romanos bibimus primum, te consule, fontes,

Et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togæ.

Besides some Greek Epigrams, which are still extant, the Latin poet had composed in Greek, the Antiquities of Tarsus, Anazarbus, Berytus, Nice, etc. It is more easy to supply the loss of good poetry, than of authentic history.

¹¹⁹ Strada (Prolusion. v, vi.) allows him to contend with the five heroic poets, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. His patron is the accomplished courtier Balthazar Castiglione. His admirers are numerous and passionate. Yet the rigid critics reproach exotic weeds, or flowers, which spring too luxuriantly in his Latian soil.

C H A P. XXXI.

¹ The series of events, from the death of Stilicho, to the arrival of Alaric before Rome, can only be found in Zosimus, l. v. p. 347—350.

² The expression of Zosimus is strong and lively, *καταφρονητικὴν ἐμποιοῦσαι τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀρκούντας*, sufficient to excite the contempt of the enemy.

³ Eos qui catholicæ sectæ sunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. Nullus nobis sit aliquâ ratione conjunctus, qui a nobis fide et religione discordat. Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 42. and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 164. This law was applied in the utmost latitude, and rigorously executed. Zosimus, l. v. p. 364.

⁴ Addison (see his Works, vol. ii. p. 54. edit. Baskerville) has given a very picturesque description of the road through the Apennine. The Goths were not at leisure to observe the beauties of the prospect; but they were pleased to find that the Saxa Intercisa, a narrow passage which Vespasian had cut through the rock (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 618.), was totally neglected.

⁵ Hinc albi Clitumni greges, et maxima Taurus

Victima; sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro

Romanos ad templa Deum duxere Triumphos.

Besides Virgil, most of the Latin poets, Propertius, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Claudian, etc. whose passages may be found in Cluverius and Addison, have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitumnus.

⁶ Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of Honorius over the same ground. (See Claudian in vi. Conf. Hon. 494—522.) The measured distance between Ravenna and Rome, was 254 Roman miles. Itinerar. Wesseling. p. 126.

⁷ The march and retreat of Hannibal are described by Livy, l. xxvi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.; and the reader is made a spectator of the interesting scene.

⁸ These comparisons were used by Cyneas, the counsellor of Pyrrhus, after his return from his embassy, in which he had diligently studied the discipline and manners of Rome. See Plutarch in Pyrrho, tom. ii. p. 459.

⁹ In the three *census* which were made of the Roman people, about the time of the second Punic war, the numbers stand as follows (see Livy, Epitom. l. xx. Hist. l. xxvii. 36. xxix. 37.), 270,213, 137,108, 214,000. The fall of the second, and the rise of the third, appears so enormous, that several critics, notwithstanding the unanimity of the MSS. have suspected some corruption of the text of Livy. (See Drakenborch ad xxvii. 36. and Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 325.) They did not consider that the second *census* was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminished, not only by the death, but likewise by the *absence*, of many soldiers. In the third *census*, Livy expressly affirms, that the legions were mustered by the care of particular commissaries. From the numbers on the list, we must always deduct one twelfth above three-score, incapable of bearing arms. See Population de la France, p. 72.

¹⁰ Livy considers these two incidents as the effects only of chance and courage. I suspect that they were both managed by the admirable policy of the senate.

¹¹ See Jerom, tom. i. p. 169 170. ad Eustochium; he bestows on Paula the splendid titles of Gracchorum stirps, soboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres, cujus vocabulum trahit, Martiæ Papyriæ Matris Africani vera et germana propago. This particular description supposes a more solid title than the surname of Julius, which Toxotius shared with a thousand families of the Western provinces. See the Index of Tacitus, of Gruter's Inscriptions, etc.

¹² Tacitus (Annal. iii. 55.) affirms, that, between the battle of Actium and the reign of Vespasian, the senate was gradually filled with *new* families, from the municipia and colonies of Italy.

¹³ Nec quisquam Procerum tentet (licet ære vetusto
Floreant, et claro cingatur Roma fenatû)
Se jactare parem; sed primâ fede relictâ
Auchenis, de jure licet certare secundo.

Claud. in Prob. et Olybrii Coss. 18.

Such a compliment paid to the obscure name of the Auchenii has amazed the critics; but they all agree, that whatever may be the true reading, the sense of Claudian can be applied only to the Anician family.

¹⁴ The earliest date in the annals of Pighius, is that of M. Anicius Gallus. Trib. Pl. A. U. C. 506. Another tribune, Q. Anicius, A. U. C. 508. is distinguished by the epithet of Prænestinus. Livy (xlv. 43.) places the Anicii below the great families of Rome.

¹⁵ Livy, xlv. 30. 31. xlv. 3. 26. 43. He fairly appreciates the merit of Anicius, and justly observes, that his fame was clouded by the superior lustre of the Macedonian, which preceded the Illyrian, triumph.

¹⁶ The dates of the three consulships are, A. U. C. 593, 818, 967: the two last under the reigns of Nero and Caracalla. The second of these consuls distinguished himself only by his infamous flattery (Tacit. Annal. xv. 74.): but even the evidence of crimes, if they bear the stamp of greatness and antiquity, is admitted, without reluctance, to prove the genealogy of a noble house.

¹⁷ In the sixth century, the nobility of the Anician name is mentioned (Cassiodor. Variar. l. x. Ep. 10. 12.) with singular respect by the minister of a Gothic king of Italy,

¹⁸ ————— Fixus in omnes
Cognatos procedit honos; quæcumque requiras
Hæc de stirpe virum, certum est de Consule nasci.
Per fasces numerantur Avi, semperque renatâ
Nobilitate virent, et prolem fata sequuntur.

(Claudian in Prob. et Olyb. Consulatus. 12, etc.). The Annii, whose name seems to have merged in the Anician, mark the Fasti with many consulships, from the time of Vespasian to the fourth century.

¹⁹ The title of first Christian senator may be justified by the authority of Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 553.), and the dislike of the Pagans to the Anician family. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 183. v. p. 44. Baron. Annal. A. D. 312. N°. 78. A. D. 322. N°. 2.

²⁰ Probus . . . claritudine generis et potentiâ et opum magnitudine, cognitus Orbi Romano, per quem universum pœne patrimonia sparsa possedit, juste an secus non judiculi est nostri. Ammian. Marcellin. xxvii. 11. His children and widow erected for him a magnificent tomb in the Vatican, which was demolished in the time of pope Nicolas V. to make room for the new church of St. Peter. Baronius, who laments the ruin of this Christian monument, has diligently preserved the inscriptions and basso-relieues. See Annal. Eccles. A. D. 395. N°. 5—17.

²¹ Two Persian Satraps travelled to Milan and Rome, to hear St. Ambrose, and to see Probus. (Paulin. in Vit. Ambros.) Claudian (in Conf. Prob. et Olybr. 30—60.) seems at a loss, how to express the glory of Probus.

²² See the poem which Claudian addressed to the two noble youths.

²³ Secundinus, the Manichæan, ap. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 390. N°. 34.

²⁴ See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 89. 498. 500.

²⁵ Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia sylvas;
Vernula quæ vario carmine ludit avis.

Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. ver. 111.

The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invasion. A moderate palace would have covered Cincinnatus's farm of four acres (Val. Max. iv. 4.). In laxitatem ruris excurrunt, says Seneca, Epist. 114. See a judicious note of Mr. Hume, Essays, vol. i. p. 562. last 8vo edition.

²⁶ This curious account of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is found in a fragment of the historian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 197.

²⁷ The sons of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, spent, during their respective prætorships, twelve, or twenty, or forty, *centenaries* (or, hundred weight of gold). See Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. This popular estimation allows some latitude; but it is difficult to explain a law in the Theodosian Code (l. vi. leg. 5.), which fixes the expence of the first prætor at 25,000, of the second at 20,000, and of the third at 15,000 *folles*. The name of *follis* (see Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 727.) was equally applied to a purse of 125 pieces of silver, and to a small copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{2825}$ part of that purse. In the former sense, the 25,000 folles would be equal to 150,000 l. in the latter to five or six pounds sterling. The one appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous.

There must have existed some third, and middle value, which is here understood; but ambiguity is an inexcusable fault in the language of laws.

²⁸ Nicopolis . . . in Actiaco littore sita possessionis vestræ nunc pars vel maxima est. Jerom. in præfat. Comment. ad Epistol. ad Titum, tom. ix. p. 243. M. de Tillemont supposes, strangely enough, that it was part of Agamemnon's inheritance. Mém. Ecclési. tom. xii. p. 85.

²⁹ Seneca, Epist. lxxxix. His language is of the declamatory kind; but declamation could scarcely exaggerate the avarice and luxury of the Romans. The philosopher himself deserved some share of the reproach; if it be true, that his rigorous exaction of *Quadringenties*, above three hundred thousand pounds, which he had lent at high interest, provoked a rebellion in Britain. (Dion Cassius, l. lxii. p. 1003.) According to the conjecture of Gale (Antoninus's Itinerary in Britain, p. 92.), the same Faustinus possessed an estate near Bury; in Suffolk, and another in the kingdom of Naples.

³⁰ Volusius, a wealthy senator (Tacit. Annal. iii. 30.), always preferred tenants born on the estate. Columella, who received this maxim from him, argues very judiciously on the subject. De Re Rustica, l. i. c. 7. p. 408. edit. Gesner. Leipzig, 1735.

³¹ Valesius (ad Ammian. xiv. 6.) has proved, from Chrysostom and Augustin, that the senators were not allowed to lend money at usury. Yet it appears from the Theodosian Code (see Godefroy ad l. ii. tit. xxxiii. tom. i. p. 230—289.), that they were permitted to take six per cent. or one half of the legal interest; and, what is more singular, this permission was granted to the *young* senators.

³² Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 50. He states the silver at only 4380 pounds, which is increased by Livy (xxx. 45.) to 100,023: the former seems too little for an opulent city, the latter too much for any private side-board.

³³ The learned Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, etc. p. 153.) has observed with humour, and I believe with truth, that Augustus had neither glass to his windows, nor a shirt to his back. Under the lower empire, the use of linen and glass became somewhat more common.

³⁴ It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have melted town into one piece, the sixth chapter of the fourteenth, and the fourth of the twenty-eighth, book. 2. I have given order and connection to the confused mass of materials. 3. I have softened *some* extravagant hyperboles, and pared away some superfluities of the original. 4. I have developed some observations which were insinuated, rather than expressed. With these allowances, my version will be found, not literal indeed, but faithful and exact.

³⁵ Claudian, who seems to have read the history of Ammianus, speaks of this great revolution in a much less courtly style:

Postquam jura ferox in se communia Cæsar
 Transtulit; et lapsi mores; desuetaque priscis
 Artibus, in gremium pacis servile recessi.

De Bell. Gildonico, 49.

³⁶ The minute diligence of antiquarians has not been able to verify these extraordinary names. I am of opinion that they were invented by the historian himself, who was afraid of any personal satire or application. It is certain, however, that the simple denominations of the Romans were gradually lengthened to the number of four, five, or even seven, pompous surnames; as for instance, Marcus Mæcius Mæmmius Furius Balburus Cæcilianus Placidus. See Noris Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. iv. p. 438.

³⁷ The *carrucæ*, or coaches of the Romans, were often of solid silver, curiously carved and engraved; and the trappings of the mules, or horses, were embossed with gold. This magnificence continued from the reign of Nero to that of Honorius; and the Appian way was covered with the splendid equipages of the nobles, who came out to meet St. Melania, when she returned to Rome, six years before the Gothic siege (Seneca, epistol. lxxxvii. Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 49. Paulin. Nolan. apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 397. N°. 5.). Yet pomp is well exchanged for convenience; and a plain modern coach, that is hung upon springs, is much preferable to the silver or gold *carts* of antiquity, which rolled on the axle-tree, and were exposed, for the most part, to the inclemency of the weather.

³⁸ In a homily of Asterius, bishop of Amasia, M. de Valois has discovered (ad Ammian. xiv. 6.) that this was a new fashion; that bears, wolves, lions, and tygers, woods, hunting-matches, etc. were represented in embroidery; and that the more pious coxcombs substituted the figure or legend of some favourite saint.

³⁹ See Pliny's Epistles, i. 6. Three large wild boars were allured and taken in the toils, without interrupting the studies of the philosophic sportsman.

⁴⁰ The change from the inauspicious word *Avernus*, which stands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucrinus, communicated with each other, and were fashioned by the stupendous moles of Agrippa into the Julian port, which opened, through a narrow entrance, into the gulph of Puteoli. Virgil, who resided on the spot, has described (Georgic. ii. 161.) this work at the moment of its execution; and his commentators, especially Catrou, have derived much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Dion. Earthquakes and volcanoes have changed the face of the country, and turned the Lucrine lake, since the year 1538, into the Monte Nuovo. See Camillo Pellegrino Discorsi della Campania Felice, p. 239. 244, etc. Antonii Sanfelicii Campania, p. 13. 88.

⁴¹ The regnâ Cumana et Puteolana; loca cæteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudinæ pæne fugienda. Cicero ad Attic. xvi. 17.

⁴² The proverbial expression of *Cimmerian darkness* was originally borrowed from the description of Homer (in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*), which he applies to a remote and fabulous country on the shores of the ocean. See *Erasmii Adagia*, in his works, tom. ii. p. 593. the Leyden edition.

⁴³ We may learn from Seneca, epist. cxxiii. three curious circumstances relative to the journies of the Romans. 1. They were preceded by a troop of Numidian light-horse, who announced, by a cloud of dust, the approach of a great man. 2. Their baggage mules transported not only the precious vases, but even the fragile vessels of chrystal and *marra*, which last is almost proved, by the learned French translator of Seneca (tom. iii. p. 402—422.) to mean the porcelain of China and Japan. 3. The beautiful faces of the young slaves were covered with a medicated crust, or ointment, which secured them against the effects of the sun and frost.

⁴⁴ *Distributio solemnium sportularum*. The *sportulæ*, or *sportellæ*, were small baskets, supposed to contain a quantity of hot provisions, of the value of 100 quadrantes, or twelve-pence halfpenny, which were ranged in order in the hall, and ostentatiously distributed to the hungry or servile crowd, who waited at the door. This indelicate custom is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the satires of Juvenal. See likewise Suetonius, in Claud. c. 21. in Neron. c. 16. in Domitian. c. 4. 7. These baskets of provisions were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver coin, or plate, which were mutually given and accepted even by persons of the highest rank (see Symmach. epist. iv. 55. ix. 124. and Miscell. p. 256.), on solemn occasions, of consulship, marriages, etc.

⁴⁵ The want of an English name obliges me to refer to the common genus of squirrels, the Latin *glis*, the French *loir*; a little animal who inhabits the woods, and remains torpid in cold weather. (See Plin. Hist. Natur. viii. 82. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. viii. p. 158. Pennant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds, p. 289.). The art of rearing and fattening great numbers of *glires* was practised in Roman villas, as a profitable article of rural œconomy (Varro. de Re Rusticâ, iii. 15.). The excessive demand of them for luxurious tables, was increased by the foolish prohibitions of the Censors; and it is reported, that they are still esteemed in modern Rome, and are frequently sent as presents by the Colonna princes (See Brotier, the last editor of Pliny, tom. ii. p. 458. apud Barbou, 1779.).

⁴⁶ This game, which might be translated by the more familiar names of *trictrac*, or *backgammon*, was a favourite amusement of the gravest Romans; and old Mucius Scævola, the lawyer, had the reputation of a very skilful player. It was called *ludus duodecim scriptorum* from the

twelve *scripta*, or lines, which equally divided the *alveolus*, or table. On these the two armies, the white and the black, each consisting of fifteen men, or *calculi*, were regularly placed, and alternately moved, according to the laws of the game; and the chances of the *tesseræ*, or dice. Dr. Hyde, who diligently traces the history and varieties of the *nerdiludium* (a name of Persian etymology) from Ireland to Japan, pours forth, on this trifling subject, a copious torrent of classic and Oriental learning. See *Syntagma Differtat.* tom. ii. p. 217—405.

⁴⁷ Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui, et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit. Vopiscus, in *Hist. August.* p. 242. He wrote the lives of the Emperors, from Trajan to Alexander Severus. See Gerard. *Vossius de Historicis Latin.* l. ii. c. 3. in his works, vol. iv. p. 57.

⁴⁸ This satire is probably exaggerated. The Saturnalia of Macrobius and the Epistles of Jerom, afford satisfactory proofs, that Christian theology, and classic literature, were studiously cultivated by several Romans, of both sexes, and of the highest rank.

⁴⁸ Macrobius, the friend of these Roman nobles, considered the stars as the cause, or at least the signs, of future events (*de Somn. Scipion.* l. i. c. 19. p. 68.)

⁴⁹ The histories of Livy (see particularly vi. 36.) are full of the extortions of the rich, and the sufferings of the poor debtors. The melancholy story of a brave old soldier (*Dionys. Hal.* l. vi. c. 26. p. 347. edit Hudson, and Livy ii. 23.) must have been frequently repeated in those primitive times, which have been so undeservedly praised.

⁵⁰ Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent. Cicero. *Offic.* ii. 21. and *Comment.* Paul. Manut. in edit. Græv. This vague computation was made A. U. C. 649. in a speech of the tribune Philippus; and it was his object, as well as that of the Gracchi (see Plutarch), to deplore, and perhaps to exaggerate, the misery of the common people.

⁵¹ See the third Satire (60.—125.) of Juvenal, who indignantly complains,

— Quamvis quota portio fœcis Achæi!
Jampriden Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes;
Et linguam et mores, etc.

Seneca, when he proposes to comfort his mother (*Consolat. ad Helv.* c. 6.) by the reflection, that a great part of mankind were in a state of exile, reminds her how few of the inhabitants of Rome were born in the city.

⁵² Almost all that is said of the bread, bacon, oil, wine, etc. may be found in the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code; which expressly treats of the *police* of the great cities. See particularly the titles iii. iv. xv. xvi xvii. xxiv. The collateral testimonies are produced in Godefroy's Commentary, and it is needless to transcribe

them. According to a law of Theodosius, which appreciates in money the military allowance, a piece of gold (eleven shillings) was equivalent to eighty pounds of bacon, or to eighty pounds of oil, or to twelve modii (or pecks) of salt (Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. iv. leg. 17.). This equation, compared with another, of seventy pounds of bacon for an *amphora* (Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. iv. leg. 4.), fixes the price of wine at about sixteen pence the gallon.

⁵³ The anonymous author of the Description of the World (p. 14. in tom. iii. Geograph. Minor. Hudson) observes of Lucania, in his barbarous Latin, *Regio, optima, et ipsa omnibus habundans, et largum multum foras emittit. Propter quod est in montibus, cujus æscam animalium variam, etc.*

⁵⁴ See Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. D. Valent. l. i. tit. xv. This law was published at Rome, June the 29th, A. D. 452.

⁵⁵ Sueton. in August. c. 42. The utmost debauch of the emperor himself, in his favourite wine of Rhætia, never exceeded a *sextarius* (an English pint). Id. c. 77. Torrentius ad Loc. and Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 86.

⁵⁶ His design was to plant vineyards along the sea-coast of Hetruria (Vopiscus, in Hist. August. p. 225.); the dreary, unwholesome, uncultivated *Maremma* of modern Tuscany.

⁵⁷ Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 197.

⁵⁸ Seneca (epistol. lxxxvi.) compares the Baths of Scipio Africanus, at his villa of Liternum, with the magnificence (which was continually increasing) of the public baths of Rome, long before the stately Thermæ of Antoninus and Diocletian were erected. The *quadrans* paid for admission was the quarter of the *as*, about one eighth of an English penny.

⁵⁹ Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6. and l. xxviii. c. 4.), after describing the luxury and pride of the nobles of Rome, exposes, with equal indignation, the vices and follies of the common people.

⁶⁰ Juvenal. Satir. xi. 191, etc. The expressions of the historian Ammianus are not less strong and animated than those of the satirist; and both the one and the other painted from the life. The numbers which the great Circus was capable of receiving, are taken from the *original Notitiæ* of the city. The differences between them prove that they did not transcribe each other; but the sum may appear incredible, though the country on these occasions flocked to the city.

⁶¹ Sometimes indeed they composed original pieces.

— Vestigia Græca

Ausi deferere et celebrare domestica facta.

Horat. Epistol. ad Pisones, 285. and the learned, though perplexed, note of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedies to the *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Pacuvius, or to the *Cato* of Maternus. The *Octavia*,

Octavia, ascribed to one of the Senecas, still remains a very unfavourable specimen of Roman tragedy.

⁶² In the time of Quintilian and Pliny, a tragic poet was reduced to the imperfect method, of hiring a great room, and reading his play to the company, whom he invited for that purpose (See Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. 9. 11. and Plin. Epistol. vii. 17.).

⁶³ See the Dialogue of Lucian, intitled, De Saltatione, tom. ii. p. 265—317. edit. Reitz. The pantomimes obtained the honourable name of *Χειροπόδοι*; and it was required, that they should be conversant with almost every art and science. Burette (in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. i. p. 127, etc.) has given a short history of the art of pantomimes.

⁶⁴ Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 6. He complains, with decent indignation that the streets of Rome were filled with crowds of females, who might have given children to the state, but whose only occupation was to curl and dress their hair, and jactari volubilibus gyris, dum exprimunt innumera simulacra, quæ fixere fabulæ theatrales.

⁶⁵ Lipsius (tom. iii. p. 423. de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. iii. c. 3.) and Isaac Vossius (Observat. Var. p. 26—34.) have indulged strange dreams of four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume (Essays, vol. i. p. 450—457.), with admirable good sense and scepticism, betrays some secret disposition to extenuate the populousness of ancient times.

⁶⁶ Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. See Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. ix. p. 400.

⁶⁷ In eâ autem majestate urbis, et civium infinitâ frequentiâ innumerales habitationes opus fuit explicare. Ergo cum recipere non posset area plana tantam multitudinem in urbe, ad auxilium altitudinis ædificiorum res ipsa coëgit devenire. Vitruv. ii. 8. This passage, which I owe to Vossius, is clear, strong, and comprehensive.

⁶⁸ The successive testimonies of Pliny, Aristides, Claudian, Rutilius, etc. prove the insufficiency of these restrictive edicts. See Lipsius, de de Magnitudine Romanâ, l. iii. c. 4.

— Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant
Tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis
Ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur
A pluvîâ.

Juvenal Satir. iii. 199.

⁶⁹ Read the whole third satire, but particularly 166. 223, etc. The description of a crowded *insula*, or lodging-house, in Petronius (c. 95. 97.), perfectly tallies with the complaints of Juvenal; and we learn from legal authority, that, in the time of Augustus (Heineccius, Hist. Juris Roman. c. iv. p. 181.), the ordinary rent of the several *cenacula*, or apartments of an *insula*, annually produced forty thousand sesterces, between three and four hundred pounds sterling. (Pandect.

Notes.

X

l. xix. tit. ii. N^o. 30.); a sum which proves at once the large extent, and high value, of those common buildings.

⁷⁰ This sum total is composed of 1780 *domus*, or great houses, of 46,602 *insulae*, or plebeian habitations (See Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. iii. p. 88.); and these numbers are ascertained by the agreement of the texts of the different *Notitiæ*. Nardini, l. viii. p. 498. 500.

⁷¹ See that accurate writer M. de Meffance, *Recherches sur la Population*, p. 175—187. From probable, or certain grounds, he assigns to Paris 23,565 houses, 71,114 families, and 576,630 inhabitants.

⁷² This computation is not very different from that which M. Brotier, the last editor of Tacitus (tom. ii. p. 380.), has assumed from similar principles; though he seems to aim at a degree of precision, which it is neither possible nor important to obtain.

⁷³ For the events of the first siege of Rome, which are often confounded with those of the second and third, see Zosimus, l. v. p. 350—354. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 6. Olympiodorus, ap. Phot. p. 180. Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 3. and Godefroy, *Dissertat.* p. 467—475.

⁷⁴ The mother of Læta was named Pissumena. Her father, family, and country are unknown. Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 59.

⁷⁵ *Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, et sua invicem membra laniarunt, dum mater non parcit lactenti infantia; et recipit utero, quem paullo ante effuderat.* Jerom ad Principiam, tom. i. p. 121. The same horrid circumstance is likewise told of the sieges of Jerusalem and Paris. For the latter, compare the tenth book of the *Henriade*, and the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 47—83.; and observe that a plain narrative of facts is much more pathetic, than the most laboured descriptions of epic poetry.

⁷⁶ Zosimus (l. v. p. 355, 356.) speaks of these ceremonies, like a Greek unacquainted with the national superstition of Rome and Tuscany. I suspect, that they consisted of two parts, the secret, and the public; the former were probably an imitation of the arts and spells, by which Numa had drawn down Jupiter and his thunder on Mount Aventine.

— Quid agant laqueis, quæ carmina dicant
Quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Jovem
Scire nefas homini.

The *ancilia*, or shields of Mars, the *pignora Imperii*, which were carried in solemn procession on the calends of March, derived their origin from this mysterious event (Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 259—398.). It was probably designed to revive this ancient festival, which had been suppressed by Theodosius. In that case, we recover a chronological date (March the 1st, A. D. 409.) which has not hitherto been observed.

⁷⁷ Sozomen (l. ix. c. 6.) insinuates, that the experiment was actually, though unsuccessfully made; but he does not mention the name of Innocent: and Tillemont (*Mém. Eccléf.* tom. x. p. 645.) is

determined not to believe, that a pope could be guilty of such impious condescension.

⁷⁸ Pepper was a favourite ingredient of the most expensive Roman cookery, and the best sort commonly sold for fifteen denarii, or ten shillings, the pound. See Pliny, Hist. Natur. xii. 14. It was brought from India; and the same country, the coast of Malabar, still affords the greatest plenty: but the improvement of trade and navigation has multiplied the quantity; and reduced the price. See Histoire Politique et Philosophique, etc. tom. i. p. 457.

⁷⁹ This Gothic chieftain is called by Jornandes and Isidore, *Athaulphus*; by Zosimus and Orosius, *Ataulphus*, and by Olympiodorus, *Adaoulphus*. I have used the celebrated name of *Adolphus*,, which seems to be authorised by the practice of the Swedes, the sons or brothers of the ancient Goths.

⁸⁰ The treaty between Alaric and the Romans, etc. is taken from Zosimus, l. v. p. 354, 355, 358, 359, 362, 363. The additional circumstances are too few and trifling to require any other quotation.

⁸¹ Zosimus, l. v. p. 367, 368, 369.

⁸² Zosimus, l. v. p. 360, 361, 362. The bishop, by remaining at Ravenna, escaped the impending calamities of the city. Orosius, l. vii. c. 39. p. 573.

⁸³ For the adventures of Olympius, and his successors in the ministry, see Zosimus, l. v. p. 363, 365, 366. and Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181.

⁸⁴ Zosimus, (l. v. p. 364.) relates this circumstance with visible complacency, and celebrates the character of Gennerid as the last glory of expiring paganism. Very different were the sentiments of the council of Carthage, who deputed four bishops to the court of Ravenna, to complain of the law, which had been just enacted, that all conversions to Christianity should be free and voluntary. See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 409. N°. 12. A. D. 410. N°. 47, 48.

⁸⁵ Zosimus, l. v. p. 367, 368, 369. This custom of swearing by the head, or life, or safety, or genius, of the sovereign, was of the highest antiquity, both in Egypt (Genesis xlii. 15.) and Scythia. It was soon transferred, by flattery, to the Cæsars; and Tertullian complains, that it was the only oath which the Romans of his time affected to reverence. See an elegant Dissertation of the Abbé Maffieu on the Oaths of the Ancients, in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. i. p. 208, 209.

⁸⁶ Zosimus, l. v. p. 368, 369. I have softened the expressions of Alaric, who expatiates, in too florid a manner, on the history of Rome.

⁸⁷ See Sueton. in Claud. c. 20. Dion Cassius, l. lx. p. 949. edit. Reimar, and the lively description of Juvenal, Satir. xii. 75, etc. In the sixteenth century, when the remains of this Augustan port were still visible, the antiquarians sketched the plan (see d'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxx. p. 198.), and declared, with

enthusiasm, that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute so great a work (Bergier, *Hist. des grands Chemins des Romains*, tom. ii. p. 356.).

⁸⁸ The *Ostia Tyberina* (see Cluver. *Italia Antiq.* l. iii. p. 870—879.), in the plural number, the two mouths of the Tyber, were separated by the Holy Island, an equilateral triangle, whose sides were each of them computed at about two miles. The colony of Ostia was founded immediately beyond the left, or southern, and the *Port* immediately beyond the right, or northern, branch of the river; and the distance between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cingolani's map. In the time of Strabo, the sand and mud deposited by the Tyber, had choked the harbour of Ostia; the progress of the same cause has added much to the size of the Holy Island, and gradually left both Ostia and the Port at a considerable distance from the shore. The dry channels (*fiumi morti*), and the large estuaries) *stagno di Ponente*, *di Levante*), mark the changes of the river, and the efforts of the sea. Consult, for the present state of this dreary and desolate tract, the excellent map of the ecclesiastical state by the mathematicians of Benedict XIV.; an actual survey of the *Agro Romano*, in six sheets, by Cingolani, which contains 113,819 *rubbia* (about 570,000 acres); and the large topographical map of Ameti, in eight sheets.

⁸⁹ As early as the third, (Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel*, part. ii. vol. iii. p. 89—92.) or at least the fourth, century (Carol. a Sancto Paulo, *Notit. Eccles.* p. 47.), the Port of Rome was an episcopal city, which was demolished, as it should seem, in the ninth century, by pope Gregory IV. during the incursions of the Arabs. It is now reduced to an inn, a church, and the house, or palace, of the bishop, who ranks as one of six cardinal-bishops of the Roman church. See Eschinard, *Descrizione di Roma et dell' Agro Romano*, p. 328.

⁹⁰ For the elevation of Attalus, consult Zosimus, l. vi. p. 377—380. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8, 9. Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 3. and Godefroy, *Dissertat.* p. 470.

⁹¹ We may admit the evidence of Sozomen for the Arian baptism, and that of Philostorgius for the Pagan education, of Attalus. The visible joy of Zosimus, and the discontent which he imputes to the Anician family, are very unfavourable to the Christianity of the new emperor.

⁹² He carried his insolence so far, as to declare, that he should mutilate Honorius before he sent him into exile. But this assertion of Zosimus is destroyed by the more impartial testimony of Olympiodorus, who attributes the ungenerous proposal (which was absolutely rejected by Attalus) to the baseness, and perhaps the treachery, of Jovius.

⁹³ Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.

⁹⁴ See the cause and circumstances of the fall of Attalus in Zosimus, l. vi. p. 380—383. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 3.

The two acts of indemnity in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 11, 12. which were published the 12th of February, and the 8th of August, A. D. 410, evidently relate to this usurper.

⁹⁵ In hoc, Alaricus, imperatore, facto, infecto, refecto, ac defecto. . . Mimum risit, et ludum spectavit imperii. Orosius, l. vii. c. 42. p. 582.

⁹⁶ Zosimus, l. vi. p. 384. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 9. Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 3. In this place the text of Zosimus is mutilated, and we have lost the remainder of his sixth and last book, which ended with the sack of Rome. Credulous and partial as he is, we must take our leave of that historian with some regret.

⁹⁷ Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit. Orosius, l. vii. c. 39. p. 573. He dispatches this great event in seven words, but he employs whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Goths. I have extracted from an improbable story of Procopius, the circumstances which had an air of probability. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. i. c. 2. He supposes, that the city was surprised while the senators slept in the afternoon; but Jerom, with more authority and more reason, affirms, that it was in the night, nocte Moab capta est; nocte cecidit murus ejus, tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam.

⁹⁸ Orosius (l. vii. c. 39. p. 573—576.) applauds the piety of the Christian Goths, without seeming to perceive that the greatest part of them were Arian heretics. Jornandes (c. 30. p. 653.) and Isidore of Seville (Chron. p. 714. edit. Grot.), who were both attached to the Gothic cause, have repeated and embellished these edifying tales. According to Isidore, Alaric himself was heard to say, that he waged war with the Romans, and not with the Apostles. Such was the style of the seventh century; two hundred years before, the same and merit had been ascribed, not to the apostles, but to Christ.

⁹⁹ See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 1—6. He particularly appeals to the example of Troy, Syracuse, and Tarentum.

¹⁰⁰ Jerom (tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam) has applied to the sack of Rome all the strong expressions of Virgil:

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando,
Explicit, etc.

Procopius (l. i. c. 2.) positively affirms, that great numbers were slain by the Goths. Augustin (de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 12, 13.) offers Christian comfort for the death of those, whose bodies (*multa corpora*) had remained (*in tantâ strage*) unburied. Baronius, from the different writings of the Fathers, has thrown some light on the sack of Rome. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 410. N°. 16—44.

¹⁰¹ Sozomen, l. ix. c. 10. Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 17.) intimates, that some virgins or matrons actually killed themselves to escape violation; and though he admires their spirit, he is obliged, by his theology, to condemn their rash presumption. Perhaps the

good bishop of Hippo was too easy in the belief, as well as too rigid in the censure, of this act of female heroism. The twenty maidens (if they ever existed), who threw themselves into the Elbe, when Magdeburgh was taken by storm, have been multiplied to the number of twelve hundred. See Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 308.

¹⁰² See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 16. 18. He treats the subject with remarkable accuracy; and after admitting that there cannot be any crime, where there is no consent, he adds, *Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, verum etiam quod ad libidinem, pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest; quicquid tale factum fuerit, etsi retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, pudorem tamen incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam voluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliquâ voluptate non potuit.* In c. 18. he makes some curious distinctions between moral and physical virginity.

¹⁰³ Marcella, a Roman lady, equally respectable for her rank, her age, and her piety, was thrown on the ground, and cruelly beaten and whipped, *cæsam fustibus flagellisque*, etc. Jerom, tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam. See Augustin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. The modern Sacco di Roma, p. 208. gives an idea of the various methods of torturing prisoners for gold.

¹⁰⁴ The historian Sallust, who usefully practised the vices which he has so eloquently censured, employed the plunder of Numidia to adorn his palace and gardens on the Quirinal hill. The spot where the house stood, is now marked by the church of St. Susanna, separated only by a street from the baths of Diocletian, and not far distant from the Salarian gate. See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 192, 193. and the great Plan of Modern Rome, by Nolli.

¹⁰⁵ The expressions of Procopius are distinct and moderate (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.). The Chronicle of Marcellinus speaks too strongly, *partem urbis Romæ cremavit*; and the words of Philostorgius (*ἐρείπιοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως κείμενης*, l. xii. c. 3.) convey a false and exaggerated idea. Bargæus has composed a particular dissertation (see tom. iv. Antiquit. Rom. Græv.) to prove that the edifices of Rome were not subverted by the Goths and Vandals.

¹⁰⁶ Orosius, l. ii. c. 19. p. 143. He speaks as if he disapproved *all* statues; *vel Deum vel hominem mentiuntur.* They consisted of the kings of Alba and Rome from Æneas, the Romans, illustrious either in arms or arts, and the deified Cæsars. The expression which he uses of *Forum* is somewhat ambiguous, since there existed *five* principal *Fora*; but as they were all contiguous and adjacent, in the plain which is surrounded by the Capitoline, the Quirinal, the Esquiline, and the Palatine hills, they might fairly be considered as *one*. See the Roma Antiqua of Donatus, p. 162—201. and the Roma Antica of Nardini, p. 212—273. The former is more useful for the ancient descriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

¹⁰⁷ Orosius (l. ii. c. 19. p. 142.) compares the cruelty of the Gauls and the clemency of the Goths. *Ibi vix quemquam inventum fenatorem, qui vel absens evaserit; hinc vix quemquam requiri, qui forte ut latens perierit.* But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falsehood, in this antithesis; and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) affirms, perhaps by an opposite exaggeration, that *many* senators were put to death with various and exquisite tortures.

¹⁰⁸ Multi . . . Christiani in captivitatem ducti sunt. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 14; and the Christians experienced no peculiar hardships.

¹⁰⁹ See Heineccius, Antiquitat. Juris Roman. tom. i. p. 96.

¹¹⁰ Appendix Cod. Theodof. xvi. in Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 735. This edict was published the 11th of December, A. D. 408. and is more reasonable than properly belonged to the ministers of Honorius.

¹¹¹ Eminus Igilii sylvosa cacumina miror;
 Quem fraudare nefas laudis honore suæ
 Hæc proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus;
 Sive loci ingenio, seu Domini genio.
 Gurgite cum modico victricibus obstitit armis
 Tanquam longinquo dissociata mari.
 Hæc multos lacerâ suscepit ab urbe fugatos,
 Hic fessis posito certa timore salus.
 Plurima terreno populaverat æquora bello,
 Contra naturam classe timendus eques
 Unum, mira fides, vario discrimine portum!
 Tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis.

Rutilius, in Itinerar. l. i. 325.

The island is now called Giglio. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 502.

¹¹² As the adventures of Proba and her family are connected with the life of St. Augustin, they are diligently illustrated by Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiii. p. 620—635. Some time after their arrival in Africa, Demetrias took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was considered as of the highest importance to Rome and to the world. All the *Saints* wrote congratulatory letters to her; that of Jerom is still extant (tom. i. p. 62—73. ad Demetriad. de servandâ Virginitat.), and contains a mixture of absurd reasoning, spirited declamation, and curious facts, some of which relate to the siege and sack of Rome.

¹¹³ See the pathetic complaint of Jerom (tom. v. p. 400.), in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Ezekiel.

¹¹⁴ Orosius, though with some theological partiality, states this comparison, l. ii. c. 19. p. 142. l. vii. c. 39. p. 575. But, in the history of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, every thing is uncertain,

and perhaps fabulous. See Beaufort sur l'Incertitude, etc. de l'Histoire Romaine, p. 356.; and Melot, in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 1—21.

¹¹⁵ The reader who wishes to inform himself of the circumstances of this famous event, may peruse an admirable narrative in Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 283.; or consult the Annali d'Italia of the learned Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 230—244. octavo edition. If he is desirous of examining the originals, he may have recourse to the eighteenth book of the great, but unfinished, history of Guicciardini. But the account which most truly deserves the name of authentic and original, is a little book, intitled, *Il Sacco di Roma*, composed, within less than a month after the assault of the city, by the brother of the historian Guicciardini, who appears to have been an able magistrate, and a dispassionate writer.

¹¹⁶ The furious spirit of Luther, the effect of temper and enthusiasm, has been forcibly attacked (Bossuet, Hist. des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, livre i. p. 20—36.), and feebly defended (Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheranism, especially l. i. N°. 78. p. 120. and l. iii. N°. 122. p. 556.).

¹¹⁷ Marcellinus, in Chron. Orosius (l. vii. c. 39. p. 575.) asserts, that he left Rome on the *third* day; but this difference is easily reconciled by the successive motions of great bodies of troops.

¹¹⁸ Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.), pretends, without any colour of truth, or reason, that Alaric fled on the report, that the armies of the Eastern empire were in full march to attack him.

¹¹⁹ Aufonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 233. edit. Toll. The luxury of Capua had formerly surpassed that of Sybaris itself. See Athenæus Deipnosophist. l. xii. p. 528. edit. Casaubon.

¹²⁰ Forty-eight years before the foundation of Rome (about 800 before the Christian æra), the Tuscans built Capua and Nola, at the distance of twenty-three miles from each other: but the latter of the two cities never emerged from a state of mediocrity.

¹²¹ Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 1—146.) has compiled, with his usual diligence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulinus, whose retreat is celebrated by his own pen; and by the praises of St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, Sulpicius Severus, etc. his Christian friends and contemporaries.

¹²² See the affectionate letters of Aufonius (epist. xix—xxv. p. 650—698. edit. Toll.), to his colleague, his friend, and his disciple Paulinus. The religion of Aufonius is still a problem (see Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 123—138.) I believe that it was such in his own time, and, consequently, that in his heart he was a Pagan.

¹²³ The humble Paulinus once presumed to say, that he believed St. Felix *did* love him; at least, as a master loves his little dog.

¹²⁴ See Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 653. Philostorgius,

l. xii. c. 3. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 410. N°. 45, 46.

¹²⁵ The *platanus*, or plane-tree, was a favourite of the ancients, by whom it was propagated, for the sake of shade, from the East to Gaul. Pliny, Hist. Natur. xii. 3, 4, 5. He mentions several of an enormous size; one in the Imperial villa at Velitræ, which Caligula called his nest, as the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendants, and the emperor himself, whom Pliny quaintly styles *pars umbræ*; an expression which might, with equal reason, be applied to Alaric.

¹²⁶ The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields:
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and skies of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the opening rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems, published by Mr. Mason, p. 197. Instead of compiling tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem, of which he has left such an exquisite specimen?

¹²⁷ For the perfect description of the Streights of Messina, Scylla, Charybdis, etc. see Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. iv. p. 1293. and Sicilia Antiq. l. i. p. 60—76.), who had diligently studied the ancients, and surveyed with a curious eye the actual face of the country.

¹²⁸ Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 654.

¹²⁹ Orosius, l. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. He was sent by St. Augustin, in the year 415, from Africa to Palestine, to visit St. Jerom, and to consult with him on the subject of the Pelagian controversy.

¹³⁰ Jornandes supposes, without much probability, that Adolphus visited and plundered Rome a second time (more locustarum erant). Yet he agrees with Orosius in supposing, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince and Honorius. See Oros. l. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 654, 655.

¹³¹ The retreat of the Goths from Italy, and their first transactions in Gaul, are dark and doubtful. I have derived much assistance from Mascou (Hist. of the ancient Germans, l. viii. c. 29. 35, 36, 37.), who has illustrated, and connected, the broken chronicles and fragments of the times.

¹³² See an account of Placidia in Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 72.; and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 260. 386, etc. tom. vi. p. 240.

¹³³ Zosim. l. v. p. 350.

¹³⁴ Zosim. l. vi. p. 383. Orosius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576.), and the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius, seem to suppose, that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the last siege of Rome.

¹³⁵ See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage in Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 654, 655. With regard to the place where the nuptials were stipulated, or consummated, or celebrated, the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two neighbouring cities, Forli and Imola (Forum Livii and Forum Cornellii); It is fair and easy to reconcile the Gothic historian with Olympiodorus (see Mascou, l. viii. c. 46.): but Tillemont grows peevish, and swears, that it is not worth while to try to conciliate Jornandes with any good authors.

¹³⁶ The Visigoths (the subjects of Adolphus) restrained, by subsequent laws, the prodigality of conjugal love. It was illegal for a husband to make any gift or settlement for the benefit of his wife during the first year of their marriage; and his liberality could not at any time exceed the tenth part of his property. The Lombards were somewhat more indulgent: they allowed the *morgingcap* immediately after the wedding-night; and this famous gift, the reward of virginity, might equal the fourth part of the husband's substance. Some cautious maidens, indeed, were wise enough to stipulate beforehand a present, which they were too sure of not deservng. See Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xix. c. 25. Muratori, delle Antichità Italiane, tom. i. Dissertazione xx. p. 243.

¹³⁷ We owe the curious detail of this nuptial feast to the historian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 185, 188.

¹³⁸ See in the great collection of the historians of France by Dom. Bouquet, tom. ii. Greg. Turonens. l. iii. c. 10. p. 191. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. 23. p. 557. The anonymous writer, with an ignorance worthy of his times, supposes that these instruments of Christian worship had belonged to the temple of Solomon. If he has any meaning, it must be, that they were found in the sack of Rome.

¹³⁹ Consult the following original testimonies in the Historians of France, tom. ii. Fredegarii Scholastici Chron. c. 73. p. 441. Fredegar. Fragment. iii. p. 463. Gesta Regis Dagobert. c. 29. p. 587. The accession of Sisenand to the throne of Spain happened A. D. 631. The 200,000 pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the church of St. Denys.

¹⁴⁰ The president Goguet (Origine des Loix, etc. tom. ii. p. 239.) is of opinion, that the stupendous pieces of emerald, the statues and columns, which antiquity has placed in Egypt, at Gades, at Constantinople, were in reality artificial compositions of coloured glass. The famous emerald dish, which is shewn at Genoa, is supposed to countenance the suspicion.

¹⁴¹ Elmacin. Hist. Saracenica, l. i. p. 85. Roderic. Tolet. Hist. Arab. c. 9. Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes, tom. i. p. 83. It was called the Table of Solomon, according to the custom of the Orientals, who ascribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

¹⁴² His three laws are inserted in the Theodosian Code, l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 7. l. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 12. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 14. The expressions of the last are very remarkable; since they contain not only a pardon, but an apology.

¹⁴³ Olympiodorus ap. Phot. p. 188. Philostorgius (l. xii. c. 5.) observes, that when Honorius made his triumphal entry, he encouraged the Romans, with his hand and voice (χειρι και γλωττη), to rebuild their city; and the Chronicle of Prosper commends Heraclian, qui in Romanæ urbis reparationem strenuum exhibuerat ministerium.

¹⁴⁴ The date of the voyage of Claudius Rutilius Numatianus, is clogged with some difficulties; but Scaliger has deduced from astronomical characters, that he left Rome the 24th of September, and embarked at Porto the 9th of October, A. D. 416. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 820. In this poetical itinerary, Rutilius (l. i. 115, etc.) addresses Rome in a high strain of congratulation:

Erige crinales lauros, seniumque sacratum
Verticis in virides Roma recinge comas, etc.

¹⁴⁵ Orosius composed his history in Africa, only two years after the event; yet his authority seems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives Heraclian 700 ships, and 3000 men; the latter of these numbers is ridiculously corrupt; but the former would please me very much.

¹⁴⁶ The Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the least appearance of truth, that he advanced as far as Otriculum, in Umbria, where he was overthrown in a great battle, with the loss of fifty thousand men.

¹⁴⁷ See Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 13. The legal acts performed in his name, even the manumission of slaves, were declared invalid, till they had been formally repeated.

¹⁴⁸ I have disdained to mention a very foolish, and probably a false report (Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.), that Honorius was alarmed by the loss of Rome, till he understood that it was not a favourite chicken of that name, but *only* the capital of the world, which had been lost. Yet even this story is some evidence of the public opinion.

¹⁴⁹ The materials for the lives of all these tyrants are taken from six contemporary historians, two Latins, and four Greeks: Orosius, l. vii. c. 42. p. 581, 582, 583.; Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. in the historians of France, tom. ii. p. 165, 166. Zosimus, l. vi. p. 370, 371. Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 180, 181. 184, 185. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.; and Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 5, 6., with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 477—481.; besides the four Chronicles of Prosper Tyro, Prosper of Aquitaine, Idatius, and Marcellinus.

¹⁵⁰ The praises which Sozomen has bestowed on this act of despair, appear strange and scandalous in the mouth of an ecclesiastical

historian. He observes (p. 379.), that the wife of Gerontius was a *Christian*; and that her death was worthy of her religion, and of immortal fame.

¹⁵¹ Εἶδος ἀξίον τυραννίδος, is the expression of Olympiodorus, which he seems to have borrowed from *Æolus*, a tragedy of Euripides, of which some fragments only are now extant (Euripid. Barnes, tom. ii. p. 443. ver. 38.) This allusion may prove, that the ancient tragic poets were still familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century.

¹⁵² Sidonius Apollinaris (l. v. epist. 9. p. 139. and Not. Sirmond. p. 58.) after stigmatising the *inconstancy* of Constantine, the *facility* of Jovinus, the *perfidy* of Gerontius, continues to observe, that *all* the vices of these tyrants were united in the person of Dardanus. Yet the præfect supported a respectable character in the world, and even in the church; held a devout correspondence with St. Augustin and St. Jerom; and was complimented by the latter (tom. iii. p. 66.) with the epithets of Christianorum Nobilissime, and nobilium Christianissime.

¹⁵³ The expression may be understood almost literally; Olympiodorus says, μόλις σακκοῖς ἐζώγρησαν. Σακκος (or σακος) may signify a sack, or a loose garment; and this method of entangling and catching an enemy, laciniis contortis, was much practised by the Huns (Ammian. xxxi. 2.) Il fut pris vif avec des filets, is the translation of Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 608.

¹⁵⁴ Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote three respectable testimonies which belong to the fourth and seventh centuries; the Expositio totius Mundi. (p. 16. in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers), Ausonius (de Claris Urbibus, p. 242. edit. Toll.) and Isidore of Seville (Præfat. ad Chron. ap. Grotium, Hist. Goth. p. 707.). Many particulars relative to the fertility and trade of Spain, may be found in Nonnius, Hispania Illustrata, and in Huet, Hist. du Commerce des Anciens, c. 40. p. 228—234.

¹⁵⁵ The date is accurately fixed in the Fasti, and the Chronicle of Idatius. Orosius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 578.) imputes the loss of Spain to the treachery of the Honorians; while Sozomen (l. ix. c. 12.) accuses only their negligence.

¹⁵⁶ Idatius wishes to apply the prophecies of Daniel to these national calamities; and is therefore obliged to accommodate the circumstances of the event to the terms of the prediction.

¹⁵⁷ Mariana de Rebus Hispanicis, l. v. c. I. tom. i. p. 148. Hag. Com. 1733. He had read, in Orosius (l. vii. c. 41. p. 579.), that the Barbarians had turned their swords into plough-shares; and that many of the Provincials preferred, inter Barbaros pauperem libertatem quam inter Romanos tributariam sollicitudinem sustinere.

¹⁵⁸ This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic historian.

¹⁵⁹ According to the system of Jornandes (c. 33. p. 659.), the true hereditary right to the Gothic scepter was vested in the *Amali*; but

those princes, who were the vassals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Ostrogoths in some distant parts of Germany or Scythia.

¹⁶⁰ The murder is related by Olympiodorus; but the number of the children is taken from an epitaph of suspected authority.

¹⁶¹ The death of Adolphus was celebrated at Constantinople with illuminations and Circensian games. (See Chron. Alexandrin.) It may seem doubtful, whether the Greeks were actuated, on this occasion, by their hatred of the Barbarians, or of the Latins.

¹⁶² *Quod Tartessiacis avus hujus Vallia terris
Vandalicas turmas, et juncti Martis Alanos
Stravit, et occiduam texere cadavera Calpen.*

Sidon. Apollinar. in Panegy. Anthem. 363.
p. 300. edit. Sirmoud.

¹⁶³ This supply was very acceptable: the Goths were insulted by the Vandals of Spain with the epithet of *Truli*, because, in their extreme distress, they had given a piece of gold for a *trula*, or about half a pound of flour. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 189.

¹⁶⁴ Orosius inserts a copy of these pretended letters. Tu cum omnibus pacem habe, omniumque obsides accipe; nos nobis configimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus; immortalis vero quæstus erat Reipublicæ tuæ, si utrique pereamus. The idea is just; but I cannot persuade myself that it was entertained, or expressed, by the Barbarians.

¹⁶⁵ Romam triumphans ingreditur, is the formal expression of Prosper's Chronicle. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus, and the exploits of Wallia, are related from Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 188.) Orosius (l. vii. c. 43. p. 584—587.), Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 31, 32), and the Chronicles of Idatius and Isidore.

¹⁶⁶ Ausonius (de Claris Urbibus, p. 257—262 celebrates Bourdeaux with the partial affection of a native. See in Salvian (de Gubern Dei, p. 228. Paris, 1608.) a florid description of the provinces of Aquitain and Novempopulania.

¹⁶⁷ Orosius (l. vii. c. 23. p. 550.) commends the mildness and modesty of these Burgundians, who treated their subjects of Gaul as their Christian brethren. Mascou has illustrated the origin of their kingdom in the four first annotations at the end of his laborious History of the Ancient Germans, vol. ii. p. 555—572. of the English translation.

¹⁶⁸ See Mascou, l. viii. c. 43, 44, 45. Except in a short and suspicious line of the Chronicle of Prosper (in tom. i. p. 638.), the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the seventh century. The author of the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 543.) suggests, probably enough, that the choice of Pharamond, or at least of a king, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomir, who was an exile in Tuscany.

¹⁶⁹ O Lycida, vivi pervenimus: advena nostri
(Quod nunquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
Diceret: Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.
Nunc victi tristes, etc.

See the whole of the 9th eclogue, with the useful Commentary of Servius. Fifteen miles of the Mantuan territory were assigned to the veterans, with a reservation, in favour of the inhabitants, of three miles round the city. Even in this favour they were cheated by Alfenus Varus, a famous lawyer, and one of the commissioners, who measured eight hundred paces of water and morafs.

¹⁷⁰ See the remarkable paſſage of the Eucharifticon of Paulinus, 575. apud Maſcou, l. viii. c. 42.

¹⁷¹ This important truth is eſtabliſhed by the accuracy of Tillemont (*Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 641.*), and by the ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos, *Hiſt. de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoisé dans les Gaules*, tom. i. p. 259.).

¹⁷² Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 376. 383.) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our antiquarians, even the great Camden himſelf, have been betrayed into many groſs errors, by their imperfect knowledge of the hiſtory of the continent.

¹⁷³ The limits of Armorica are defined by two national geographers, Meſſieurs de Valois and d'Anville, in their *Notitias* of Ancient Gaul. The word had been uſed in a more extenſive, and was afterwards contracted to a much narrower, ſignification.

¹⁷⁴ Gens inter geminos notiſſima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta.
Torva, ferox, ventofa, procax, incauta, rebellis;
Inconſtans, diſparque ſibi novitatis amore;
Prodiga verborum, ſed non et prodiga facti.

Erricus, Monach. in Vit. St. Germani, l. v. apud Valeſ. *Notit. Galliarum*, p. 43. Valeſius alleges ſeveral teſtimonies to confirm this character; to which I ſhall add the evidence of the preſbyter Conſtantine (A. D. 488.), who, in the life of St. Germain, calls the Armorican rebels, *mobilem et indiſciplinatum populum*. See the *Hiſtorians of France*, tom. i. p. 643.

¹⁷⁵ I thought it neceſſary to enter my proteſt againſt this part of the ſyſtem of the Abbé Dubos, which Montefquieu has ſo vigorouſly oppoſed. See *Eſprit des Loix*, l. xxx. c. 24.

¹⁷⁶ Βρεταννίαν μὲν τοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνχωτάσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐχόν, are the words of Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 181. Louvre edition*) in a very important paſſage, which has been too much neglected. Even Bede (*Hiſt. Gent. Anglican. l. i. c. 12. p. 50. edit. Smith*) acknowledges that the Romans finally left Britain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern hiſtorians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are ſome who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

¹⁷⁷ Bede has not forgot the occaſional aid of the legions againſt the Scots and Picts; and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced, that the independent Britons raiſed 12,000 men for the ſervice of the emperor Anthemius, in Gaul.

¹⁷⁸ I owe it to myself, and to historic truth, to declare, that some *circumstances* in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The stubbornness of our language has sometimes forced me to deviate from the *conditional* into the *indicative* mood.

¹⁷⁹ Προς τὰς ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ πόλεις. Zosimus, l. vi. p. 383.

¹⁸⁰ Two cities of Britain were *municipia*, nine *colonies*, ten *Latii jure donatae*, twelve *stipendiariae* of eminent note. This detail is taken from Richard of Cirencester, de Situ Britanniae, p. 36.; and though it may not seem probable, that he wrote from the MSS. of a Roman general, he shews a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.

¹⁸¹ See Maffei Verona Illustrata, part i. l. v. p. 83—106.

¹⁸² Leges restituit, libertatemque reducit,
Et servos famulis non finit esse suis.

Itinerar. Rutil. l. i. 215.

¹⁸³ An inscription (apud Sirmond, Not. ad Sidon. Apollinar. p. 59.) describes a castle, cum muris et portis, tuitioni omnium, erected by Dardanus on his own estate, near Sisteron, in the second Narbonne, and named by him Theopolis.

¹⁸⁴ The establishment of their power would have been easy indeed, if we could adopt the impracticable scheme of a lively and learned antiquarian; who supposes, that the British monarchs of the several tribes continued to reign, though with subordinate jurisdiction, from the time of Claudius to that of Honorius. See Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. p. 247—257.

¹⁸⁵ Αλλ' ὅσα ὑπὸ τυραννοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔμενε. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 181. Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, was the expression of Jerom, in the year 415 (tom. ii. p. 255. ad Ctesiphont.). By the pilgrims, who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the monk of Bethlem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence.

¹⁸⁶ See Bingham's Eccles. Antiquities, vol. i. l. ix. c. 6. p. 394.

¹⁸⁷ It is reported of *three* British bishops who assisted at the council of Rimini, A. D. 359. tam pauperes fuisse ut nihil haberent. Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 420. Some of their brethren, however, were in better circumstances.

¹⁸⁸ Consult Usher, de Antiq. Eccles. Britannic. c. 8—12.

¹⁸⁹ See the correct text of this edict, as published by Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. 147.). Hincmar, of Rheims, who assigns a place to the *bishops*, had probably seen (in the ninth century) a more perfect copy. Dubos, Hist. critique de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 241—255.

¹⁹⁰ It is evident from the *Notitia*, that the seven provinces were the Viennensis, the maritime Alps, the first and second Narbonne,

Novempopulania, and the first and second Aquitain. In the room of the first Aquitain, the Abbé Dubos, on the authority of Hincmar, desires to introduce the first Lugdunensis, or Lyonnese.

CHAP. XXXII.

¹ Father Montfaucon, who, by the command of his Benedictine superiors, was compelled (see Longueruana, tom. i. p. 205.) to execute the laborious edition of St. Chrysostom, in thirteen volumes in folio (Paris, 1738.), amused himself with extracting from that immense collection of morals, some curious *antiquities*, which illustrate the manners of the Theodosian age (See Chrysostom. Opera, tom. xiii. p. 192—196.), and his French Dissertation, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscriptions, tom. xiii. p. 474—490.

² According to the loose reckoning, that a ship could sail, with a fair wind, 1000 stadia, or 125 miles, in the revolution of a day and night; Diodorus Siculus computes ten days from the Palus Mæotis to Rhodes, and four days from Rhodes to Alexandria. The navigation of the Nile, from Alexandria to Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, required, as it was against the stream, ten days more. Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. 200. edit. Wesseling. He might, without much impropriety, measure the extreme heat from the verge of the torrid zone; but he speaks of the Mæotis in the 47th degree of northern latitude, as if it lay within the polar circle.

³ Barthius, who adored his author with the blind superstition of a commentator, gives the preference to the two books which Claudian composed against Eutropius, above all his other productions (Baillet, Jugements des Savans, tom. iv. p. 227.). They are indeed a very elegant and spirited satire; and would be more valuable in an historical light, if the invective were less vague, and more temperate.

⁴ After lamenting the progress of the eunuchs in the Roman palace, and defining their proper functions, Claudian adds,

—— A fronte recedant

Imperii.

In Eutrop. i. 422.

Yet it does not appear that the eunuch had assumed any of the efficient offices of the empire; and he is stiled only *Præpositus sacri cubiculi*, in the edict of his banishment. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 17.

⁵ Jamque oblita fui, nec sobria divitiis mens
In miseras leges hominumque negotia ludit;
Judicat eunuchus.
Arma etiam violare parat. . . .

Claudian

Claudian (i. 229—270.) , with that mixture of indignation and humour, which always pleases in a satiric poet, describes the insolent folly of the eunuch, the disgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths.

—— Gaudet, cum viderit hostis,
Et sentit jam deesse viros.

⁶ The poet's lively description of his deformity (ii. 110—125.) is confirmed by the authentic testimony of Chrysostom (tom. iii. p. 384. edit. Montfaucon); who observes, that when the paint was washed away, the face of Eutropius appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman. Claudian remarks (i. 469.), and the remark must have been founded on experience, that there was scarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepit age of an eunuch.

⁷ Eutropius appears to have been a native of Armenia or Assyria. His three services, which Claudian more particularly describes, were these: 1. He spent many years as the catamite of Ptolemy, a groom or foldier of the Imperial stables. 2. Ptolemy gave him to the old general Arintheus, for whom he very skilfully exercised the profession of a pimp. 3. He was given, on her marriage, to the daughter of Arintheus; and the future consul was employed to comb her hair, to present the silver ewer, to wash, and to fan his mistress in hot weather. See l. i. 31—137.

⁸ Claudian (l. i. in Eutrop. 1—22.), after enumerating the various prodigies of monstrous births, speaking animals, showers of blood or stones, double suns, etc. adds, with some exaggeration,

Omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.

The first book concludes with a noble speech of the goddess of Rome to her favourite Honorias, deprecating the *new* ignominy to which she was exposed.

⁹ Fl. Mallius Theodorus, whose civil honours, and philosophical works, have been celebrated by Claudian in a very elegant panegyric.

¹⁰ Μεθυων δε ηδη τω πλατῳ, drunk with riches, is the forcible expression of Zosimus (l. v. p. 301.); and the avarice of Eutropius is equally execrated in the Lexicon of Suidas, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Chrysostom had often admonished the favourite, of the vanity and danger of immoderate wealth, tom. iii. p. 381.

¹¹ —— certantum læpe duorum

Diversum suspendit onus: cum pondere Judex

Vergit, et in geminas nutat provinica lances.

Claudian (i. 192—209.) so curiously distinguishes the circumstances of the sale, that they all seem to allude to particular anecdotes.

¹² Claudian (l. 154—170) mentions the *guilt* and exile of Abundantius, nor could he fail to quote the example of the artist, who made the first trial of the brazen bull, which he presented to Phalaris.

Notes.

X

See Zosimus, l. v. p. 302. Jerom, tom. i. p. 26. The difference of place is easily reconciled; but the decisive authority of Asterius of Amasia (Orat. iv. p. 76. apud Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 435.) must turn the scale in favour of Pityus.

¹³ Suidas (most probably from the history of Eunapius) has given a very unfavourable picture of Timasius. The account of his accuser, the judges, trial, etc. is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts. (See Zosimus, l. v. p. 298, 299, 300.) I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 49, etc. 8vo edit.), which may be considered as the history of human nature.

¹⁴ The great Oasis was one of the spots in the sands of Libya, watered with springs, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days journey from north to south, about half a day in breadth, and at the distance of about five days march to the west of Abydos, on the Nile. See d'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, 186, 187, 188. The barren desert which encompasses Oasis (Zosimus, l. v. p. 300.) has suggested the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the *happy island* (Herodot. iii. 26.).

¹⁵ The line of Claudian, in Eutrop. l. i. 180.

Marmaricus claris violatur cœdibus Hammon,
evidently alludes to *his* persuasion of the death of Timasius.

¹⁶ Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. He speaks from report, *ὡς τινος ἐπυθόμεν*.

¹⁷ Zosimus, l. v. p. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that this rumour was spread by the friends of Eutropius.

¹⁸ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. 14. ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis, leg. 3. and the Code of Justinian, l. ix. tit. viii. ad legem Juliam de Majestate, leg. 5. The alteration of the *title*, from murder to treason, was an improvement of the subtle Tribonian. Godefroy, in a formal dissertation, which he has inserted in his Commentary, illustrates this law of Arcadius, and explains all the difficult passages which had been perverted by the juriconsults of the darker ages. See tom. iii. p. 88—111.

¹⁹ Bartolus understands a simple and naked consciousness, without any sign of approbation or concurrence. For this opinion, says Baldus, he is now roasting in hell. For my own part, continues the discreet Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. l. iv. p. 411.), I must approve the theory of Bartolus; but in practice I should incline to the sentiment of Baldus. Yet Bartolus was gravely quoted by the lawyers of Cardinal de Richelieu; and Eutropius was indirectly guilty of the murder of the virtuous de Thou.

²⁰ Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 89. It is, however, suspected, that this law, so repugnant to the maxims of Germanic freedom, has been surreptitiously added to the golden bull.

²¹ A copious and circumstantial narrative (which he might have reserved for more important events) is bestowed by Zosimus (l. v. p. 304—312.) on the revolt of Tribigild and Gainas. See likewise Socrates. l. vi. c. 6. and Sozomen, l. viii. c. 4. The second book of Claudian against Eutropius, is a fine, though imperfect, piece of history.

²² Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 237—250.) very accurately observes, that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every side; till their limits were contracted by the colonies of the Bithynians of Thrace, of the Greeks, and at last of the Gauls. His description (ii. 257—272.) of the fertility of Phrygia, and of the four rivers that produce gold, is just and picturesque.

²³ Xenophon. Anabasis, l. i. p. 11, 12. edit. Hutchinson. Strabo, l. xii. p. 865. edit. Amstel. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1. Claudian compares the junction of the Marfyas and Mæander to that of the Saone and the Rhône; with this difference, however, that the smaller of the Phrygian rivers is not accelerated, but retarded, by the larger.

²⁴ Selgæ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians, had formerly numbered twenty thousand citizens; but in the age of Zosimus it was reduced to a *πολιχνη*, or small town. See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 117.

²⁵ The council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domitian in the fourth satire of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were, juvenes protervi lascivique senes; one of them had been a cook, a second a woolcomber. The language of their original profession exposes their assumed dignity; and their trifling conversation about tragedies, dancers, etc. is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

²⁶ Claudian (l. ii. 376—461.) has branded him with infamy; and Zosimus, in more temperate language, confirms his reproaches. L. v. p. 305.

²⁷ The *conspiracy* of Gainas and Tribigild, which is attested by the Greek historian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Ostrogoths to his own *martial* spirit, and the advice of his wife.

²⁸ This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved (l. xi. c. 6. and Gothofred. Dissertat. p. 451—456.), is curious and important; since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret intrigues of the palace.

²⁹ See the Homily of Chrysostom, tom. iii. p. 381—386. of which the exordium is particularly beautiful. Socrates, l. vi. c. 5. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. Montfaucon (in his Life of Chrysostom, tom. xiii. p. 135.) too hastily supposes that Tribigild was *actually* in Constantinople; and that he commanded the soldiers who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a Pagan poet (Præfat. ad l. ii. in Eutrop. 27.), has mentioned the flight of the eunuch to the sanctuary.

Suppliciterque pias humilis prostratus ad aras
Mitigat iratas voce tremente nurus.

³⁰ Chrysostom, in another homily (tom. iii. p. 368.), affects to declare, that Eutropius would not have been taken, had he not deserted the church. Zosimus (l. v. p. 313.), on the contrary, pretends, that his enemies forced him (ἐξαρπάσαντες αὐτόν) from the sanctuary. Yet the promise is an evidence of some treaty; and the strong assurance of Claudian (Præfat. ad. l. ii. 46.),

Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo,

may be considered as an evidence of some promise.

³¹ Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 14. The date of that law (Jan. 17, A. D. 399.) is erroneous and corrupt; since the fall of Eutropius could not happen till the autumn of the same year. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 780.

³² Zosimus, l. v. p. 313. Philostorgius, l. xi. c. 6.

³³ Zosimus (l. v. p. 313—323.), Socrates (l. vi. c. 4.), Sozomen l. viii. c. 4.) and Theodoret (l. v. c. 32, 33.), represent, though with some various circumstances, the conspiracy, defeat, and death of Gainas.

³⁴ Οσίας Ευφημίας μαρτυρίαν, is the expression of Zosimus himself (l. v. p. 314.), who inadvertently uses the fashionable language of the Christians. Evagrius describes (l. ii. c. 3.) the situation, architecture, relics, and miracles of that celebrated church, in which the general council of Chalcedon was afterwards held.

³⁵ The pious remonstrances of Chrysostom, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly urged by Theodoret; but his insinuation, that they were successful, is disproved by facts. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. 383.) has discovered, that the emperor, to satisfy the rapacious demands of Gainas, was obliged to melt the plate of the church of the Apostles.

³⁶ The ecclesiastical historians, who sometimes guide, and sometimes follow, the public opinion, most confidently assert, that the palace of Constantinople was guarded by legions of angels.

³⁷ Zosimus (l. v. p. 319.) mentions these gallies by the name of *Liburnians*, and observes, that they were as swift (without explaining the difference between them) as the vessels with fifty oars; but that they were far inferior in speed to the *triremes*, which had been long disused. Yet he reasonably concludes, from the testimony of Polybius, that gallies of a still larger size had been constructed in the Punic wars. Since the establishment of the Roman empire over the Mediterranean, the useless art of building large ships of war had probably been neglected, and at length forgotten.

³⁸ Chishull (Travels, p. 61—63. 72—76.) proceeded from Gallipoli, through Hadrianople, to the Danube, in about fifteen days. He was in the train of an English ambassador, whose baggage consisted

of seventy-one waggons. That learned traveller has the merit of tracing a curious and unfrequented route.

³⁹ The narrative of Zosimus, who actually leads Gainas beyond the Danube, must be corrected by the testimony of Socrates, and Sozomen, that he was killed in *Thrace*; and by the precise and authentic dates of the Alexandrian, or Paschal, Chronicle, p. 307. The naval victory of the Hellespont is fixed to the month Apellæus, the tenth of the calends of January (December 23.); the head of Gainas was brought to Constantinople the third of the nones of January (January 3.), in the month Audynæus.

⁴⁰ Eusebius Scholasticus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothic war, in which he had served. Near forty years afterwards, Ammonius recited another poem on the same subject, in the presence of the emperor Theodosius. See Socrates, l. vi. c. 6.

⁴¹ The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret, afford curious and authentic materials for the life of John Chrysostom. Besides those general historians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the saint. 1. The author of a partial and passionate Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his zealous partisan, Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xi. p. 500—533.). It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. xiii. p. 1—92. edit. Montfaucon. 2. The moderate Erasmus (tom. iii. epist. MCL. p. 1331—1347. edit. Lugd. Bat.) His vivacity and good sense were his own; his errors, in the uncultivated state of ecclesiastical antiquity, were almost inevitable. 3. The learned Tillemont (Mém. Ecclésiastiques, tom. xi. p. 1—405. 547—626, etc. etc.); who compiles the lives of the saints with incredible patience, and religious accuracy. He has minutely searched the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself. 4. Father Montfaucon; who has perused those works with the curious diligence of an editor, discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the life of Chrysostom (Opera Chrysostom. tom. xiii. p. 91—177.).

⁴² As I am *almost* a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom, I have given my confidence to the two most judicious and moderate of the ecclesiastical critics, Erasmus (tom. iii. p. 1344.), and Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iii. p. 38.): yet the good taste of the former is sometimes viciated by an excessive love of antiquity; and the good sense of the latter is always restrained by prudential considerations.

⁴³ The females of Constantinople distinguished themselves by their enmity or their attachment to Chrysostom. Three noble and opulent widows, Marfa, Castricia, and Euphrosinia, were the leaders of the persecution (Pallad. Dialog. tom. xiii. p. 14.). It was impossible that they should forgive a preacher, who reproached their affectation

to conceal, by the ornaments of drefs, their age and ugliness (Pallad. p. 27.). Olympias, by equal zeal, displayed in a more pious cause, has obtained the title of faint. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. xi. 416—440.

⁴⁴ Sozomen, and more especially Socrates, have defined the real character of Chrysoftom with a temperate and impartial freedom, very offensive to his blind admirers. Those historians lived in the next generation, when party violence was abated, and had conversed with many persons intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the faint.

⁴⁵ Palladius (tom. xiii. p. 40, etc.) very seriously defends the archbishop. 1. He never tasted wine. 2. The weakness of his stomach required a peculiar diet. 3. Business, or study, or devotion, often kept him fasting till sun-set. 4. He detested the noise and levity of great dinners. 5. He saved the expence for the use of the poor. 6. He was apprehensive, in a capital like Constantinople, of the envy and reproach of partial invitations.

⁴⁶ Chrysoftom declares his free opinion (tom. ix. hom. iii. in Act. Apostol. p. 29.), that the number of bishops, who might be saved, bore a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

⁴⁷ See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. xi. p. 441—500.

⁴⁸ I have purposely omitted the controversy which arose among the monks of Egypt, concerning Origenism and Anthropomorphism: the dissimulation and violence of Theophilus; his artful management of the simplicity of Epiphanius; the persecution and flight of the *long*, or tall, brothers; the ambiguous support which they received at Constantinople from Chrysoftom, etc. etc.

⁴⁹ Photius (p. 53—60.) has preserved the original acts of the synod of the Oak; which destroy the false assertion, that Chrysoftom was condemned by no more than thirty-six bishops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians. Forty-five bishops subscribed his sentence. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. xi. p. 595.

⁵⁰ Palladius owns (p. 30.), that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Socrates mentions (l. vi. c. 17.) a battle between the mob and the sailors of Alexandria, in which many wounds were given, and some lives were lost. The massacre of the monks is observed only by the Pagan Zosimus (l. v. p. 324.), who acknowledges that Chrysoftom had a singular talent to lead the illiterate multitude, *ην γαρ ο ανθρωπος αλογον οχλον υπαγαγεσθαι δεινος.*

⁵¹ See Socrates, l. vi. c. 18. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 20. Zosimus, l. v. p. 324, 327.) mentions, in general terms, his invectives against Eudoxia. The homily, which begins with those famous words, is rejected as spurious. Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 151. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. xi. p. 603.

⁵² We might naturally expect such a charge from Zosimus (l. v. p. 327.); but it is remarkable enough, that it should be confirmed by Socrates, l. vi. c. 18. and the Paschal Chronicle, p. 307.

⁵³ He displays those specious motives (Post Reditum, c. 13, 14.) in the language of an orator and a politician.

⁵⁴ Two hundred and forty-two of the epistles of Chrysostom are still extant (Opera, tom. iii. p. 528—736.). They are addressed to a great variety of persons, and shew a firmness of mind, much superior to that of Cicero in his exile. The fourteenth epistle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

⁵⁵ After the exile of Chrysostom, Theophilus published an *enormous* and *horrible* volume against him, in which he perpetually repeats the polite expressions of hostem humanitatis, sacrilegorum principem, immundum dæmonem; he affirms, that John Chrysostom had delivered his soul to be adulterated by the devil; and wishes that some farther punishment, adequate (if possible) to the magnitude of his crimes, may be inflicted on him. St. Jerom, at the request of his friend Theophilus, translated this edifying performance from Greek into Latin. See Facundus Hermian. Defens. pro iii. Capitul. l. vi. c. 5. published by Sirmond. Opera, tom. ii. p. 595, 596, 597.

⁵⁶ His name was inserted by his successor Atticus in the Dyptics of the church of Constantinople, A. D. 418. Ten years afterwards he was revered as a saint. Cyril, who inherited the place, and the passions, of his uncle Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Facund, Hermian. l. iv. c. 1. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 277—283.

⁵⁷ Socrates, l. vii. c. 45. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. This event reconciled the Joannites, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge his successors. During his lifetime, the Joannites were respected by the catholics, as the true and orthodox communion of Constantinople. Their obstinacy gradually drove them to the brink of schism.

⁵⁸ According to some accounts (Baronius, Annal. Ecclesi. A. D. 438. N°. 9, 10.), the emperor was forced to send a letter of invitation and excuses, before the body of the ceremonious saint could be moved from Comana.

⁵⁹ Zosimus, l. v. p. 315. The chastity of an empress should not be impeached without producing a witness; but it is astonishing, that the witness should write and live under a prince, whose legitimacy he dared to attack. We must suppose that his history was a party libel, privately read and circulated by the Pagans. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 782.) is not averse to brand the reputation of Eudoxia.

⁶⁰ Porphyry of Gaza. His zeal was transported by the order which he had obtained for the destruction of eight Pagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life (Baronius, A. D. 401. N°. 17—51.)

originally written in Greek, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monk, one of his favourite deacons.

⁶¹ Philostorg. l. xi. c. 8. and Godefroy, Differtat. p. 457.

⁶² Jerom (tom. vi. p. 73. 76.) describes, in lively colours, the regular and destructive march of the locusts, which spread a dark cloud, between heaven and earth, over the land of Palestine. Seasonable winds scattered them, partly into the Dead Sea, and partly into the Mediterranean.

⁶³ Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 2. p. 8. edit. Louvre.

⁶⁴ Agathias, l. iv. p. 136, 137. Although he confesses the prevalence of the tradition, he asserts, that Procopius was the first who had committed it to writing. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 597.) argues very sensibly on the merits of this fable. His criticism was not warped by any ecclesiastical authority: both Procopius and Agathias are half Pagans.

⁶⁵ Socrates, l. vii. c. 1. Anthemius was the grandson of Philip, one of the ministers of Constantius, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemius. After his return from the Persian embassy, he was appointed consul and Prætorian præfect of the East, in the year 405.; and held the præfecture about ten years. See his honours and praises in Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 350. Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 1, etc.

⁶⁶ Sozomen, l. ix. c. 5. He saw some Scyrri at work near Mount Olympus, in Bithynia, and cherished the vain hope that those captives were the last of the nation.

⁶⁷ Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xvii. l. xv. tit. i. leg. 49.

⁶⁸ Sozomen has filled three chapters with a magnificent panegyric of Pulcheria (l. ix. c. 1, 2, 3.); and Tillemont (Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. xv. p. 171—184.) has dedicated a separate article to the honour of St. Pulcheria, virgin, and empress.

⁶⁹ Suidas (Excerpta, p. 68. in Script. Byzant.) pretends, on the credit of the Nestorians, that Pulcheria was exasperated against their founder, because he censured her connection with the beautiful Paulinus, and her incest with her brother Theodosius.

⁷⁰ See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 70. Flaccilla, the eldest daughter, either died before Arcadius, or, if she lived till the year 431. (Marcellin. Chron.), some defect of mind or body must have excluded her from the honours of her rank.

⁷¹ She was admonished, by repeated dreams, of the place where the relics of the forty martyrs had been buried. The ground had successively belonged to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople, to a monastery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of St. Thyrsus, erected by Cæsarius, who was consul A. D. 397.; and the memory of the relics was almost obliterated. Notwithstanding the charitable wishes of Dr. Jortin (Remarks, tom. iv. p. 234.), it is not easy to acquit Pulcheria of some share in the pious fraud; which

must have been transacted, when she was more than five-and-thirty years of age.

⁷² There is a remarkable difference between the two ecclesiastical historians, who in general bear so close a resemblance. Sozomen (l. ix. c. 1.) ascribes to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother; whom he scarcely condescends to praise. Socrates, though he affectedly disclaims all hopes of favour or fame, composes an elaborate panegyric on the emperor, and cautiously suppresses the merits of his sister (l. vii. c. 22. 42.). Philostorgius (l. xii. c. 7.) expresses the influence of Pulcheria in gentle and courtly language, τὰς βασιλικὰς σημειώσεις υπηρετομένη καὶ διοβυνγεται. Suidas (Excerpt. p. 53.) gives a true character of Theodosius; and I have followed the example of Tillemont (tom. vi. p. 25.), in borrowing some strokes from the modern Greeks.

⁷³ Theodoret, l. v. c. 37. The bishop of Cyrrhus, one of the first men of his age for his learning and piety, applauds the obedience of Theodosius to the divine laws.

⁷⁴ Socrates (l. vii. c. 21.) mentions her name (Athenais, the daughter of Leontius, an Athenian sophist), her baptism, marriage, and poetical genius. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malala (part ii. p. 20, 21. edit. Venet. 1743.), and in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 311, 312.). Those authors had probably seen original pictures of the empress Eudocia. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Cedrenus, etc. have displayed the love, rather than the talent, of fiction. From Nicephorus, indeed, I have ventured to assume her age. The writer of a romance would not have *imagined*, that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when she inflamed the heart of a young emperor.

⁷⁵ Socrates, l. vii. c. 21. Photius, p. 413—420. The Homeric cento is still extant, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eudocia to that insipid performance is disputed by the critics. See Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 357. The *Ionia*, a miscellaneous, dictionary of history and fable, was compiled by another empress of the name of Eudocia, who lived in the eleventh century; and the work is still extant in manuscript.

⁷⁶ Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 438, 439.) is copious and florid; but he is accused of placing the lies of different ages on the same level of authenticity.

⁷⁷ In this short view of the disgrace of Eudocia, I have imitated the caution of Evagrius (l. i. c. 21.), and count Marcellinus (in Chron. A. D. 440. and 444.). The two authentic dates assigned by the latter, overturn a great part of the Greek fictions; and the celebrated story of the *apple*, etc. is fit only for the Arabian Nights, where something not very unlike it may be found.

⁷⁸ Priscus (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 69.), a contemporary, and a courtier, drily mentions her Pagan and Christian names, without adding any title of honour or respect.

⁷⁹ For the *two* pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long residence at Jerusalem, her devotion, alms, etc. see Socrates l. vii. c. 47.) and Evagrius (l. i. c. 20, 21, 22.) The Paschal Chronicle may sometimes deserve regard; and, in the domestic history of Antioch, John Malala becomes a writer of good authority. The abbé Guenée, in a memoir on the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only seen an extract, calculates the gifts of Eudocia at 20,488 pounds of gold; above 800,000 pounds sterling.

⁸⁰ Theodoret, l. v. c. 39. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xii. p. 356—364. Assemani, Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 396. tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret blames the rashness of Abdas, but extols the constancy of his martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly understand the casuistry which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unlawfully committed.

⁸¹ Socrates (l. vii. c. 18, 19, 20, 21.) is the best author for the Persian war. We may likewise consult the three Chronicles, the Paschal, and those of Marcellinus and Malala.

⁸² This account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene. Deficient as he is in every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices, are strongly expressive of a native and contemporary. Procopius (de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 1. 5.) relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves, and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.

⁸³ The western Armenians used the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the use of that hostile tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the eastern provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac, till the invention of the Armenian letters by Mesrobes, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the subsequent version of the Bible into the Armenian language; an event which relaxed the connection of the church and nation with Constantinople.

⁸⁴ Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 59. p. 309. and p. 358. Procopius de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 5. Theodosiopolis stands, or rather stood, about thirty-five miles to the east of Arzeroum, the modern capital of Turkish Armenia. See d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 99, 100.

⁸⁵ Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 63. p. 316. According to the institution of St. Gregory the apostle of Armenia, the archbishop was always of the royal family; a circumstance, which, in some degree, corrected the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the mitre with the crown.

⁸⁶ A branch of the royal house of Arsaces still subsisted, with the rank and possessions (as it should seem) of Armenian satraps. See Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 65. p. 321.

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⁸⁷ Valarsaces was appointed king of Armenia by his brother the Parthian monarch, immediately after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes (Moses Choren. l. ii. c. 2. p. 85.), one hundred and thirty years before Christ. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the last kings, we may be assured, that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom happened after the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 431. (l. iii. c. 61. p. 312.); and under Veramus, or Bahram, king of Persia (l. iii. c. 64. p. 317.) who reigned from A. D. 420 to 440. See Assemani, Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 396.

N O T E S
T O T H E
S I X T H V O L U M E.

C H A P. X X X I I I.

¹ See Chap. xxxi.

² Τα συνεχῆ κατὰ ὅμοια Φιλήματα, is the expression of Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 197.); who means, perhaps, to describe the same caresses which Mahomet bestowed on his *daughter* Phatemah. Quando (says the prophet himself), quando subit mihi desiderium Paradisi, osculor eam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus. But this sensual indulgence was justified by miracle and mystery; and the anecdote has been communicated to the public by the Reverend Father Maracci, in his Version and Confutation of the Koran, tom. i. p. 32.

³ For these revolutions of the Western empire, consult Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 192, 193, 196, 197, 200. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 16, Socrates l. vii. 23, 24. Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 10, 11. and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 486. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3. p. 182, 183. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 72, 73. and the Chronicles.

⁴ See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. ii. c. 7. He has laboriously, but vainly, attempted to form a reasonable system of jurisprudence, from the various and discordant modes of royal succession, which have been introduced by fraud, or force, by time, or accident.

⁵ The original writers are not agreed (see Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 139.) whether Valentinian received the Imperial diadem at Rome or Ravenna. In this uncertainty, I am willing to believe, that some respect was shewn to the senate.

⁶ The count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 292—300.) has established the reality, explained the motives, and traced the consequences, of this remarkable cession.

⁷ See the first *Novel* of Theodosius, by which he ratifies and communicates (A. D. 438.) the Theodosian Code. About forty years before that time, the unity of legislation had been proved by an exception. The Jews, who were numerous in the cities of Apulia and Calabria, produced a law of the East to justify their exemption from municipal

offices (Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 13^o) and the Western emperor was obliged to invalidate, by a special edict, the law, *quam constat meis partibus esse damnosam*. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. i. leg. 158.

⁸ Cassiodorius (Varior. l. xi. epist. i. p. 238.) has compared the regencies of Placidia and Amalasuntha. He arraigns the weakness of the mother of Valentinian, and praises the virtues of his royal mistress. On this occasion, flattery seems to have spoken the language of truth.

⁹ Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 12. and Godefroy's Differtat. p. 493, etc.; and Renatus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 8. in tom. ii. p. 163. The father of Ætius was Gaudentius, an illustrious citizen of the province of Scythia, and master general of the cavalry: his mother was a rich and noble Italian. From his earliest youth, Ætius, as a soldier and a hostage, had conversed with the Barbarians.

¹⁰ For the character of Boniface, see Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 196.; and St. Augustin, apud Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiast. tom. xiii. p. 712—715. 886. The bishop of Hippo at length deplored the fall of his friend, who, after a solemn vow of chastity, had married a second wife of the Arian sect, and who was suspected of keeping several concubines in his house.

¹¹ Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3, 4. p. 182—186.) relates the fraud of Ætius, the revolt of Boniface, and the loss of Africa. This anecdote, which is supported by some collateral testimony (see Ruinart, Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 420, 421.) seems agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts, and would be naturally revealed by the repentance of Boniface.

¹² See the Chronicles of Prosper and Idatius. Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 246. Paris, 1608.) ascribes the victory of the Vandals to their superior piety. They fasted, they prayed, they carried a Bible in the front of the Host, with the design, perhaps, of reproaching the perfidy and sacrilege of their enemies.

¹³ Gizericus (his name is variously expressed) *staturâ mediocris et equi casû claudicans, animo profundus, sermone rarus, luxuriæ contemptor, irâ turbidus, habendi cupidus, ad sollicitandas gentes providentissimus, semina contentionum jacere, odia miscere paratus*. Jordanes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 33. p. 657. The portrait, which is drawn with some skill, and a strong likeness, must have been copied from the Gothic history of Cassiodorius.

¹⁴ See the Chronicle of Idatius. That bishop, a Spaniard and a contemporary, places the passage of the Vandals in the month of May, of the year of Abraham (which commences in October) 2444. This date, which coincides with A. D. 429, is confirmed by Isidore, another Spanish bishop, and is justly preferred to the opinion of those writers, who have marked for that event, one of the two preceding years. See Fagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 205, etc.

¹⁵ Compare Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 190.) and Victor Vitenfis (de Persecutione Vandal. l. i. c. 1. p. 3. edit. Ruinart.). We are assured by Idatius, that Genferic evacuated Spain, cum Vandalis *omnibus* eorumque familiis; and Possidius (in Vit. Augustin. c. 28. apud Ruinart, p. 427.) describes his army, as manus ingens immanium gentium Vandalorum et Alanorum, commixtam secum habens Gothorum gentem, aliarumque diversarum personas.

¹⁶ For the manners of the Moors, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 6. p. 249.), for their figure and complexion, M. de Buffon (Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 430.). Procopius says in general, that the Moors had joined the Vandals before the death of Valentinian (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 190.), and it is probable, that the independent tribes did not embrace any uniform system of policy.

¹⁷ See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. xiii. p. 516—558.; and the whole series of the persecution, in the original monuments, published by Dupin at the end of Optatus, p. 323—515.

¹⁸ The Donatist bishops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to 279.; and they asserted, that their whole number was not less than 400. The Catholics had 286 present, 120 absent, besides sixty-four vacant bishoprics.

¹⁹ The fifth title of the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code, exhibits a series of the Imperial laws against the Donatists, from the year 400 to the year 428. Of these the 54th law, promulgated by Honorius, A. D. 414, is the most severe and effectual.

²⁰ St. Augustin altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of heretics. His pathetic declaration of pity and indulgence, for the Manichæans, has been inserted by Mr. Locke (vol. iii. p. 469.) among the choice specimens of his common-place book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Bayle (tom. ii. p. 445 — 496.), has refuted, with superfluous diligence and ingenuity, the arguments, by which the bishop of Hippo justified, in his old age, the persecution of the Donatists.

²¹ See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiastiques, tom. xiii. p. 586 — 592. 806. The Donatists boasted of *thousands* of these voluntary martyrs. Augustin asserts, and probably with truth, that these numbers were much exaggerated; but he sternly maintains, that it was better that *some* should burn themselves in this world, than that *all* should burn in hell flames.

²² According to St. Augustin and Theodoret, the Donatists were inclined to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arians, which Genferic supported. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiastiques, tom. vi. p. 68.

²³ See Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiæ A. D. 428. N°. 7. A. D. 439. N°. 35. The cardinal, though more inclined to seek the cause of great events in heaven than on the earth, has observed the apparent connection of the Vandals and the Donatists. Under the reign of the Barbarians, the schismatics of Africa enjoyed an obscure peace of one hundred

years; at the end of which, we may again trace them by the light of the Imperial persecutions. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 182, etc.

²⁴ In a confidential letter to Count Boniface, St. Augustin, without examining the grounds of the quarrel, piously exhorts him to discharge the duties of a Christian and a subject; to extricate himself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation; and even, if he could obtain the consent of his wife, to embrace a life of celibacy and penance (*Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 890.). The bishop was intimately connected with Darius, the minister of peace (*Id.* tom. xiii. p. 928.).

²⁵ The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained 1. In a letter from Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the council of Ephesus (*ap. Ruinart, p. 429.*) 2. In the life of St. Augustin, by his friend and colleague Possidius (*ap. Ruinart, p. 427.*) 3. In the History of the Vandalic Persecution, by Victor Vitenfis (l. i. c. 1, 2, 3. edit. Ruinart) The last picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's passions than of the truth of facts.

²⁶ See Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 112. Leo African. in Kamusio, tom. i. fol. 70. *L'Afrique de Marmol.* tom. ii. p. 434. 437. Shaw's Travels, p. 46, 47. The old Hippo Regius was finally destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century, but a new town, at the distance of two miles, was built with the materials; and it contained, in the sixteenth century, about three hundred families of industrious, but turbulent, manufacturers. The adjacent territory is renowned for a pure air, a fertile soil, and plenty of exquisite fruits.

²⁷ The life of St. Augustin, by Tillemont, fills a quarto volume (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii.) of more than one thousand pages; and the diligence of that learned Jansenist was excited, on this occasion, by factious and devout zeal for the founder of his sect.

²⁸ Such at least is the account of Victor Vitenfis (*de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 3.*); though Gennadius seems to doubt whether any person had read, or even collected, *all* the works of St. Augustin (See Hieronym. Opera, tom. i. p. 319. in Catalog. Scriptor. Ecclés.) They have been repeatedly printed; and Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclés.* tom. iii. p. 158—257.) has given a large and satisfactory abstract of them, as they stand in the last edition of the Benedictines. My personal acquaintance with the bishop of Hippo does not extend beyond the *Confessions*, and the *City of God*.

²⁹ In his early youth (*Confess. i. 14.*) St. Augustin disliked and neglected the study of Greek; and he frankly owns that he read the Platonists in a Latin version (*Confess. vii. 9.*). Some modern critics have thought, that his ignorance of Greek disqualified him from

expounding the scriptures; and Cicero or Quintilian would have required the knowledge of that language in a professor of rhetoric.

³⁰ These questions were seldom agitated, from the time of St. Paul to that of St. Augustin. I am informed that the Greek fathers maintain the natural sentiments of the Semi-pelagians; and that the orthodoxy of St. Augustin was derived from the Manichæan school.

³¹ The church of Rome has canonised Augustin, and reprobated Calvin. Yet as the *real* difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope; the Molinists are oppressed by the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are disgraced by their resemblance to the heretic. In the mean while the Protestant Armenians stand aloof, and deride the mutual perplexity of the disputants (See a curious Review of the Controversy, by le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xiv. p. 144—398.). Perhaps a reasoner still more independent, may smile in *his* turn, when he peruses an Armenian Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

³² Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 67. On one side, the head of Valentinian; on the reverse, Boniface, with a scourge in one hand and a palm in the other, standing in a triumphal car, which is drawn by four horses, or, in another medal, by four stags; an unlucky emblem! I should doubt whether another example can be found of the head of a subject on the reverse of an Imperial medal. See Science des Médailles, by the Pere Jobert, tom. i. p. 132—150. edit. of 1739, by the Baron de la Bastie.

³³ Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.) continues the history of Boniface no farther than his return to Italy. His death is mentioned by Prosper and Marcellinus; the expression of the latter, that Ætius, the day before, had provided himself with a *longer* spear, implies something like a regular duel.

³⁴ See Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 186. Valentinian published several humane laws, to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian subjects; he discharged them, in a great measure, from the payment of their debts, reduced their tribute to one-eighth, and gave them a right of appeal from the provincial magistrates to the præfect of Rome. Cod. Theod. tom. vi. Novell. p. 11, 12.

³⁵ Victor Vitenfis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. ii. c. 5. p. 26. The cruelties of Genseric towards his subjects, are strongly expressed in Prosper's Chronicle, A. D. 442.

³⁶ Possidius, in Vit. Augustin, c. 28. apud Ruinart, p. 428.

³⁷ See the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, Prosper, and Marcellinus. They mark the same year, but different days, for the surprisal of Carthage.

³⁸ The picture of Carthage, as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the Expositio totius Mundi, p. 17, 18. in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers, from Aufonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 228, 229.; and principally from Salvian, de Gubernatione Dei,

Dei, l. vii. p. 257, 258. I am surprised that the *Notitia* should not place either a mint, or an arsenal, at Carthage; but only a gynecæum, or female manufacture.

³⁹ The anonymous author of the *Expositio totius Mundi*, compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants; and, after stigmatising their want of faith, he coolly concludes, *Difficile autem inter eos invenitur bonus, tamen in multis pauci boni esse possunt*. P. 18.

⁴⁰ He declares, that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the sink of Carthage (l. vii. p. 257.). In the indulgence of vice, the Africans applauded their manly virtue. *Et illi se magis virilis fortitudinis esse crederent, qui maxime viros fœminei usûs probrositate fregissent* (p. 268.). The streets of Carthage were polluted by effeminate wretches, who publicly assumed the countenance, the dress, and the character of women (p. 264.). If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with impious scorn and ridicule; *detestantibus ridentium cachinnis* (p. 289.).

⁴¹ Compare Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 189, 190.; and Victor Vitenfis, de persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 4.

⁴² Ruinart (p. 444—457.) has collected from Theodoret, and other authors, the misfortunes, real and fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage.

⁴³ The choice of fabulous circumstances is of small importance; yet I have confined myself to the narrative which was translated from the Syriac by the care of Gregory of Tours (*de Gloriâ Martyrûm*, l. i. c. 95. in *Max. Bibliothecâ Patrum*, tom. xi. p. 856.), to the Greek acts of their martyrdom (*apud Photium*, p. 1400, 1401.), and to the Annals of the Patriarch Eutychius (tom. i. p. 391. 531, 532. 535. *Verf. Pocock.*).

⁴⁴ Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by *Affemanni* (*Bibliot. Oriental.* tom. i. p. 336. 338.), place the resurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the years 736 (A. D. 425.), or 748 (A. D. 437.), of the æra of the Seleucides. Their Greek acts, which Photius had read, assign the date of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, which may coincide either with A. D. 439, or 446. The period which had elapsed since the persecution of Decius is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Mahomet, or the legendaries, could suppose an interval, of three or four hundred years.

⁴⁵ James one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian church, was born A. D. 452.; he began to compose his sermons A. D. 474.: he was made bishop of Batnæ, in the district of Sarug, and province of Mesopotamia, A. D. 519, and died A. D. 521. (*Affemanni*, tom. i. p. 288, 289.). For the homily *de Pueris Ephesinis*, see p. 335—339.: though I could wish that *Affemanni* had translated the text of James of Sarug, instead of answering the objections of Baronius.

Notes.

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⁴⁶ See the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists (Mensis Julii, tom. vi. p. 375—397.). This immense calendar of saints, in one hundred and twenty-six years (1644—1770.), and in fifty volumes in folio, has advanced no farther than the 7th day of October. The suppression of the Jesuits has most probably checked an undertaking, which, through the medium of fable and superstition, communicates much historical and philosophical instruction.

⁴⁷ See Maracci Alcoran. Sura xviii. tom. ii. p. 420—427. and tom. i. part. iv. p. 103. With such an ample privilege, Mahomet has not shewn much taste or ingenuity. He has invented the dog (Al Rakim) of the Seven Sleepers; the respect of the sun who altered his course twice a day, that he might not shine into the cavern; and the care of God himself, who preserved their bodies from putrefaction, by turning them to the right and left.

⁴⁸ See d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 139.; and Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 39, 40.

⁴⁹ Paul, the deacon of Aquileia (de Gestis Langobardorum, l. i. c. 4. p. 745, 746. edit. Grot.), who lived towards the end of the eighth century, has placed in a cavern under a rock, on the shore of the ocean, the Seven Sleepers of the North, whose long repose was respected by the Barbarians. Their dress declared them to be Romans; and the deacon conjectures, that they were reserved by Providence as the future apostles of those unbelieving countries.

CHAP. XXXIV.

¹ The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 34—50. p. 660—688. edit. Grot.) and Priscus (Excerpta de Legationibus, p. 33—76. Paris, 1648.). I have not seen the lives of Attila, composed by Juvenius Cælius Calanus Dalmatinus, in the twelfth century, or by Nicholas Olahus, archbishop of Gran, in the sixteenth. See Mascou's History of the Germans, ix. 23. and Maffei Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. i. p. 88, 89. Whatever the modern Hungarians have added, must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have excelled in the art of fiction. They suppose, that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, etc. he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Thwrocz Chron. p. i. c. 22. in Script. Hungar. tom. i. p. 76.

² Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies. 1. The Huns of Attila: 2. the Abares, in the sixth century; and, 3. the Turks, or Magiars, A. D. 889.; the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote. The *Prodromus* and *Notitia* of Matthew Belius, appear to contain a rich fund of information concerning

ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the extracts in *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. xxii. p. 1—51. and *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tom. xvi. p. 127.—175.

³ Socrates, l. vii. c. 43. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuously contends (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. vi. p. 136. 607.), that the wars and personages were not the same.

⁴ See Priscus, p. 47, 48. and *Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. c. xii, xiii, xiv, xv.

⁵ Priscus, p. 39. The modern Hungarians have deduced his genealogy, which ascends, in the thirty-fifth degree, to Ham the son of Noah; yet they are ignorant of his father's real name (de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 297.).

⁶ Compare Jornandes (c. 35. p. 661.) with Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 380. The former had a right to observe, *originis suæ signa restituens*. The character and portrait of Attila are probably transcribed from Cassiodorus.

⁷ Abulpharag. *Dynast. vers.* Pocock, p. 281. *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, by Abulghazi Bahader Khan, part iii. c. 15. part iv. c. 3. *Vie de Gengiscan*, par Petit de la Croix, l. i. c. 1. 6. The relations of the missionaries, who visited Tartary in the thirteenth century (see the seventh volume of the *Histoire des Voyages*), express the popular language and opinions; Zingis is styled the Son of God, etc. etc.

⁸ *Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum vèrni usquam potest; sed gladius Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant præfulem verecundius colunt.* Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 2. and the learned Notes of Lindenbrogius and Valesius.

⁹ Priscus relates this remarkable story, both in his own text (p. 65.), and in the quotation made by Jornandes (c. 35. p. 662.). He might have explained the tradition, or fable, which characterised this famous sword, and the name, as well as attributes, of the Scythian deity, whom he has translated into the Mars of the Greeks and Romans.

¹⁰ Herodot. l. iv. c. 62. For the sake of œconomy, I have calculated by the smallest stadium. In the human sacrifices, they cut off the shoulder and arm of the victim, which they threw up into the air, and drew omens and presages from the manner of their falling on the pile.

¹¹ Priscus, p. 55. A more civilized hero, Augustus himself, was pleased, if the person on whom he fixed his eyes seemed unable to support their divine lustre. Sueton. in August. c. 79.

¹² The count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. p. 428, 429.) attempts to clear Attila from the murder of his brother; and is almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes, and the contemporary Chronicles.

¹³ *Fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inauditâ ante se potentiâ, solus Scythica et Germanica regna possedit.* Jornandes, c. 49. p. 684. Priscus, p. 64, 65. M. de Guignes, by his knowledge of the Chinese, has acquired (tom. ii. p. 295—301.) an adequate idea of the empire of Attila.

¹⁴ See *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 296. The Geougen believed, that the Huns could excite at pleasure, storms of wind and rain. This phenomenon was produced by the stone *Gezi*; to whose magic power the loss of a battle was ascribed by the Mahometan Tartars of the fourteenth century. See Cherefeddin Ali, *Hist. de Timur Bec*, tom. i. p. 82, 83.

¹⁵ Jornandes, c. 35. p. 661. c. 37. p. 667. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 129. 138. Corneille has represented the pride of Attila to his subject kings; and his tragedy opens with these two ridiculous lines:

Ils ne sont pas venus, nos deux rois ! qu'on leur die
Qu'ils se sont trop attendre, et qu'Attila s'ennuie.

The two kings of the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths are profound politicians and sentimental lovers; and the whole piece exhibits the defects, without the genius, of the poet.

¹⁶ ——— alii per Caspia claustra
Armeniasque nives, inopino tramite ducti
Invadunt Orientis opes : jam pascua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argæus equorum.
Jam rubet altus Halys, nec se defendit iniquo
Monte Cilix ; Syriæ tractus vastantur amœni ;
Affluetumque choris et lætâ plebe canorum
Proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem.

Claudian, in *Rufin.* l. ii. 28—35.

See, likewise, in *Eutrop.* l. i. 243—251. and the strong description of Jerom, who wrote from his feelings, tom. i. p. 26. ad *Heliodor.* p. 200. ad *Ocean Philostorgius* (l. ix. c. 8.) mentions this irruption.

¹⁷ See the original conversation in *Priscus*, p. 64, 65.

¹⁸ *Priscus*, p. 331. His history contained a copious and elegant account of the war (*Evagrius*, l. i. c. 17.) ; but the extracts which relate to the embassies are the only parts that have reached our times. The original work was accessible, however, to the writers, from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge, *Jornandes*, *Theophanes*, *Count Marcellinus*, *Prosper-Tyro*, and the author of the *Alexandrian*, or *Paschal Chronicle*. *M. de Buat* (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. c. xv.) has examined the cause, the circumstances, and the duration, of this war; and will not allow it to extend beyond the year four hundred and forty-four.

¹⁹ Procopius, de Edificiis, l. iv. c. 5. These fortresses were afterwards restored, strengthened, and enlarged by the emperor Justinian; but they were soon destroyed by the Abares, who succeeded to the power and possessions of the Huns.

²⁰ Septuaginta civitates (says Prosper-Tyro) deprædatione vastatæ. The language of count Marcellinus is still more forcible. Pene totam Europam, invasis excisisque civitatibus atque castellis, contraxit.

²¹ Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 106, 107.) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake; which was felt as far from Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the ecclesiastical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

²² He represented, to the emperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petcheli, Chantong, Chanfi, and Leaotong) which he already possessed, might annually produce, under a mild administration, 500,000 ounces of silver, 400,000 measures of rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk. Gaubil. Hist. de la Dynastie des Mongous, p. 58, 59. Yelutchoufay (such was the name of the mandarin) was a wise and virtuous minister, who saved his country, and civilized the conquerors. See p. 102, 103.

²³ Particular instances would be endless; but the curious reader may consult the life of Gengiscan, by Petit de la Croix, the Histoire des Mongous, and the fifteenth book of the History of the Huns.

²⁴ At Maru, 1,300,000; at Herat, 1,600,000; at Neisabour, 1,747,000. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 380, 381. I use the orthography of d'Anville's maps. It must however be allowed, that the Persians were disposed to exaggerate their losses, and the Moguls, to magnify their exploits.

²⁵ Cherefeddin Ali, his fervile panegyrist, would afford us many horrid examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timur massacred 100,000 Indian prisoners, who had *smiled* when the army of their countrymen appeared in sight (Hist. de Timur Béc, tom. iii. p. 90.). The people of Ispahan supplied 70,000 human skulls for the structure of several lofty towers (Id. tom. i. p. 434.). A similar tax was levied on the revolt of Bagdad (tom. ii. p. 370.); and the exact account, which Cherefeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another historian (Ahmed Arabiada, tom. ii. p. 175. vers. Manger) at 90,000 heads.

²⁶ The ancients, Jornandes, Priscus, etc. are ignorant of this epithet. The modern Hungarians have imagined, that it was applied, by a hermit of Gaul, to Attila, who was pleased to insert it among the titles of his royal dignity. Mascou, ix. 23. and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 143.

²⁷ The missionaries of St. Chrysostom had converted great numbers of the Scythians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, in tents and waggons. Theodoret, l. v. c. 31. Photius, p. 1517. The Mahometans, the

Nestorians, and the Latin Christians, thought themselves secure of gaining the sons and grandsons of Zingis, who treated the rival missionaries with impartial favour.

²⁸ The Germans, who exterminated Varus and his legions, had been particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the Barbarians, after the effectual precautions of cutting out the tongue of an advocate, and sewing up his mouth, observed, with much satisfaction, that the viper could no longer hiss. Florus, iv. 12.

²⁹ Priscus, p. 59. It should seem, that the Huns preferred the Gothic and Latin languages to their own; which was probably a harsh and barren idiom.

³⁰ Philip de Comines, in his admirable picture of the last moments of Lewis XI. (*Mémoires*, l. vi. c. 12.) represents the insolence of his physician, who, in five months, extorted 54,000 crowns, and a rich bishopric, from the stern avaricious tyrant.

³¹ Priscus (p. 61.) extols the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a slave. *Occidere solent* (says Tacitus of the Germans) *non disciplinâ et severitate, sed impetu et irâ, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune.* *De Moribus Germ.* c. 25. The Heruli, who were the subjects of Attila, claimed, and exercised, the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of Agathias.

³² See the whole conversation in Priscus, p. 59—62.

³³ *Nova iterum Orienti affurgit ruina . . . quum nulla ab Occidentibus ferrentur auxilia.* Prosper-Tyro composed his Chronicle in the West; and his observation implies a censure.

³⁴ According to the description, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, an auction of Byzantine luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house possessed a semicircular table of massy silver, such as two men could scarcely lift, a vase of solid gold of the weight of forty pounds, cups, dishes of the same metal, etc.

³⁵ The articles of the treaty, expressed without much order or precision, may be found in Priscus (p. 34, 35, 36, 37. 53, etc.). Count Marcellinus dispenses some comfort, by observing, 1st, *That* Attila himself solicited the peace and presents, which he had formerly refused; and, 2dly, *That*, about the same time, the ambassadors of India presented a fine large tame tyger to the emperor Theodosius.

³⁶ Priscus, p. 35, 36. Among the hundred and eighty-two forts, or castles, of Thrace, enumerated by Procopius (*de Edificiis*, l. iv. c. xi. tom. ii. p. 92. edit. Paris), there is one of the name of *Esimontou*, whose position is doubtfully marked, in the neighbourhood of Anchialus, and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Azimuntium might subsist till the reign of Justinian: but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully extirpated by the jealousy of the Roman princes.

³⁷ The peevish dispute of St. Jerom and St. Augustin, who laboured, by different expedients, to reconcile the *seeming* quarrel of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, depends on the solution of an important question (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 5—10.), which has been frequently agitated by Catholic and Protestant divines, and even by lawyers and philosophers of every age.

³⁸ Montesquieu (*Considerations sur la Grandeur, etc.* c. xix.) has delineated, with a bold and easy pencil, some of the most striking circumstances of the pride of Attila, and the disgrace of the Romans. He deserves the praise of having read the Fragments of Priscus, which have been too much disregarded.

³⁹ See Priscus, p. 69. 71, 72, etc. I would fain believe, that this adventurer was afterwards crucified by the order of Attila, on a suspicion of treasonable practices: but Priscus (p. 57.) has too plainly distinguished *two* persons of the name of Constantius, who, from the similar events of their lives, might have been easily confounded.

⁴⁰ In the Persian treaty concluded in the year 422, the wise and eloquent Maximin had been the assessor of Ardaburius (Socrates, l. vii. c. 20.). When Marcian ascended the throne, the office of Great Chamberlain was bestowed on Maximin, who is ranked, in a public edict, among the four principal ministers of state (*Novell. ad Calc. Cod. Theod.* p. 31.). He executed a civil and military commission in the Eastern provinces; and his death was lamented by the savages of Æthiopia, whose incursions he had repressed. See Priscus, p. 40, 41.

⁴¹ Priscus was a native of Panium in Thrace, and deserved, by his eloquence, an honourable place among the sophists of the age. His Byzantine history, which related to his own times, was comprised in seven books. See Fabricius, *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 235, 236. Notwithstanding the charitable judgment of the critics, I suspect that Priscus was a Pagan.

⁴² The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labours of agriculture: they abused the privilege of a victorious nation; and the Goths, their industrious subjects who cultivated the earth, dreaded their neighbourhood, like that of so many ravenous wolves (Priscus, p. 45.). In the same manner the Sarts and Tadgics provide for their own subsistence, and for that of the Usbec Tartars, their lazy and rapacious sovereigns. See *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, p. 423. 455, etc.

⁴³ It is evident, that Priscus passed the Danube and the Teyss, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian hills. Agria, Tokay, and Jazberin, are situated in the plains circumscribed by this definition. M. de Buat (*Histoire des Peuples, etc.* tom. vii. p. 461.) has chosen Tokay; Otrokofci p. 180. apud Mascou, ix. 23.), a learned Hungarian, has preferred Jazberin, a place about thirty-six miles westward of Buda and the Danube.

⁴⁴ The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Karacorum, the residence of the successors of Zingis; which, though it appears to have been a more stable habitation, did not equal the size or splendor of the town and abbey of St. Denys; in the 13th century; (see Rubruquis, in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. vii. p. 286.). The camp of Aurengzebe, as it is so agreeably described by Bernier (tom. ii. p. 217—235.), blended the manners of Scythia with the magnificence and luxury of Hindostan.

⁴⁵ When the Moguls displayed the spoils of Asia, in the diet of Toncat, the throne of Zingis was still covered with the original black felt carpet, on which he had been seated, when he was raised to the command of his warlike countrymen. See *Vie de Gengiscan*, l. iv. c. 9.

⁴⁶ If we may believe Plutarch (in *Demetrio*, tom. v. p. 24.) it was the custom of the Scythians, when they indulged in the pleasures of the table, to awaken their languid courage by the martial harmony of twanging their bow-strings.

⁴⁷ The curious narrative of this embassy, which required few observations, and was not susceptible of any collateral evidence, may be found in Priscus, p. 49—70. But I have not confined myself to the same order; and I had previously extracted the historical circumstances which were less intimately connected with the journey, and business, of the Roman ambassadors.

⁴⁸ M. de Tillemont has very properly given the succession of Chamberlains, who reigned in the name of Theodosius. Chrysaphius, was the last, and, according to the unanimous evidence of history, the worst of these favourites (see *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 117—119. *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. xv. p. 438.). His partiality for his godfather, the heresiarch Eutyches, engaged him to persecute the orthodox party.

⁴⁹ The secret conspiracy, and its important consequences, may be traced in the fragments of Priscus, p. 37, 38, 39, 54, 70, 71, 72. The chronology of that historian is not fixed by any precise date: But the series of negotiations between Attila and the Eastern empire, must be included within the three or four years, which are terminated A. D. 450, by the death of Theodosius.

⁵⁰ Theodorus the Reader (see *Vales. Hist. Ecclef.* tom. iii. p. 563.) and the Paschal Chronicle, mention the fall, without specifying the injury: but the consequence was so likely to happen, and so unlikely to be invented, that we may safely give credit to Nicephorus Callistus a Greek of the fourteenth century.

⁵¹ Pulcheriæ natû (says Count Marcellinus) suâ cum avaritiâ interemptus est. She abandoned the eunuch to the pious revenge of a son, whose father had suffered at his instigation.

⁵² Procopius, de Bell. Vandal, l. i. c. 4. Evagrius, l. ii. c. 1. Theophanes, p. 90, 91. Novell. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. tom. vi.

p. 30. The praises which St. Leo, and the Catholics, have bestowed on Marcian, are diligently transcribed by Baronius, as an encouragement for future princes.

CHAP. XXXV.

¹ See Priscus, p. 39. 72.

² The Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty message, during the lifetime of Theodosius, may have anticipated the date; but the dull annalist was incapable of inventing the original and genuine style of Attila.

³ The second book of the *Histoire critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 189—424, throws great light on the state of Gaul, when it was invaded by Attila, but the ingenious author, the Abbé Dubos, too often bewilders himself in system and conjecture.

⁴ Victor Vitenfis (de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 8. edit. Ruinart) calls him, acer consilio et strenuus in bello: but his courage, when he became unfortunate, was censured as desperate rashness; and Sebastian deserved, or obtained the epithet of *præceps* (Sidon. Appollinar. Carmen. ix. 181.). His adventures at Constantinople, in Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, are faintly marked in the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius. In his distress he was always followed by a numerous train; since he could ravage the Hellespont and Propontis, and seize the city of Barcelona.

⁵ *Reipublicæ Romanæ singulariter natus, qui superbiam Suevorum, Francorumque barbariem immensis cædibus servire Imperio Romano coegisset.* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. p. 660.

⁶ This portrait is drawn by Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, a contemporary historian, known only by some extracts, which are preserved by Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 8. in tom. ii. p. 163.). It was probably the duty, or at least the interest, of Renatus, to magnify the virtues of Ætius: but he would have shewn more dexterity, if he had not insisted on his patient, *forgiving* disposition.

⁷ The embassy consisted of Count Romulus; of Promotus, president of Noricum; and of Romanus, the military duke. They were accompanied by Tatullus, an illustrious citizen of Petovio, in the same province, and father of Orestes, who had married the daughter of Count Romulus. See Priscus, p. 57. 65. Cassiodorus (Variar. i. 4.) mentions another embassy, which was executed by his father and Carpilio, the son of Ætius, and as Attila was no more, he could safely boast of their manly intrepid behaviour in his presence.

⁸ *Deserta Valentinae urbis rura Alanis partienda traduntur*: Prosper. Tyronis Chron. in Historiens de France, tom. i. p. 639. A few lines afterwards, Prosper observes, that lands in the *ulterior* Gaul were assigned to the Alani. Without admitting the correction of Dubos (tom. i. p. 300.), the reasonable supposition of *two* colonies or garrisons of Alani, will confirm his arguments, and remove his objections.

⁹ See Prosper. Tyro, p. 639. Sidonius (Panegyric. Avit. 246.) complains, in the name of Auvergne, his native country,

Litorius Scythicos equites tunc forte subacto
Celsus Aremorico, Geticum rapiebat in agmen
Per terras, Arverne, tuas, qui proxima quæque
Discursu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis,
Delebant; pacis fallentes nomen inane.

Another poet, Paulinus of Perigord, confirms the complaint:
Nam socium vix ferre queas, qui durior hoste.

See Dubos, tom. i. p. 330.

¹⁰ Theodoric II. the son of Theodoric I., declares to Avitus his resolution of repairing, or expiating, the fault which his *grandfather* had committed.

Quæ noster peccavit avus, quem fuscet id unum,
Quod te, Roma, capit. ———

Sidon. Panegyric. Avit. 505.

This character, applicable only to the great Alaric, establishes the genealogy of the Gothic kings, which has hitherto been unnoticed.

¹¹ The name of *Sabaudia*, the origin of *Savoy*, is first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus; and two military posts are ascertained, by the Notitia, within the limits of that province; a cohort was stationed at Grenoble in Dauphiné; and Ebredunum, or Iverdun, sheltered a fleet of small vessels, which commanded the lake of Neuchâtel. See Valesius, Notit. Galliarum, p. 503. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul, p. 284. 579.

¹² Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Deity; a task which may be readily performed by supposing, that the calamities of the wicked are, *judgments*, and those of the righteous, *trials*.

¹³ ——— Capto terrarum damna patebant

Litorio, in Rhodanum proprios producere fines,
Theudoridæ fixum; nec erat pugnare necesse,
Sed migrare Getis; ravidam trux asperat iram
Victor; quod sensit Scythicum sub mœnibus hostem
Imputat, et nihil est gravius, si forsitan unquam
Vincere contingat, trepido ———

Panegyric. Avit. 300. etc.

Sidonius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyrist, to transfer the whole merit from Ætius, to his minister Avitus.

¹⁴ Theodoric II. revered, in the person of Avitus, the character of his preceptor.

——— Mihi Romula dudum

Per te jura placent: parvumque ediscere jussit
Ad tua verba pater, docili quo prisca *Maronis*
Carminē molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.

Sidon. Panegy. Avit. 495. etc.

¹⁵ Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric I. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. 36. and the Chronicles of Idatius, and the two Prosper, inserted in the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 612—640. To these we may add Salvian de Gubernatione Dei, l. vii. p. 243, 244, 245. and the Panegyric of Avitus, by Sidonius.

¹⁶ Reges *Crinitos* se creavisse de primâ, et ut ita dicam nobiliori suorum familiâ (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. p. 166. of the second volume of the Historians of France). Gregory himself does not mention the *Merovingian* name, which may be traced, however, to the beginning of the seventh century, as the distinctive appellation of the royal family, and even of the French monarchy. An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great Maroboduus; and he has clearly proved, that the prince, who gave his name to the first race, was more ancient than the father of Childeric. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 52—90. tom. xxx. p. 557—587.

¹⁷ This German custom, which may be traced from Tacitus to Gregory of Tours, was at length adopted by the emperors of Constantinople. From a MS. of the tenth century, Montfaucon has delineated the representation of a similar ceremony, which the ignorance of the age had applied to king David. See Monuments de la Monarchie Française, tom. i. Discours Préliminaire.

¹⁸ Cæsaries proluxa crinium flagellis per terga dimissis, etc. See the preface to the third volume of the Historians of France, and the Abbé Le Bœuf (Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 47—79). This peculiar fashion of the Merovingians has been remarked by natives and strangers; by Priscus (tom. i. p. 608.) by Agathias (tom. ii. p. 49.), and by Gregory of Tours, l. iii. 18. vi. 24. viii. 10. tom. ii. p. 196. 278. 316.

¹⁹ See on original picture of the figure, dress, arms, and temper of the ancient Franks in Sidonius Apollinaris (Panegy. Majorian, 238—254.) and such pictures, though coarsely drawn, have a real and intrinsic value. Father Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Française, tom. i. p. 2—7.) has illustrated the description.

²⁰ Dubos, Hist. critique, etc. tom. i. p. 271, 272. Some geographers have placed Dispargum on the German side of the Rhine.

See a note of the Benedictine Editors to the *Historians of France*, tom. ii. p. 166.

²¹ The Carbonarian wood, was that part of the great forest of the Ardennes, which lay between the Escaut, or Scheld, and the Meuse. *Valef. Notit. Gall.* p. 126.

²² *Gregor. Turon.* l. ii. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 166, 167. *Fredegar Epitom.* c. 9. p. 395. *Gesta Reg. Francor.* c. 5. in tom. ii. p. 544. *Vit. St. Remig. ab Hincmar,* in tom. iii. p. 373.

²³ ——— *Francus quâ Cloio patentes*

Atrebatum terras pervaserat. ———

Panegy. Majorian. 212.

The precise spot was a town, or village, called *Vicus Helena*; and both the name and the place are discovered by modern geographers at Lens. See *Valef. Notit. Gall.* p. 246. *Longuerue, Description de la France*, tom. ii. p. 88.

²⁴ See a vague account of the action in *Sidonius, Panegy. Majorian.* 212—230. The French critics, impatient to establish their monarchy in Gaul, have drawn a strong argument from the silence of *Sidonius*, who dares not insinuate, that the vanquished Franks were compelled to repass the Rhine. *Dubos*, tom. i. p. 322.

²⁵ *Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vi.)* has expressed, in vague and declamatory language, the misfortunes of these three cities, which are distinctly ascertained by the learned *Mascou, Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, ix. 21.

²⁶ *Priscus*, in relating the contest, does not name the two brothers; the second of whom he had seen at Rome, a beardless youth, with long flowing hair (*Historians of France*, tom. i. p. 607, 608.). The Benedictine Editors are inclined to believe, that they were the sons of some unknown king of the Franks, who reigned on the banks of the Necker: but the arguments of *M. de Foncemagne (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. viii. p. 464.)* seem to prove, that the succession of *Clodion* was disputed by his two sons, and that the younger was *Meroveus*, the father of *Childeric*.

²⁷ Under the Merovingian race, the throne was hereditary; but all the sons of the deceased monarch were equally intitled to their share of his treasures and territories. See the *Dissertations of M. de Foncemagne* in the sixth and eighth volumes of the *Mémoires de l'Académie*.

²⁸ A medal is still extant, which exhibits the pleasing countenance of *Honorius*, with the title of *Augusta*; and on the reverse, the improper legend of *Salus Reipublicæ* round the monogram of *Christ*. See *Ducange, Famil. Byzantin.* p. 67. 73.

²⁹ See *Priscus*, p. 39, 40. It might be fairly alleged, that if females could succeed to the throne, *Valentinian* himself, who had married the daughter and heiress of the younger *Theodosius* would have asserted her right to the eastern empire.

³⁰ The adventures of Honoria are imperfectly related by Jornandes, *de Successione Regn.* c. 97. and *de Reb. Get.* c. 42. p. 674.; and in the Chronicles of Prosper, and Marcellinus; but they cannot be made consistent, or probable, unless we separate, by an interval of time and place, her intrigue with Eugenius, and her invitation of Attila.

³¹ Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attilæ bellum stylo me posteris intimaturum cœperam scribere, sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto, tædium inchoasse. Sidon. Apoll. l. viii. epist. 15. p. 246.

³² ——— Subito cum rupta tumultu

Barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos,
Gallia. Pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono
Gepida trux sequitur; Scyrum Burgundio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna, *Toringus*
Bructerus, ulvosâ vel quem Nicer abluit undâ
Prorumpit Francus. Cecidit cito secta bipenni
Hercynia in lintres, et Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis
In campos se Belga tuos. ———

Panegy. Avit. 319, etc.

³³ The most authentic and circumstantial account of this war, is contained in Jornandes (*de Reb. Geticis*, c. 36—41. p. 662—672.), who has sometimes abridged and sometimes transcribed, the larger history of Cassiodorus. Jornandes, a quotation which it would be superfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illustrated by Gregory of Tours, l. 2. c. 5. 6, 7. and the chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, and the two Prosper. All the ancient testimonies are collected and inserted in the *Historians of France*; but the reader should be cautioned against a supposed extract from the Chronicle of Idatius (among the fragments of Fredegarius, tom. ii. p. 462.), which often contradicts the genuine text of the Gallician bishop.

³⁴ The *ancient* legendaries deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times. See the lives of St. Lupus, St. Anianus, the bishops of Metz, Ste. Geneviève, etc. in the *Historians of France*, tom. i. p. 644, 645, 649 tom. iii. p. 369.

³⁵ The scepticism of the count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples*, tom. vii. p. 539, 540.) cannot be reconciled with any principles of reason or criticism. Is not Gregory of Tours precise and positive in his account of the destruction of Metz? At the distance of no more than an hundred years, could he be ignorant, could the people be ignorant, of the fate of a city, the actual residence of his sovereigns, the kings of Austrasia? The learned Count, who seems to have undertaken the apology of Attila, and the Barbarians, appeals to the false Idatius, *parcens civitatibus Germaniæ et Galliæ*, and forgets, that the true Idatius had explicitly affirmed, *plurimæ civitates effractæ*, among which he enumerates Metz.

36

—— Vix liquerat Alpes

Aetius, tenue, et rarum sine milite ducens
 Robur in auxiliis Geticum male credulus agmen
 Incassum propriis præsumens adfore castris.

Panegy. Avit. 328, etc.

³⁷ The policy of Attila, of Ætius, and of the Visigoths, is imperfectly described in the Panegyric of Avitus, and the thirty-sixth chapter of Jornandes. The poet and the historian were both biased by personal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of Avitus; orbis, Avite, salus etc.! The latter is anxious to shew the Goths in the most favourable light. Yet their agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their veracity.

³⁸ The review of the army of Ætius is made by Jornandes, c. 36. p. 664. edit. Grot. tom. ii. p. 23. of the historians of France, with the notes of the Benedictine Editor. The *Læti* were a promiscuous race of Barbarians, born or naturalized in Gaul; and the *Riparii*, or *Ripuarii*, derived their name from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle; the *Armoricans* possessed the independent cities between the Seine and the Loire. A colony of *Saxons* had been planted in the diocese of Bayeux; the *Burgundians* were settled in Savoy; and the *Breones* were a warlike tribe of Rhætians, to the east of the lake of Constance.

³⁹ Aurelianensis urbis obsidio, oppugnatio, irruptio, nec direptio, l. v. Sidon. Apollin. l. viii. epist. 15. p. 246. The preservation of Orleans might easily be turned into a miracle, obtained and foretold, by the holy bishop.

⁴⁰ The common editions read XCM; but there is some authority of manuscripts (and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of XVM.

⁴¹ Châlons, or Duro-Catalaunum, afterwards *Catalauni*, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven miles. See Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 136. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 212. 279.

⁴² The name of Campania, or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours; and that great province, of which Rheims was the capital, obeyed the command of a duke. Vales. Notit. p. 120—123.

⁴³ I am sensible that these military orations are usually composed by the historian; yet the old Ostrogoth, who had served under Attila, might repeat his discourse to Cassiodorus: the ideas, and even the expressions, have an original Scythian cast; and I doubt, whether an Italian of the sixth century, would have thought of the *hujus certaminis gaudia*.

⁴⁴ The expressions of Jornandes, or rather of Cassiodorus, are extremely strong. *Bellum atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax*,

cui simili nulla usquam narrat antiquitas: ubi talia gesta referuntur, ut nihil esset quod in vitâ suâ conspiciere potuisset egregius, qui hujus miraculi privaretur aspectu. Dubos (Hist. critique, tom. i. p. 392, 393.) attempts to reconcile the 162,000 of Jornandes, with the 300,000 of Idatius and Isidore; by supposing, that the larger number included the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the slaughter of the unarmed people, etc.

⁴⁵ The count de Buat (Hist. des peuples, etc. tom. vii. p. 554—573.), still depending on the *false*, and again rejecting the *true* Idatius, has divided the defeat of Attila into two great battles; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne: in the one, Theodoric was slain; in the other, he was revenged.

⁴⁶ Jornandes de rebus Geticis, c. 41. p. 671. The policy of Ætius, and the behaviour of Torismond, are extremely natural; and the patrician, according to Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 7. p. 163.), dismissed the prince of the Franks, by suggesting to him a similar apprehension. The false Idatius ridiculously pretends, that Ætius paid a clandestine, nocturnal, visit to the kings of the Huns and of the Visigoths; from each of whom he obtained a bribe of ten thousand pieces of gold, as the price of an undisturbed retreat.

⁴⁷ These cruelties, which are passionately deplored by Theodoric, the son of Clovis (Gregory of Tours, l. iii. c. 10. p. 190.), suit the time and circumstances of the invasion of Attila. His residence in Thuringia was long attested by popular tradition; and he is supposed to have assembled a *couroultai*, or diet, in the territory of Eisenach. See Mascou, ix. 30. who settles with nice accuracy the extent of ancient Thuringia, and derives its name from the Gothic tribe of the Thervingi.

⁴⁸ Machinis constructis, omnibusque tormentorum generibus adhibitis. Jornandes, c. 42. p. 673. In the thirteenth century, the Moguls battered the cities of China with large engines, constructed by the Mahometans or Christians in their service, which threw stones from 150 to 300 pounds weight. In the defence of their country, the Chinese used gunpowder, and even bombs, above an hundred years before they were known in Europe; yet even those celestial, or infernal, arms were insufficient to protect a pusillanimous nation. See Gaubil. Hist. des Mongous, p. 70, 71. 155. 157, etc.

⁴⁹ The same story is told by Jornandes, and by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 187, 188.): nor is it easy to decide, which is the original. But the Greek historian is guilty of an inexcusable mistake, in placing the siege of Aquileia *after* the death of Ætius.

⁵⁰ Jornandes, about an hundred years afterwards, affirms, that Aquileia was so completely ruined, ita ut vix ejus vestigia, ut appareant, reliquerint. See Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 42. p. 673. Paul. Diacon. l. ii. c. 14. p. 785. Liutprand. Hist. l. iii. c. 2.

The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Forum Julii (Civitas del Friuli), the more recent capital of the Venetian province.

⁵¹ In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous, but so imperfectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians, who considered the subject with some peculiar advantages; Sigonius, de Imperio Occidentali, l. xiii. in his works, tom. i. p. 495—502.; and Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 229—236., 8vo edition.

⁵² This anecdote may be found under two different articles (μεθιολλανον and κορυκος) of the miscellaneous compilation of Suidas.

⁵³ Leo respondit, humanâ hoc pictum manû:
Videres hominem dejectum, si pingere
Leones scirent. Appendix ad Phædrum, Fab. xxv.

The lion in Phædrus very foolishly appeals from pictures to the amphitheatre: and I am glad to observe, that the native taste of La Fontaine (l. iii. fable x.) has omitted this most lame and impotent conclusion.

⁵⁴ Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Longobard. l. ii. c. 14. p. 784.) describes the provinces of Italy about the end of the eighth century. *Venetia* non solum in paucis insulis quas nunc Venetias dicimus, constat; sed ejus terminus a Pannoniæ finibus usque Adduam fluvium protelatur. The history of that province till the age of Charlemagne forms the first and most interesting part of the Verona Illustrata (p. 1—388.), in which the marquis Scipio Maffei has shewn himself equally capable of enlarged views and minute disquisitions.

⁵⁵ This emigration is not attested by any contemporary evidence: but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia retired to the Isle of Gradus, those of Padua to Rivus Altus, or Rialto, where the city of Venice was afterwards built, etc.

⁵⁶ The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, from Gradus to Clodia, or Chioggia, are accurately stated in the Dissertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Medii Ævi, p. 151—155.

⁵⁷ Cassiodor. Variar. l. xii. epist. 24. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 240—254.) has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the præfecture, of Cassiodorius, A. D. 523.; and the marquis's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared an edition of his works, and actually published a Dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 290—339.

⁵⁸ See, in the second volume of Amelot de la Houssaie, Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise, a translation of the famous *Squittenio*. This book, which has been exalted far above its merits, is stained, in every line, with the dissingenuous malevolence of party: but the principal

principal evidence, genuine and apocryphical, is brought together, and the reader will easily chuse the fair medium.

⁵⁹ Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 19.) has published a curious passage from the Chronicle of Prosper. Attila redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit; nihil duce nostro Ætio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente, etc. He reproaches Ætius with neglecting to guard the Alps, and with a design to abandon Italy: but this rash censure may at least be counterbalanced by the favourable testimonies of Idatius and Isidore.

⁶⁰ See the original portraits of Avienus, and his rival Basilus, delineated and contrasted in the epistles (i. 9. p. 22.) of Sidonius. He had studied the characters of the two chiefs of the senate; but he attached himself to Basilus, as the more solid and disinterested friend.

⁶¹ The character and principles of Leo, may be traced in one hundred and forty-one original epistles, which illustrate the ecclesiastical history of his long and busy pontificate, from A. D. 440, to 461. See Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iii. part. ii. p. 120—165.

⁶² ——— tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas

— — — — —
Anne lacus tantos, te Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus, et fremitu assurgens *Benace* marino.

⁶³ The Marquis Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part. i. p. 95. 129. 221; part. ii. p. ii. 6.) has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica, or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and river; ascertains the villa of Catullus, in the delightful peninsula of Sarmio, and discovers the Andes of Virgil, in the village of Bades. precisely situate, quâ se subducere colles incipiunt, where the Veronese hills imperceptibly slope down into the plain of Mantua.

⁶⁴ Si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen esset: sed in Venetiâ quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsâ solâ cœlique clementiâ robur elanguit. Adhuc panis usû carnisque coctæ, et dulcedine vini mitigatos, etc. This passage of Florus (iii. 3.) is still more applicable to the Huns than to the Cimbri, and it may serve as a commentary on the *celestial* plague, with which Idatius and Isidore have afflicted the troops of Attila.

⁶⁵ The historian Priscus had positively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes, c. 42. p. 673.

⁶⁶ The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the basso (or perhaps the alto) relievo of Algardi, on one of the altars of St. Peter's (see Dubos, Reflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture, tom. i. p. 519, 520.). Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 452. N° 57, 58.) bravely sustains the truth of the apparition; which is rejected, however, by the most learned and pious Catholics.

Notes.

A 2

⁶⁷ Attila, ut Priscus historicus refert, extinctionis suæ tempore, puellam Ildico nomine, decoram valde, sibi matrimonium post innumerabiles uxores . . . socians. Jornandes, c. 49. p. 683, 684. He afterwards adds (c. 50. p. 686.), Filii Attilæ, quorum per licentiam libidinis pœne populus fuit. Polygamy has been established among the Tartars of every age. The rank of plebeian wives is regulated only by their personal charms; and the faded matron prepares, without a murmur, the bed which is destined for her blooming rival. But in royal families, the daughters of Khans communicate to their sons a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 406, 407, 408.

⁶⁸ The report of her *guilt* reached Constantinople, where it obtained a very different name; and Marcellinus observes, that the tyrant of Europe was slain in the night by the hand, and the knife, of a woman. Corneille, who has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy, describes the irruption of blood in forty bombast lines, and Attila exclaims, with ridiculous fury,

——— S'il ne veut s'arrêter (*his blood*),
(Dit-il) on me payera ce qui m'en va couler.

⁶⁹ The curious circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila, are related by Jornandes (c. 49. p. 683, 684, 685.), and were probably transcribed from Priscus.

⁷⁰ See Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 50. p. 685, 686, 687, 688. His distinction of the national arms is curious and important. Nam ibi admirandum reor fuisse spectaculum, ubi cernere erat cunctis, pugnantem Gothum ense furem, Gepidam in vulnere suorum cuncta tela frangentem, Suevum pede, Hunnum sagittâ præsumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi, armaturâ, aciem instruere. I am not precisely informed of the situation of the river Netad.

⁷¹ Two modern historians have thrown much new light on the ruin and division of the empire of Attila. M. de Buat, by his laborious and minute diligence (tom. viii. p. 3—31. 68—94.); and M. de Guignes, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writers. See Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 315—319.

⁷² Placidia died at Rome, November 27. A. D. 450. She was buried at Ravenna, where her sepulchre, and even her corpse, seated in a chair of cypress wood, were preserved for ages. The empress received many compliments from the orthodox clergy; and St. Peter Chrysologus assured her, that her zeal for the Trinity had been recompensed by an august trinity of children. See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 240.

⁷³ Aetium Placidus mactavit femivir amens, is the expression of Sidonius (Panegy. Avit. 359.). The poet knew the world, and was not inclined to flatter a minister who had injured or disgraced Avitus and Majorian, the successive heroes of his song.

⁷⁴ With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Ætius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 4. p. 186, 187, 188.) is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memory. His narrative must therefore be supplied and corrected by five or six Chronicles, none of which were composed in Rome or Italy, and which can only express, in broken sentences, the popular rumours, as they were conveyed to Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, or Alexandria.

⁷⁵ This interpretation of Vettius, a celebrated augur, was quoted by Varro, in the xviiiith book of his antiquities. Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, c. 17. p. 90, 91. edit. Haverkamp.

⁷⁶ According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A. D. 447, but the uncertainty of the true æra of Rome might allow some latitude of anticipation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (*de Bell. Getico*, 265.) and Sidonius (*in Panegy. Avit.* 357.), may be admitted as fair witnesses of the popular opinion.

Jam reputant annos, interceptoque volatû
Vulturis, incidunt properatis sæcula metis.

Jam prope fata tui bisseñas Vulturis alas
Implebant; scis namque tuos, scis, Roma, labores.

See Dubos, *Hist. critique*, tom. i. p. 340—346.

⁷⁷ The fifth book of Salvian is filled with pathetic lamentations, and vehement invectives. His immoderate freedom serves to prove the weakness, as well as the corruption, of the Roman government. His book was published after the loss of Africa (A. D. 439.) and before Attila's war (A. D. 451.)

⁷⁸ The Bagaudæ of Spain, who fought pitched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Idatius. Salvian has described their distress and rebellion in very forcible language. *Itaque nomen civium Romanorum . . . nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur, nec vile tamen sed etiam abominabile pœne habetur. . . . Et hinc est ut etiam hi qui ad Barbaros non confugiunt, Barbari tamen esse coguntur, scilicet ut est pars magna Hispanorum, et non minima Gallorum. . . . De Bagaudis nunc mihi sermo est, qui per malos judices et cruentos spoliati, afflicti, necati postquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt. . . . Vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos quos esse compulimus criminosos.* *De Gubernat. Dei*, l. v. p. 158, 159.

CHAP. XXXVI.

¹ Sidonius Apollinaris composed the thirteenth epistle of the second book, to refute the paradox of his friend Serranus, who entertained a singular, though generous, enthusiasm for the deceased emperor. This epistle, with some indulgence, may claim the praise of an elegant composition, and it throws much light on the character of Maximus.

² Clientum, prævia, pedisequa, circumfusa populositas, is the train which Sidonius himself (l. i. epist. 9.) assigns to another senator of consular rank.

³ Districtus ensis cui super impiâ
Cervice pendet, non *Siculæ dapes*
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:
Non avium Citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent.

Horat. Carm. iii. 1.

Sidonius concludes his letter with the story of Damocles, which Cicero (Tusculan. v. 20, 21.) had so inimitably told.

⁴ Notwithstanding the evidence of Procopius, Evagrius, Idatius, Marcellinus, etc. the learned Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 249.) doubts the reality of this invitation, and observes, with great truth, "Non si può dir quanto sia facile il popolo a sognare e spacciar voci false." But his argument, from the interval of time and place, is extremely feeble. The figs which grew near Carthage were produced to the senate of Rome on the third day.

⁵ - - - Infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu
Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.

Sidon. in Panegyri. Avit. 442.

A remarkable line, which insinuates that Rome and Maximus were betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries.

⁶ The apparent success of pope Leo may be justified by Prosper, and the *Historia Miscellan.*; but the improbable notion of Baronius (A. D. 455. N°. 13.), that Genferic spared the three apostolical churches, is not countenanced even by the doubtful testimony of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

⁷ The profusion of Catulus, the first who gilt the roof of the Capitol, was not universally approved (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 18.); but it was far exceeded by the emperor's, and the external gilding of the temple cost Domitian 12,000 talents (2,400,000 l.). The expressions of Claudian and Rutilius (*luce metalli æmulâ . . . fastigia astris*, and *confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus*) manifestly prove, that this splendid covering was not removed either by the Christians or the Goths (See Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. ii. c. 6. p. 125.). It should seem, that the roof of the Capitol was decorated with gilt statues, and chariots drawn by four horses.

⁸ The curious reader may consult the learned and accurate treatise of Hadrian Reland, *de Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcu Titiano Romæ conspicuis*, in 12mo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1716.

⁹ The vessel which transported the relics of the Capitol, was the only one of the whole fleet that suffered shipwreck. If a bigoted sophist, a Pagan bigot, had mentioned the accident, he might have rejoiced, that this cargo of sacrilege was lost in the sea.

¹⁰ See Victor Vitenfis, *de Persecut. Vandal*, l. i. c. 8. p. 11, 12. edit. Ruinart. Deogratias governed the church of Carthage only three years. If he had not been privately buried, his corpse would have been torn piecemeal by the mad devotion of the people.

¹¹ The general evidence for the death of Maximus, and the sack of Rome by the Vandals, is comprised in Sidonius (*Panegy. Avit.* 441—450.), Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 4, 5. p. 188, 189. and l. ii. c. 9. p. 255.), Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7.), Jornandes (*de Reb. Geticis*, c. 45. p. 677.), and the Chronicles of Idatius, Prosper, Marcellinus, and Theophanes, under the proper year.

¹² The private life and elevation of Avitus must be deduced, with becoming suspicion, from the panegyric pronounced by Sidonius Apollinaris, his subject, and his son-in-law.

¹³ After the example of the younger Pliny, Sidonius (l. ii. c. 2.) has laboured the florid, prolix, and obscure description of his villa, which bore the name (*Avitacum*), and had been the property of Avitus. The precise situation is not ascertained. Consult however the notes of Savaron and Sirmond.

¹⁴ Sidonius (l. ii. epist. 9.) has described the country life of the Gallic nobles, in a visit which he made to his friends, whose estates were in the neighbourhood of Nîmes. The morning-hours were spent in the *sphæristerium*, or tennis-court; or in the library, which was furnished with *Latin* authors, profane and religious; the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice served, at dinner and supper, with hot meat (boiled and roast) and wine. During the intermediate time, the company slept, took the air on horseback, and used the warm bath.

¹⁵ Seventy lines of panegyric (505—575.), which describe the importunity of Theodoric and of Gaul, struggling to overcome the modest reluctance of Avitus, are blown away by three words of an honest historian. *Romanum ambisset Imperium* (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 11. in tom. ii. p. 168.).

¹⁶ Isidore, archbishop of Seville, who was himself of the blood royal of the Goths, acknowledges, and almost justifies (*Hist. Goth.* p. 718.) the crime which their slave Jornandes had basely dissembled (c. 43. p. 673.).

¹⁷ This elaborate description (l. i. ep. ii. p. 2—7.) was dictated by some political motive. It was designed for the public eye, and had been shewn by the friends of Sidonius, before it was inserted in

the collection of his epistles. The first book was published separately. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. xvi. p. 264.

¹⁸ I have suppressed, in this portrait of Theodoric, several minute circumstances, and technical phrases which could be tolerable, or indeed intelligible, to those only who, like the contemporaries of Sidonius, had frequented the markets where naked slaves were exposed to sale (Dubos, *Hist. critique* tom. i. p. 404.).

¹⁹ Videas tibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam; celeritatem Italiam; publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam disciplinam.

²⁰ Tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter vincor, et mihi tabula perit ut causa salvetur. Sidonius of Auvergne was not a subject of Theodoric; but he might be compelled to solicit either justice or favour at the court of Thoulouse.

²¹ Theodoric himself had given a solemn and voluntary promise of fidelity, which was understood both in Gaul and Spain.

—— Romæ sum, te duce Amicus,
Principe te, MILES.

Sidon. Panegy. Avit. 511.

²² Quæque finû pelagi jactat se Bracara dives.

Auson. de Claris Urbibus, p. 245.

From the design of the king of the Suevi, it is evident that the navigation from the ports of Galicia to the Mediterranean was known and practised. The ships of Bracara, or Braga, cautiously steered along the coast, without daring to lose themselves in the Atlantic.

²³ This Suevic war is the most authentic part of the Chronicle of Idatius, who, as bishop of Iria Flavia, was himself a spectator and a sufferer. Jornandes (c. 44. p. 675, 676, 677.) has expatiated, with pleasure, on the Gothic victory.

²⁴ In one of the porticoes or galleries belonging to Trajan's library; among the statues of famous writers and orators. Sidon. Apoll. l. ix. epist. 16. p. 284. Carm. viii. p. 350.

²⁵ Luxuriose agere volens a senatoribus projectus est, is the concise expression of Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. in tom. ii. p. 168.). An old Chronicle (in tom. ii. p. 649.) mentions an indecent jest of Avitus, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Treves.

²⁶ Sidonius (Panegy. Anthem. 302, etc.) praises the royal birth of Ricimer, the lawful heir, as he chuses to insinuate, both of the Gothic and Suevic kingdoms.

²⁷ See the Chronicle of Idatius. Jornandes (c. 44. p. 676.) styles him, with some truth, virum egregium, et pene tunc in Italiâ ad exercitum singularem.

²⁸ Parcens innocentie Aviti, is the compassionate, but contemptuous, language of Victor Tunnunenensis (in Chron. apud Scaliger Euseb.). In

another place, he calls him, *vir totius simplicitatis*. This commendation is more humble, but it is more solid and sincere, than the praises of Sidonius.

²⁹ He suffered, as it is supposed, in the persecution of Diocletian (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. v. p. 279. 696.) Gregory of Tours, his peculiar votary, has dedicated, to the glory of Julian the Martyr, an entire book (*de Gloriâ Martyrum*, l. ii. in *Max. Bibliot. Patrum*, tom. xi. p. 861—871.), in which he relates about fifty foolish miracles performed by his relics.

³⁰ Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. p. 168.) is concise, but correct, in the reign of his countryman. The words of Idatius "*caret imperio, caret et vitâ*," seem to imply, that the death of Avitus was violent; but it must have been secret, since Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7.) could suppose, that he died of the plague.

³¹ After a modest appeal to the examples of his brethren, Virgil and Horace, Sidonius honestly confesses the debt, and promises payment.

*Sic mihi diverso nuper sub Marte cadenti
Jussisti placido Victor ut essem animo.
Serviat ergo tibi servati lingua poetæ,
Atque meæ vitæ laus tua sit pretium.*

Sidon. Apoll. carm. iv. p. 308.

See Dubos, *Hist. critique*, tom. i. p. 448, etc.

³² The words of Procopius deserve to be transcribed; *ἄτος γὰρ ὁ Μαιωρίνος ἑμπαντας τῆς πωποτε Ρωμαιῶν βασιλευκοτας υπεραίων ἀρετῇ παση*; and afterwards, *ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν εἰς τῆς υπηκοῆς μετρίος γεγωνος, φοβερος δὲ τὰ εἰς τῆς πολεμίου* (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 7. p. 194.); a concise but comprehensive definition of royal virtue.

³³ The Panegyric was pronounced at Lyons before the end of the year 458, while the emperor was still consul. It has more art than genius, and more labour than art. The ornaments are false or trivial; the expression is feeble and prolix: and Sidonius wants the skill to exhibit the principal figure in a strong and distinct light. The private life of Majorian occupies about two hundred lines, 107—305.

³⁴ She pressed his immediate death, and was scarcely satisfied with his disgrace. It should seem, that Ætius, like Belisarius and Marlborough, was governed by his wife: whose fervent piety, though it might work miracles (*Gregor. Turon.* l. ii. c. 7. p. 162.) was not incompatible with base and sanguinary counsels.

³⁵ The Alemanni had passed the Rætian Alps, and were defeated in the *Campi Canini*, or Valley of Bellinzone, through which the Tesin flows, in its descent from mount Adula, to the Lago Maggiore (*Cluver. Italia Antiq.* tom. i. p. 100, 101.) This boasted victory over *nine hundred* Barbarians (*Panegy. Majorian*, 373, etc.) betrays the extreme weakness of Italy.

³⁶ Imperatorem me factum, P. C. electionis vestræ arbitrio, et fortissimi exercitus ordinatione agnoscite (Novell. Majorian. tit. iii. p. 34. ad Calcem Cod. Theodos.). Sidonius proclaims the unanimous voice of the empire.

————— Postquam ordine vobis
Ordo omnis regnum dederat; *plebs, curia, miles*,
Et *collega* simul. ————— 386.

This language is ancient and constitutional; and we may observe, that the *clergy* were not yet considered as a distinct order of the state.

³⁷ Either *dilationes*, or *delationes*, would afford a tolerable reading; but there is much more sense and spirit in the latter, to which I have therefore given the preference.

³⁸ Ab externo hoste et a domesticâ clade liberavimus: by the latter, Majorian must understand the tyranny of Avitus; whose death he consequently avowed as a meritorious act. On this occasion, Sidonius is fearful and obscure; he describes the twelve Cæsars, the nations of Africa, etc. that he may escape the dangerous name of Avitus. (305—36.)

³⁹ See the whole edict or epistle of Majorian to the senate (Novell. tit. iv. p. 34.) Yet the expression, *regnum nostrum*, bears some taint of the age, and does not mix kindly with the word *respublica*, which he frequently repeats.

⁴⁰ See the laws of Majorian (they are only nine in number, but very long and various), at the end of the Theodosian Code, Novell. l. iv. p. 32—37. Godefroy has not given any commentary on these additional pieces.

⁴¹ *Festas provincialium variâ atque multiplici tributorum exactione fortunas, et extraordinariis fiscalium solutionum oneribus attritas*, etc. Novell. Majorian, tit. iv. p. 34.

⁴² The learned Greaves (vol. i. p. 329, 330, 331.) has found, by a diligent inquiry, that the *aurei* of the Antonines weighed one hundred and eighteen, and those of the fifth century only sixty-eight, English grains. Majorian gives currency to all gold coin, excepting only the *Gallic solidus*, from its deficiency, not in the weight, but in the standard.

⁴³ The whole edict (Novell. Majorian. tit. vi. p. 35.) is curious. “Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio, et ut aliquid reparatur, magna diruntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur, ut etiam unusquisque, privatum ædificium construens, per gratiam judicum præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet,” etc. With equal zeal, but with less power, Petrarch, in the fourteenth century, repeated the same complaints (Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 326, 327.). If I prosecute this History, I shall not be unmindful of the decline and fall of the city of Rome; an interesting object, to which my plan was originally confined.

⁴⁴ The emperor chides the lenity of Rogatian, consular of Tuscany,

in a style of acrimonious reproof, which sounds almost like personal resentment (Novell. tit. ix. p. 37.). The law of Majorian, which punished obstinate widows, was soon afterwards repealed by his successor Severus (Novell. Sever. tit. i. p. 37.)

⁴⁵ Sidon. Panegy. Majorian. 385—440.

⁴⁶ The review of the army, and passage of the Alps, contain the most tolerable passages of the Panegyric (470—552.) M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, etc. tom. viii. p. 49—55.) is a more satisfactory commentator, than either Savaron or Sirmond.

⁴⁷ Τα μὲν ὀπλοῖς, τὰ δὲ λόγοις, is the just and forcible distinction of Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 42.) in a short fragment, which throws much light on the history of Majorian. Jornandes has suppressed the defeat and alliance of the Visigoths, which were solemnly proclaimed in Gallicia; and are marked in the Chronicle of Idatius.

⁴⁸ Florus, l. ii. c. 2. He amuses himself with the poetical fancy, that the trees had been transformed into ships: and indeed the whole transaction, as it is related in the first book of Polybius, deviates too much from the probable course of human events.

⁴⁹ Interea duplici texit dum littore classem

Inferno superoque mari, cedit omnis in æquor

Sylva tibi, etc. —

Sidon. Panegy. Majorian 441—461.

The number of ships, which Priscus fixes at 300, is magnified, by an indefinite comparison with the fleets of Agamemnon, Xerxes, and Augustus.

⁵⁰ Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 194. When Genferic conducted his unknown guest into the arsenal of Carthage, the arms clashed of their own accord. Majorian had tinged his yellow locks with a black colour.

⁵¹ ——— Spoliisque potitus

Immensis, robur luxû jam perdidit omne,

Quo valuit dum pauper erat.

Panegy. Majorian. 330.

He afterwards applies to Genferic, unjustly as it should seem, the vices of his subjects.

⁵² He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs. (Priscus, p. 42.) Dubos (Hist. critique, tom. i. p. 475.) observes, that the magazines which the Moors buried in the earth, might escape his destructive search. Two or three hundred pits are sometimes dug in the same place; and each pit contains at least four hundred bushels of corn. Shaw's Travels, p. 139.

⁵³ Idatius, who was safe in Gallicia from the power of Ricimer, boldly and honestly declares, Vandali per proditores admoniti, etc. he dissembles, however, the name of the traitor.

⁵⁴ Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 194. The testimony of Idatius is fair and impartial; "Majorianum de Galliis Romam redeuntem, et

" Romano imperio vel nomini res necessarias ordinantem; Richimer
 " livore percitus, et *invidorum* consilio fultus, fraude interficit circum-
 " ventum." Some read *Suevorum*, and I am unwilling to efface either
 of the words, as they express the different accomplices who united in
 the conspiracy against Majorian.

⁵⁵ See the Epigrams of Ennodius, N°. cxxxv. inter Sirmond Opera,
 tom. i. p. 1903. It is flat and obscure; but Ennodius was made bishop
 of Pavia fifty years after the death of Majorian, and his praise deserves
 credit and regard.

⁵⁶ Sidonius gives a tedious account (l. i. epist. xi. p. 25—31.) of a
 supper at Arles, to which he was invited by Majorian, a short time
 before his death. He had no intention of praising a deceased emperor;
 but a casual disinterested remark, " Subrisit Augustus; ut erat, aucto-
 " ritate servatâ, cum se communioni dedisset, joci plenus," outweighs
 the six hundred lines of his venal panegyric.

⁵⁷ Sidonius (Panegy. Anthem. 317.) dismisses him to heaven.

Auxerat Augustus naturæ lege Severus

Divorum numerum. ———

And an old list of the emperors, composed about the time of Justinian,
 praises his piety, and fixes his residence at Rome (Sirmond Not. ad
 Sidon. p. 111, 112.).

⁵⁸ Tillemont, who is always scandalized by the virtues of Infidels,
 attributes this advantageous portrait of Marcellinus (which Suidas has
 preserved), to the partial zeal of some Pagan historian (Hist. des
 Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 330.).

⁵⁹ Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. In various circum-
 stances of the life of Marcellinus, it is not easy to reconcile the
 Greek historian with the Latin Chronicles of the times.

⁶⁰ I must apply to Ægidius, the praises which Sidonius (Panegy.
 Majorian, 553.) bestows on a nameless master-general, who com-
 manded the rear-guard of Majorian. Idatius, from public report,
 commends his Christian piety; and Priscus mentions (p. 42.) his
 military virtues.

⁶¹ Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 168. The Pere Daniel,
 whose ideas were superficial and modern, has started some objections
 against the story of Childeric (Hist. de France, tom. i. Preface
 Historique, p. lxxviii. etc.): but they have been fairly satisfied by
 Dubos (Hist. critique, tom. i. p. 460—510.), and by two authors
 who disputed the prize of the Academy of Soissons (p. 131—177.
 310—339.). With regard to the term of Childeric's exile, it is
 necessary either to prolong the life of Ægidius beyond the date assigned
 by the Chronicle of Idatius; or to correct the text of Gregory, by
 reading *quarto* anno, instead of *octavo*.

⁶² The naval war of Genseric is described by Priscus (Excerpta
 Legation, p. 42.), (Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 189, 190.
 and c. 22. p. 228.), Victor Vitenfis (de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 17.),

and Ruinart, p. 467—481.), and in the three panegyrics of Sidonius, whose chronological order is absurdly transposed in the editions both of Savaron and Sirmond. (Avit. Carm. vii. 441—451. Majorian, Carm. v. 327—350. 385—440. Anthem. Carm. ii. 348—386) In one passage the poet seems inspired by his subject, and expresses a strong idea, by a lively image:

— Hinc Vandalus hostis
Urget; et in nostrum numerosâ classe quotannis
Militat excidium; converfoque ordine Fati
Torrida Caucaſeos infert mihi Byrsa furores.

⁶³ The poet himself is compelled to acknowledge the distress of Ricimer :

Præterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata
Respiciunt, *proprio* solus vix Marte repellit
Piratam per rura vagum —

Italy addresses her complaint to the Tyber, and Rome, at the solicitation of the river god, transports herself to Constantinople, renounces her ancient claims, and implores the friendship of Aurora, the goddess of the East. This fabulous machinery, which the genius of Claudian had used and abused, is the constant and miserable resource of the muse of Sidonius.

⁶⁴ The original authors of the reigns of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno, are reduced to some imperfect fragments, whose deficiencies must be supplied from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Cedrenus.

⁶⁵ St. Pulcheria died. A. D. 453, four years before her nominal husband; and her festival is celebrated on the 10th of September by the modern Greeks: she bequeathed an immense patrimony to pious, or at least to ecclesiastical, uses. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiast. tom. xv. p. 181—184.

⁶⁶ See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 185.

⁶⁷ From this disability of Aspar to ascend the throne, it may be inferred that the stain of *Heresy* was perpetual and indelible, while that of *Barbarism* disappeared in the second generation.

⁶⁸ Theophanes, p. 95. This appears to be the first origin of a ceremony, which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted; and from which the Clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences.

⁶⁹ Cedrenus (p. 345, 346.), who was conversant with the writers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar, βασιλεὺς τὸν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλεργίδα περιβεβλημῆνον & χεὶρ διαλευθεσθαι.

⁷⁰ The power of the Isaurians agitated the Eastern empire in the two succeeding reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; but it ended in the destruction of those Barbarians, who maintained their fierce independence about two hundred and thirty years.

71 ———— Tali tu civis ab urbe

Procopio genitore micas; cui prisca propago

Augustis venit a proavis.

The poet (Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. 67—306.) then proceeds to relate the private life and fortunes of the future emperor, with which he must have been very imperfectly acquainted.

72 Sidonius discovers, with tolerable ingenuity, that this disappointment added new lustre to the virtues of Anthemius (210, etc.), who declined one sceptre, and reluctantly accepted another (22, etc.).

73 The poet again celebrates the unanimity of all orders of the state (15—22.): and the Chronicle of Idatius mentions the forces which attended his march.

74 *Interveni autem nuptiis Patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Augusti in spem publicæ securitatis copulabatur.* The journey of Sidonius from Lyons, and the festival of Rome, are described with some spirit, L. i. epist. 5. p. 9—13. Epist. 9. p. 21.

75 Sidonius (l. i. epist. 9. p. 23, 24.) very fairly states his motive, his labour, and his reward. "*Hic ipse Panegyricus, si non iudicium, certe eventum, boni operis, accepit.*" He was made bishop of Clermont, A. D. 471. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xvi. p. 750.

76 The palace of Anthemius stood on the banks of the Propontis. In the ninth century. Alexius, the son-in-law of the emperor Theophilus, obtained permission to purchase the ground; and ended his days in a monastery which he founded on that delightful spot. Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, p. 117. 152.

77 Papa Hilarius . . . apud beatum Petrum Apostolum, palam ne id fieret clarâ voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interpositione juramenti idem promitteret Imperator. Gelasius Epistol. ad Andronicum, apud Baron. A. D. 467. N°. 3. The cardinal observes, with some complacency, that it was much easier to plant heresies at Constantinople, than at Rome.

78 Damascius, in the life of the philosopher Isidore, apud Photium, p. 1049. Damascius, who lived under Justinian, composed another work, consisting of 570 preternatural stories of souls, dæmons, apparitions, the dotage of Platonic Paganism.

79 In the poetical works of Sidonius, which he afterwards condemned (ix. epist. 16. p. 285.), the fabulous deities are the principal actors. If Jerom was scourged by the angels for only reading Virgil; the bishop of Clermont, for such a vile imitation, deserved an additional whipping from the muses.

80 Ovid. Fast. l. ii. 267—452.) has given an amusing description of the follies of antiquity, which still inspired so much respect, that a grave magistrate, running naked through the streets, was not an object of astonishment or laughter.

81 See Dionys. Halicarn. l. i. p. 25. 65. edit. Hudson. The Roman

Antiquaries, Donatus, (l. ii. c. 18. p. 173, 174.) and Nardini (p. 386, 387.), have laboured to ascertain the true situation of the Lupercal.

⁸² Baronius published, from the MSS. of the Vatican, this epistle of pope Gelasius (A. D. 496. N^o 28—45.), which is entitled *Adversus Andromachum Senatorem, cæterosque Romanos; qui Lupercalia secundum morem pristinum colenda constituebat*. Gelasius always supposes that his adversaries are nominal Christians, and that he may not yield to them in absurd prejudice, he imputes to this harmless festival, all the *calamities* of the age.

⁸³ Itaque nos quibus totius mundi regimen commisit superna provi-
sio Pius et triumphator semper Augustus filius noster Anthemius,
licet Divina Majestas et nostra creatio pietati ejus plenam Imperii
commiserit potestatem, etc. . . . Such is the dignified style of Leo,
whom Anthemius respectfully names, Dominus et Pater meus Princeps
sacratissimus Leo. See Novell. Anthem. tit. ii, iii. p. 38. ad calcem
Cod. Theod.

⁸⁴ The expedition of Heraclius is clouded with difficulties (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 640.), and it requires some dexterity to use the circumstances afforded by Theophanes, without injury to the more respectable evidence of Procopius.

⁸⁵ The march of Cato from Berenice, in the province of Cyrene, was much longer than that of Heraclius from Tripoli. He passed the deep sandy desert in thirty days, and it was found necessary to provide, besides the ordinary supplies, a great number of skins filled with water, and several *Psylli*, who were supposed to possess the art of sucking the wounds which had been made by the serpents of their native country. See Plutarch in Caton. Uticens. tom. iv. p. 275. Strabon. Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1193.

⁸⁶ The principal sum is clearly expressed by Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. vi. p. 191.*); the smaller constituent parts, which Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 396.) has laboriously collected from the Byzantine writers, are less certain, and less important. The historian Malchus laments the public misery (*Excerpt. ex Suida in Corp. Hist. Byzant. p. 58.*); but he is surely unjust, when he charges Leo with hoarding the treasures which he extorted from the people.

⁸⁷ This promontory is forty miles from Carthage (Procop. l. i. c. 8. p. 192.) and twenty leagues from Sicily (Shaw's Travels, p. 89.). Scipio landed farther in the bay, at the fair promontory; see the animated description of Livy, xxix. 26, 27.

⁸⁸ Theophanes (p. 100.) affirms that many ships of the Vandals were sunk. The assertion of Jornandes (*de Successione Regn.*), that Basiliscus attacked Carthage, must be understood in a very qualified sense.

⁸⁹ Damascius in Vit. Isidor. apud Phot. p. 1048. It will appear; by comparing the three short chronicles of the times, that Marcellinus had fought near Carthage, and was killed in Sicily.

⁹⁰ For the African war, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191, 192, 193.), Theophanes (p. 99, 100, 101.), Cedrenus (p. 349, 350.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 50, 51.). Montesquieu (Considérations sur la Grandeur, etc. c. xx. tom. iii. 497.) has made a judicious observation on the failure of these great naval armaments.

⁹¹ Jornandes is our best guide through the reigns of Theodoric II. and Euric (de Rebus Geticis, c. 44, 45, 46, 47. p. 675—681.). Idatius ends too soon, and Isidore is too sparing of the information which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to Gaul are laboriously illustrated in the third book of the Abbé Dubos, Hist. critique, tom. i. p. 424—620.

⁹² See Mariana, Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. v. c. 5. p. 162.

⁹³ An imperfect, but original, picture of Gaul, more especially of Auvergne, is shewn by Sidonius; who, as a senator, and afterwards as a bishop, was deeply interested in the fate of his country. See l. v. epist. i. 5. 9, etc.

⁹⁴ Sidonius, l. iii. epist. 3. p. 65—68. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 24. in tom. ii. p. 174. Jornandes, c. 45. p. 675. Perhaps Ecdicius was only the son-in-law of Avitus, his wife's son by another husband.

⁹⁵ Si nullæ a republicâ vires, nulla præsidia, si nullæ, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes, statuit, te auctore, nobilitas seu patriam dimittere seu capillos (Sidon. l. ii. epist. i. p. 33.). The last words (Sirmond Not. p. 25.) may likewise denote the clerical tonsure, which was indeed the choice of Sidonius himself.

⁹⁶ The history of these Britons may be traced in Jornandes (c. 45. p. 678.), Sidonius (l. iii. epistol. 9. p. 73, 74.), and Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 18. in tom. ii. p. 170.). Sidonius (who styles these mercenary troops argutos, armatos, tumultuosos, virtute, numero, contubernio, contumaces) addresses their general in a tone of friendship and familiarity.

⁹⁷ See Sidonius, l. i. epist. 7. p. 15—20, with Sirmond's notes. This letter does honour to his heart, as well as to his understanding. The prose of Sidonius, however vitiated by a false and affected taste, is much superior to his insipid verses.

⁹⁸ When the Capitol ceased to be a temple, it was appropriated to the use of the civil magistrate; and it is still the residence of the Roman senator. The jewellers, etc. might be allowed to expose their precious wares in the porticoes.

⁹⁹ Hæc ad regem Gothorum, charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Græco Imperatore dissuadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos impug-nari oportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans.

¹⁰⁰ *Senatusconsultum Tiberianum* (Sirmond Not. p. 17.); but that law allowed only ten days between the sentence and execution: the remaining twenty were added in the reign of Theodosius.

¹⁰¹ *Catilina seculi nostri*. Sidonius, l. ii. epist. 1. p. 33; l. v. epist. 13. p. 143; l. vii. epist. 7. p. 185. He execrates the crimes, and applauds the punishment, of Seronatus, perhaps with the indignation of a virtuous citizen, perhaps with the resentment of a personal enemy.

¹⁰² Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, defeated and slew in battle Beorgor, king of the Alani (Jornandes, c. 45. p. 678.). His sister had married the king of the Burgundians, and he maintained an intimate connection with the Suevic colony established in Pannonia and Noricum.

¹⁰³ *Galatam concitatum*. Sirmond (in his notes to Ennodius) applies this appellation to Anthemius himself. The emperor was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose inhabitants, the Gallo-Grecians, were supposed to unite the vices of a savage, and a corrupted, people.

¹⁰⁴ Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia (A. D. 467—497; see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. xvi. p. 789.). His name and actions would have been unknown to posterity, if Ennodius, one of his successors, had not written his life (Sirmond Opera, tom. i. p. 1647—1692.); in which he represents him as one of the greatest characters of the age.

¹⁰⁵ Ennodius (p. 1659—1664.) has related this embassy of Epiphanius; and his narrative, verbose and turgid as it must appear, illustrates some curious passages in the fall of the Western empire.

¹⁰⁶ Priscus Excerpt. Legation. p. 74. Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. Eudoxia and her daughter were restored after the death of Majorian. Perhaps the consulship of Olybrius (A. D. 464.) was bestowed as a nuptial present.

¹⁰⁷ The hostile appearance of Olybrius is fixed (notwithstanding the opinion of Pagi) by the duration of his reign. The secret connivance of Leo is acknowledged by Theophanes, and the Paschal Chronicle. We are ignorant of his motives; but, in this obscure period, our ignorance extends to the most public and important facts.

¹⁰⁸ Of the fourteen regions, or quarters, into which Rome was divided by Augustus, only *one*, the Janiculum, lay on the Tuscan side of the Tyber. But, in the fifth century, the Vatican suburb formed a considerable city; and in the ecclesiastical distribution, which had been recently made by Simplicius, the reigning pope, *two* of the *seven* regions, or parishes, of Rome, depended on the church of St. Peter. See Nardini *Roma Antica*, p. 67. It would require a tedious dissertation to mark the circumstances, in which I am inclined to depart from the topography of that learned Roman.

¹⁰⁹ Nuper Anthemii et Ricimeris civili furore subversa est. Gelasius in Epist. ad Andromach. apud Baron. A. D. 496. N°. 42. Sigonius (tom. i. l. xiv. de Occidentali Imperio, p. 542, 543.) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 308, 309.), with the aid of a less imperfect MS. of the Historia Miscella, have illustrated this dark and bloody transaction.

¹¹⁰ Such had been the *sæva ac deformis urbe totâ facies*, when Rome was assaulted and stormed by the troops of Vespasian (see Tacit. Hist. iii. 82, 83.); and every cause of mischief had since acquired much additional energy. The revolution of ages may bring round the same calamities; but ages may revolve, without producing a Tacitus to describe them.

¹¹¹ See Ducange, Familix Byzantin. p. 74, 75. Areobindus, who appears to have married the niece of the emperor Justinian, was the eighth descendant of the elder Theodosius.

¹¹² The last revolutions of the Western empire are faintly marked in Theophanes (p. 102.), Jornandes (c. 45. p. 679.), the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Fragments of an anonymous writer, published by Valesius at the end of Ammianus (p. 716, 717.). If Photius had not been so wretchedly concise, we should derive much information from the contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus. See his Extracts, p. 172—179.

¹¹³ See Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 28. in tom. ii. p. 175. Dubos, Hist. critique, tom. i. p. 613. By the murder, or death, of his two brothers, Gundobald acquired the sole possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, whose ruin was hastened by their discord.

¹¹⁴ Julius Nepos armis pariter summus Augustus ac moribus. Sidonius, l. v. ep. 16. p. 146. Nepos had given to Ecdicius the title of patrician, which Anthemius had promised, *decessoris Anthemii fidem absolvit*. See l. viii. ep. 7. p. 224.

¹¹⁵ Epiphanius was sent ambassador from Nepos to the Visigoths, for the purpose of ascertaining the *fines Imperii Italici* (Ennodius in Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1665. 1669.). His pathetic discourse concealed the disgraceful secret, which soon excited the just and bitter complaints of the bishop of Clermont.

¹¹⁶ Malchus, apud Phot. p. 172. Ennod. Epigram. lxxxii. in Sirmond. Oper. tom. i. p. 1879. Some doubt may however be raised on the identity of the emperor and the archbishop.

¹¹⁷ Our knowledge of these mercenaries, who subverted the Western empire, is derived from Procopius (de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. i. p. 308.). The popular opinion, and the recent historians, represent Odoacer in the false light of a *stranger*, and a *king*, who invaded Italy with an army of foreigners, his native subjects.

¹¹⁸ Orestes, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit, se illi junxit, et ejus notarius factus fuerat. Anonym. Vales. p. 716. He is mistaken

mistaken in the date; but we may credit his assertion, that the secretary of Attila was the father of Augustulus.

¹¹⁹ See Ennodius (in Vit. Epiphan. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1669, 1670.). He adds weight to the narrative of Procopius, though we may doubt whether the devil actually contrived the siege of Pavia, to distress the bishop and his flock.

¹²⁰ Jornandes, c. 53, 54. p. 692—695. M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. viii. p. 221—228.) has clearly explained the origin and adventures of Odoacer. I am almost inclined to believe, that he was the same who pillaged Angers, and commanded a fleet of Saxon pirates on the ocean. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 18. in tom. ii. p. 170.

¹²¹ Vade ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus: sed multis cito plurima largiturus. Anonym. Vales. p. 717. He quotes the life of St. Severinus, which is extant, and contains much unknown and valuable history; it was composed by his disciple Eugipius (A. D. 511.), thirty years after his death. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xvi. p. 168—181.

¹²² Theophanes, who calls him a Goth, affirms, that he was educated, nursed (*τραφεύτος*), in Italy (p. 102.), and as this strong expression will not bear a literal interpretation, it must be explained by long service in the Imperial guards.

¹²³ Nomen regis Odoacer assumpsit, cum tamen neque purpurâ nec regalibus uteretur insignibus. Cassiodor. in Chron. A. D. 476. He seems to have assumed the abstract title of a king, without applying it to any particular nation or country.

¹²⁴ Malchus, whose loss excites our regret, has preserved (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 93.) this extraordinary embassy from the senate to Zeno. The anonymous fragment (p. 717.), and the extract from Candidus (apud Phot. p. 176.), are likewise of some use.

¹²⁵ The precise year in which the Western empire was extinguished, is not positively ascertained. The vulgar æra of A. D. 476, appears to have the sanction of authentic chronicles. But the two dates assigned by Jornandes (c. 46. p. 680), would delay that great event to the year 479: and though M. de Buat has overlooked *his* evidence, he produces (tom. viii. p. 261—288.) many collateral circumstances in support of the same opinion.

¹²⁶ See his medals in Ducange (Fam. Byzantin. p. 81.), Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 56. Maffei Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 314.). We may allege a famous and similar case. The meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the *illustrious* name of *Patricius*, which, by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation.

¹²⁷ Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cujus infantiam misertus concessit ei sanguinem; et quia pulcher erat, tamen donavit ei redditum sex millia solidos, et misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Anonym. Vales. p. 716.

Jornandes says (c. 46. p. 680.), in Lucullano Campaniæ castello exiliæ pœna damnavit.

¹²⁸ See the eloquent Declamation of Seneca (epist. lxxxvi.). The philosopher might have recollected, that all luxury is relative; and that the elder Scipio, whose manners were polished by study and conversation, was himself accused of that vice by his ruder contemporaries (Livy, xxix. 19.).

¹²⁹ Sylla, in the language of a foldier, praised his *peritia castrametandi* (Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 7.). Phædrus, who makes its shady walks (*læta viridia*) the scene of an insipid fable (ii. 5.), has thus described the situation:

Cæsar Tiberius quam petens Neapolim,
In Misenensem villam venisset suam;
Quæ monte summo posita Luculli manu
Prospectat Siculum et prospicit Tuscum mare.

¹³⁰ From seven myriads and a half to two hundred and fifty myriads of drachmæ. Yet even in the possession of Marius, it was a luxurious retirement. The Romans derided his indolence: they soon bewailed his activity. See Plutarch, in Mario, tom. ii. p. 524.

¹³¹ Lucullus had other villas of equal, though various, magnificence, at Baiæ, Naples, Tusculum, etc. He boasted that he changed his climate with the storks and cranes. Plutarch, in Lucull. tom. iii. p. 193.

¹³² Severinus died in Noricum, A. D. 482. Six years afterwards, his body, which scattered miracles as it passed, was transported by his disciples into Italy. The devotion of a Neapolitan lady invited the saint to the Lucullan villa, in the place of Augustulus, who was probably no more. See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 496. N°. 50, 51.) and Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. xvi. p. 178—181.), from the original life by Eugippius. The narrative of the last migration of Severinus to Naples, is likewise an authentic piece.

¹³³ The consular Fasti may be found in Pagi or Muratori. The consuls named by Odoacer, or perhaps by the Roman senate, appear to have been acknowledged in the Eastern empire.

¹³⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. epist. 9. p. 22. edit. Sirmond) has compared the two leading senators of his time (A. D. 468.), Gennadius Avienus, and Cæcina Basilus. To the former he assigns the specious, to the latter the solid, virtues of public and private life. A. Basilus junior, possibly his son, was consul in the year 480.

¹³⁵ Epiphanius interceded for the people of Pavia; and the king first granted an indulgence of five years, and afterwards relieved them from the oppression of Pelagius, the Prætorian præfect (Ennodius, in Vit. St. Epiphan. in Sirmond. Oper. tom. i. p. 1670. 1672.).

¹³⁶ See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 483. N°. 10—15. Sixteen years afterwards, the irregular proceedings of Basilus were condemned by pope Symmachus in a Roman synod.

¹³⁷ The wars of Odoacer are concisely mentioned by Paul the Deacon (*de Gest. Langobard*, l. i. c. 19. p. 757. edit. Grot.), and in the two Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Cuspinian. The life of St. Severinus, by Eugippius, which the count de Buat. (*Hist. des Peuples*, etc. tom. viii. c. 1. 4. 8, 9.) has diligently studied, illustrates the ruin of Noricum and the Bavarian antiquities.

¹³⁸ Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 53. The *Recherches sur l'Administration des Terres chez les Romains* (p. 351—361.) clearly state the progress of internal decay.

¹³⁹ A famine, which afflicted Italy at the time of the irruption of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, is eloquently described in prose and verse, by a French poet (*Les Mois*, tom. ii. p. 174. 206. edit. in 12mo.). I am ignorant from whence he derives his information; but I am well assured that he relates some facts incompatible with the truth of history.

¹⁴⁰ See the xxxixth epistle of St. Ambrose, as it is quoted by Muratori, *sopra le Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. Dissert. xxi. p. 354.

¹⁴¹ *Æmilia, Tuscia, ceteræque provinciæ in quibus hominum prope nullus existit.* Gelasius, *Epist. ad Andromachum*, ap. Baronium, *Annal. Eccles. A. D. 496. N°. 36.*

¹⁴² *Verumque contentibus, latifundia perdidere Italiam.* Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xviii. 7.

¹⁴³ Such are the topics of consolation, or rather of patience, which Cicero (*ad Familiares*, l. ix. epist. 17.) suggests to his friend Papirius Pætus, under the military despotism of Cæsar. The argument, however, of "*vivere pulcherrimum duxi*," is more forcibly addressed to a Roman philosopher, who possessed the free alternative of life or death.

CHAP. XXXVII.

¹ The origin of the monastic institution has been laboriously discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1419—1426.) and Helyot (*Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 1—66.). These authors are very learned and tolerably honest, and their difference of opinion shews the subject in its full extent. Yet the cautious Protestant, who distrusts any popish guides, may consult the seventh book of Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*.

² See Euseb. *Demonstrat. Evangel.* (l. i. p. 20, 21. edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1545.). In his *Ecclesiastical History*, published twelve years after the Demonstration, Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17.) asserts the Christianity of the Therapeutæ; but he appears ignorant, that a similar institution was actually revived in Egypt.

³ Cassian (Collat. xviii. 5.) claims this origin for the institution of the *Cænobites*, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Antony and his disciples.

⁴ Ωφελιμωτατον γαρ τι χρημα ει ανθρωπος ελθουσα παρα Θεου η τοιαυτη φιλοσοφια. These are the expressive words of Sozomen, who copiously and agreeably describes (l. i. c. 12, 13, 14.) the origin and progress of this monkish philosophy (see Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 1441.). Some modern writers, Lipsius (tom. iv. p. 448. Manuduct. ad Philos. Stoic. iii. 13.), and La Mothe le Vayer (tom. ix. de la Vertu des Payens, p. 228—262.), have compared the Carmelites to the Pythagoreans, and the Cynics to the Capucins.

⁵ The Carmelites derive their pedigree, in regular succession, from the prophet Elijah (see the Theses of Beziers, A. D. 1682. in Bayle's Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Oeuvres, tom. i. p. 82, etc. and the prolix irony of the Ordres Monastiques, an anonymous work, tom. i. p. 1—433. Berlin, 1751.). Rome, and the inquisition of Spain, silenced the profane criticism of the Jesuits of Flanders (Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 282—300.), and the statue of Elijah, the Carmelite, has been erected in the church of St. Peter (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. iii. p. 87.).

⁶ Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 15. Gens sola, et in toto orbe præter ceteras mira, sine ullâ feminâ, omni venere abdicatâ, sine pecuniâ, socia palmarum. Ita per seculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est in quâ nemo nascitur. Tam fecunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est. He places them just beyond the noxious influence of the lake, and names Engaddi and Masada as the nearest towns. The Laura, and monastery of St. Sabas, could not be far distant from this place. See Reland. Palestin. tom. i. p. 295. tom. ii. p. 763. 874. 880. 890.

⁷ See Athanas. Op. tom. ii. p. 450—505. and the Vit. Patrum, p. 26—74. with Rosweyde's Annotations. The former is the Greek original; the latter, a very ancient Latin version by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerom.

⁸ Γραμματα μὲν μάθῃν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. Athanas. tom. ii. in Vit. St. Anton. p. 452.; and the assertion of his total ignorance has been received by many of the ancients and moderns. But Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 666.) shews, by some probable arguments, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic his native tongue; and that he was only a stranger to the *Greek letters*. The philosopher Synesius (p. 51.) acknowledges, that the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning.

⁹ *Aruræ* autem erant ei trecentæ uberes, et valde optimæ (Vit. Patr. l. i. p. 36.). If the *Arura* be a square measure of a hundred Egyptian cubits (Rosweyde, Onomasticon ad Vit. Patrum. p. 1014, 1015.); and the Egyptian cubit of all ages be equal to twenty-two

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English inches (Greaves, vol. i. p. 233.), the arura will consist of about three quarters of an English acre.

¹⁰ The description of the monastery is given by Jerom (tom. i. p. 248, 249. in Vit. Hilarion), and the P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. v. p. 122—200.). Their accounts cannot always be reconciled: the Father painted from his fancy, and the Jesuit from his experience.

¹¹ Jerom, tom. i. p. 146. ad Eustochium. Hist. Lausiac. c. 7. in Vit. Patrum, p. 712. The P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 29—79.) visited, and has described, this desert, which now contains four monasteries, and twenty or thirty monks. See D'Anville Description de l'Egypte, p. 74.

¹² Tabenne is a small island in the Nile, in the diocese of Tentyra or Dendera, between the modern town of Girge and the ruins of ancient Thebes (D'Anville, p. 192.). M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an isle; but I may conclude, from his own facts, that the primitive name was afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Pabau (Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. p. 678. 688.).

¹³ See in the Codex Regularum (published by Lucas Holstenius, Rome, 1661.) a preface of St. Jerom to his Latin version of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. i. p. 61.

¹⁴ Rufin. c. 5. in Vit. Patrum, p. 459. He calls it, civitas ampla valde et populosa, and reckons twelve churches. Strabo (l. xvii. p. 1166.), and Ammianus (xxii. 16.) have made honourable mention of Oxyrinchus, whose inhabitants adored a small fish in a magnificent temple.

¹⁵ Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantæ pæne habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum. Rufin. c. 7. in Vit. Patrum, p. 461. He congratulates the fortunate change.

¹⁶ The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy, is occasionally mentioned by Jerom (tom. i. p. 119, 120. 199.).

¹⁷ See the Life of Hilarion, by St. Jerom (tom. i. p. 241. 252.). The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the same author, are admirably told; and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common sense.

¹⁸ His original retreat was in a small village on the banks of the Iris, not far from Neo-Cæsarea. The ten or twelve years of his monastic life were disturbed by long and frequent avocations. Some critics have disputed the authenticity of his Ascetic rules; but the external evidence is weighty, and they can only prove, that it is the work of a real or affected enthusiast. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. ix. p. 636—644. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 175—181.

¹⁹ See his Life, and the Three Dialogues by Sulpicius Severus, who asserts (Dialog. i. 16.), that the booksellers of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready sale of his popular work.

²⁰ When Hilarion sailed from Parætonium to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Gospels. Posthumian, a Gallic monk, who had visited Egypt, found a merchant-ship bound from Alexandria to Marfeilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 1.). Anathasius, who addressed his Life of St. Antony to the foreign monks, was obliged to hasten the composition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the fleets (tom. ii. p. 451.).

²¹ See Jerom (tom. i. p. 126.) Affemanni, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 92. p. 857—919. and Geddes, Church History of Æthiopia, p. 2, 30, 31. The Habyssinian monks adhere very strictly to the primitive institution.

²² Cambden's Britannia, vol. i. p. 666, 667.

²³ All that learning can extract from the rubbish of the dark ages is copiously stated by archbishop Usher, in his Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, cap. xvi. p. 425—503.

²⁴ This small, though not barren, spot, Iona, Hy, or Columbkil, only two miles in length, and one mile in breadth, has been distinguished, 1. By the monastery of St. Columba, founded A. D. 566; whose abbot exercised an extraordinary jurisdiction over the bishops of Caledonia. 2. By a *classic* library, which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy; and, 3. By the tombs of sixty kings, Scots, Irish, and Norwegians; who reposed in holy ground. See Usher (p. 311, 360—370.), and Buchanan (Rer. Scot. l. ii. p. 15. edit. Ruddiman.)

²⁵ Chrysostom (in the first tome of the Benedictine edition) has consecrated three books to the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged by the example of the ark, to presume, that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved (l. i. p. 55, 56.). Elsewhere indeed he becomes more merciful (l. iii. p. 83, 84.), and allows different degrees of glory like the sun, moon, and stars. In his lively comparison of a king and a monk (l. iii. p. 116—121.), he supposes (what is hardly fair) that the king will be more sparingly rewarded, and more rigorously punished.

²⁶ Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 426—1469.), and Mabillon (Oeuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 115—158.). The monks were gradually adopted as a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

²⁷ Dr. Middleton (vol. i. p. 110) liberally censures the conduct and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and successful advocates for the monastic life.

²⁸ Jerom's devout ladies form a very considerable portion of his works: the particular treatise, which he styles the Epitaph of Paula (tom. i. p. 169—192.), is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The exordium is ridiculously turgid: "If all the members of my body were changed into tongues, and if all my limbs resounded with a human voice, yet should I be incapable, etc.

²⁹ Socrus Dei esse cœpisti (Jerom. tom. i. p. 140. ad Eustochium), Rufinus (in Hieronym. Op. tom. iv. p. 223.), who was justly scandalized asks his adversary, From what Pagan poet he had stolen an expression so impious and absurd?

³⁰ Nunc autem veniunt *plerumque* ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei, et ex conditione servili, vel etiam liberati, vel propter hoc a Dominis liberati sive liberandi; et ex vitâ rusticanâ, et ex opificum exercitatione, et plebeio labore. Augustin. de Oper. Monach. c. 22. ap. Thomassin. Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1094. The Egyptian, who blamed Arsenius, owned that he led a more comfortable life as a monk, than as a shepherd. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 679.

³¹ A Dominican friar (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. i. p. 10.), who lodged at Cadix in a convent of his brethren, soon understood, that their repose was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion; "quoiqu'on ne laisse pas de sonner pour l'édification du peuple."

³² See a very sensible preface of Lucas Holstenius to the Codex Regularum. The emperors attempted to support the obligation of public and private duties; but the feeble dykes were swept away by the torrent of superstition; and Justinian surpassed the most sanguine wishes of the monks (Thomassin, tom. i. p. 1782—1799. and Bingham. l. vii. c. 3. p. 253.).

³² The monastic institutions, particularly those of Egypt, about the year 400, are described by four curious and devout travellers; Rufinus (Vit. Patrum, l. ii, iii. p. 424—536.), Posthumian (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i.), Palladius (Hist. Lausiæ. in Vit. Patrum, p. 709—863.), and Cassian (see in tom. vii. Bibliothec. Max. Patrum, his four first books of Institutes, and the twenty-four Collations or conferences.).

³³ The example of Malchus (Jerom. tom. i. p. 256.), and the design of Cassian and his friend (Collation xxiv. 1.) are incontestable proofs of their freedom; which is elegantly described by Erasmus in his Life of St. Jerom. See Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, tom. vi. p. 279—300.

³⁴ See the laws of Justinian (Novel. cxxiii. N° 42.), and of Lewis the Pious (in the Historians of France, tom. vi. p. 427.), and the actual jurisprudence of France, in Denisart (Décisions, etc. tom. iv. p. 855, etc.).

³⁵ The ancient Codex Regularum, collected by Benedict Anianinus, the reformer of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and published in the seventeenth, by Lucas Holstenius, contains thirty different rules for men and women. Of these, seven were composed in Egypt, one in the East, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in Gaul, or France, and one in England.

³⁶ The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the West, inflicts one hundred lashes for very slight offences (Cod. Reg. part. ii. p. 174.). Before the time of Charlemagne, the abbots indulged themselves in mutilating their monks, or putting out their eyes; a punishment much less cruel than the tremendous *vade in pace* (the subterraneous dungeon, or sepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable discourse of the learned Mabillon (*Oeuvres Posthumes*, tom. ii. p. 321—336); who, on this occasion, seems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. For such an effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy tear of Vendome (p. 361—399.).

³⁷ Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 12, 13, p. 532, etc. Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 26, 27. “*Præcipua ibi virtus et prima est obedientia.*” Among the *verba seniorum* (in Vit. Patrum. l. v. p. 617.), the fourteenth libel or discourse is on the subject of obedience; and the Jesuit Rosweyde, who published that huge volume for the use of convents, has collected all the scattered passages in his two copious indexes.

³⁸ Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 161.) has observed the scandalous valour of the Cappadocian monks, which was exemplified in the banishment of Chrysostom.

³⁹ Cassian has simply, though copiously, described the monastic habit of Egypt (Institut. l. i.), to which Sozomen (l. iii. c. 14.) attributes such allegorical meaning and virtue.

⁴⁰ Regul. Benedict. N° 55. in Cod. Regul. part. ii. p. 51.

⁴¹ See the Rule of Ferreolus, bishop of Uzez N° 31. in Cod. Regul. part. ii. p. 136.), and of Isidore, bishop of Seville (N° 13. in Cod. Regul. part. ii. p. 214.).

⁴² Some partial indulgences were granted for the hands and feet, “*Totum autem corpus nemo unguet nisi causâ infirmitatis, nec lavabitur aquâ nudo corpore, nisi languor perspicuus sit.*” (Regul. Pachom. xcii. part. i. p. 78.)

⁴³ St. Jerom, in strong, but indiscreet, language, expresses the most important use of fasting and abstinence: “*Non quod Deus universitatis Creator et Dominus, intestinorum nostrorum rugitû, et inanitate ventris, pulmonisque ardore delectetur, sed quod aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit.*” (Op. tom. i. p. 137. ad Eustochium.). See the twelfth and twenty-second Collations of Cassian, *de Castitate*, and *de Illusionibus Nocturnis*.

⁴⁴ Edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura (Dialog. i. c. 4. p. 521.). Cassian fairly owns, that the perfect model of abstinence cannot be imitated in Gaul, on account of the aerum temperies, and the qualitas nostræ fragilitatis (Institut. iv. 11.). Among the western rules, that of Columbanus is the most austere; he had been educated amidst the poverty of Ireland, as rigid perhaps, and inflexible, as the abstemious virtue of Egypt. The Rule of Isidore of Seville is the mildest: on holidays he allows the use of flesh.

⁴⁵ "Those who drink only water, and have no nutritious liquor, ought, at least, to have a pound and a half (*twenty four ounces*) of bread every day." State of Prisons, p. 40. by Mr. Howard.

⁴⁶ See Cassian. Collat. l. ii. 19, 20, 21. The small loaves, or biscuit, of six ounces each, had obtained the name of *Paximacia* (Rosweyde, Onomasticon, p. 1045.). Pachomius, however, allowed his monks some latitude in the quantity of their food; but he made them work in proportion as they eat (Pallad. in Hist. Lausiac. c. 38, 39. in Vit. Patrum, l. viii. p. 736, 737.).

⁴⁷ See the banquet to which Cassian (Collation. viii. 1.) was invited by Serenus, an Egyptian abbot.

⁴⁸ See the Rule of St. Benedict, N°. 39, 40. (in Cod. Reg. part. ii. p. 41, 42.) *Licet legamus vinum omnino monachorum non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest; he allows them a Roman hemina, a measure which may be ascertained from Arbuthnot's Tables.*

⁴⁹ Such expressions, as *my book, my cloak, my shoes* (Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 13.), were not less severely prohibited among the Western monks (Cod. Regul. part. ii. p. 174. 235. 288.); and the Rule of Columbanus punished them with six lashes. The ironical author of the *Ordres Monastiques*, who laughs at the foolish nicety of modern convents, seems ignorant that the ancients were equally absurd.

⁵⁰ Two great masters of ecclesiastical science, the P. Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 1090—1139.), and the P. Mabillon (*Etudes Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 116—155.), have seriously examined the manual labour of the monks, which the former considers as a *merit*, and the latter as a *duty*.

⁵¹ Mabillon (*Etudes Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 47—55.) has collected many curious facts to justify the literary labours of his predecessors, both in the East and West. Books were copied in the ancient monasteries of Egypt (Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 12.), and by the disciples of St. Martin (Sulp. Sever. in Vit. Martin. c. 7. p. 473.). Cassiodorus has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks; and *we* shall not be scandalized, if their pen sometimes wandered from Chrysostom and Augustin, to Homer, and Virgil.

⁵² Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 118. 145. 146. 171—179.) has examined the revolution of the civil, canon, and common, law. Modern France confirms the death which monks have inflicted on themselves, and justly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

⁵³ See Jerom (tom. i. p. 176. 183.). The monk Pambo made a sublime answer to Melania, who wished to specify the value of her gift: "Do you offer it to me, or to God? If to God? HE who suspends the mountains in a balance, need not be informed of the weight of your plate." (Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 10. in the Vit. Patrum, l. viii. p. 715.)

⁵⁴ Το πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς ὠκειώσαντο, προφασίεν μεταδίδοναι πάντα πτωχοῖς, πάντας (ὡς εἶπεν) πτωχοὺς κατὰσησαντες. Zosim. l. v. p. 325. Yet the wealth of the Eastern monks was far surpassed by the princely greatness of the Benedictines.

⁵⁵ The sixth general council (the Quinisext in Trullo, Canon xlvii, in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 231.) restrains women from passing the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. The seventh general council (the second Nicene, Canon xx. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 325.) prohibits the erection of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes; but it appears from Balsamon, that the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleasures and expences of the clergy and monks, see Thomassin, tom. iii. p. 1334—1368.

⁵⁶ I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine abbot: "My vow of poverty has given me an hundred thousand crowns a year; my vow of obedience has raised me to the rank of a sovereign prince." — I forget the consequences of his vow of chastity.

⁵⁷ Prior, an Egyptian monk, allowed his sister to see him; but he shut his eyes during the whole visit. See Vit. Patrum, l. iii. p. 504. Many such examples might be added.

⁵⁸ The 7th, 8th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 57th, 60th, 86th, and 95th articles of the Rule of Pachomius, impose most intolerable laws of silence and mortification.

⁵⁹ The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are copiously discussed by Cassian in the third and fourth books of his institutions; and he constantly prefers the liturgy, which an angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tabenne.

⁶⁰ Cassian, from his own experience, describes the *acedia*, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed, when he sighed to find himself alone. Sæpiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et Solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem crebrius intruetur (Institut. x. 1.)

⁶¹ The temptations and sufferings of Stagirus were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St Chrysostom. See Middleton's Works, vol. i. p. 107—110. Something similar introduces the life of every saint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits (Vie d'Inigo de Guiposcoa, tom. i. p. 29—38.) may serve as a memorable example.

⁶² Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique, tom. vii. p. 46. I have read somewhere, in the Vitæ Patrum, but I cannot recover the place, that *several*, I believe *many*, of the monks, who did not reveal their temptations to the abbot, became guilty of suicide.

⁶³ See the seventh and eighth Collations of Cassian, who gravely examines, why the demons were grown less active and numerous. since the time of St. Antony. Rosweyd's copious index to the Vitæ

Patrum will point out a variety of infernal scenes. The devils were most formidable in a female shape.

⁶⁴ For the distinction of the *Canobites* and the *Hermits*, especially in Egypt, see Jerom (tom. i. p. 45. ad Rusticum), the first Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus (c. 22. in Vit. Patrum, l. ii. p. 478.), Palladius (c. 7. 69. in Vit. Patrum l. viii. p. 712. 758.), and above all, the eighteenth and nineteenth Collations of Cassian. These writers, who compare the common, and solitary, life, reveal the abuse and danger of the latter.

⁶⁵ Suicer. Thesaur. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 205. 218. Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1501, 1502. gives a good account of these cells. When Gerasimus founded his monastery, in the wilderness of Jordan, it was accompanied by a Laura of seventy cells.

⁶⁶ Theodoret, in a large volume (the Philotheus in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 793—863.) has collected the lives and miracles of thirty Anachorets. Evagrius (l. i. c. 12.) more briefly celebrates the monks and hermits of Palestine.

⁶⁷ Sozomen, l. vi. c. 33. The great St. Ephrem composed a panegyric on these *Βοσκoi*, or grazing monks (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. viii. p. 292.)

⁶⁸ The P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 217—233. examined the caverns of the Lower Thebais, with wonder and devotion. The inscriptions are in the old Syriac character, which was used by the Christians of Habyssinia.

⁶⁹ See Theodoret (in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 848—854.), Antony (in Vit. Patrum, l. i. p. 170—177.), Cosmas (in Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 239—253.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 13, 14.) and Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. xv. p. 347—392.)

⁷⁰ The narrow circumference of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column, is consistent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived.

⁷¹ I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported that the Devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a fiery chariot. The saint too hastily raised his foot, and Satan seized the moment of inflicting this chastisement on his vanity.

⁷² I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the *Vita Patrum* of Rosweyde, as the number very much exceeds the thousand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant specimen may be found in the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, and his life of St. Martin. He reveres the monks of Egypt; yet he insults them with the remark, that *they* never raised the dead; whereas the bishop of Tours had restored *three* dead men to life.

⁷³ On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37. Socrates, l. iv. c. 33. Theodoret, l. iv. c. 37.

Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information.

⁷⁴ A mutilated copy of the four Gospels, in the Gothic version, was published A. D. 1665, and is esteemed the most ancient monument of the Teutonic language, though Wetstein attempts, by some frivolous conjectures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honour of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the *W*, and our own *Th*. See Simon. Hist. critique du nouveau Testament, tom. ii. p. 219—223. Mill. Prolegom. p. 151. edit. Kuster. Wetstein, Prolegom. tom. i. p. 114.

⁷⁵ Philostorgius erroneously places this passage under the reign of Constantine; but I am much inclined to believe that it preceded the great emigration.

⁷⁶ We are obliged to Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 51. p. 688.) for a short and lively picture of these lesser Goths. Gothi Minores, populus immensus, cum suo Pontifice ipsoque primate Wulfila. The last words, if they are not mere tautology, imply some temporal jurisdiction.

⁷⁷ At non ita Gothi non ita Vandali; malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tamen etiam in hac parte quam nostri. Salvian de Gubern. Dei, l. vii. p. 243.

⁷⁸ Mosheim has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an ecclesiastical, and even philosophical, history.

⁷⁹ To such a cause has Socrates (l. vii. c. 30. ascribed the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by Orosius (l. vii. c. 19.)

⁸⁰ See an original and curious epistle from Daniel, the first bishop of Winchester (Beda, Hist. Ecclési. Anglorum, l. v. c. 18. p. 203. edit. Smith), to St. Boniface, who preached the Gospel among the Savages of Hesse and Thuringia. Epistol. Bonifacii, lxxvii. in the Maxima Bibliotheca Petrum, tom. xiii. p. 93.

⁸¹ The sword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Daniel wrote this epistle (A. D. 723.) the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might have retorted it against the Christians.

⁸² The opinions of Ulphilas and the Goths inclined to Semi-Arianism, since they would not say that the Son was a *creature*, though they held communion with those who maintained that heresy. Their apostle represented the whole controversy as a question of trifling moment, which had been raised by the passions of the clergy. Theodoret. l. iv. c. 37.

⁸³ The Arianism of the Goths has been imputed to the emperor Valens: "Itaque iusto Dei judicio ipsi eum vivum incenderunt, qui propter eum etiam mortui, vitio erroris arsi sunt." Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. p. 554. This cruel sentence is confirmed by Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 604—610.), who coolly observes, "un

“ seul homme entraîna dans l'enfer un nombre infini de Septentrionaux , etc. ” Salvian (de Gubern. Dei , l. v. p. 150 , 151.) pities and excuses their involuntary error.

⁸⁴ Orosius affirms, in the year 416 (l. vii. c. 41. p. 580.), that the churches of Christ (of the Catholics) were filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

⁸⁵ Radbod, king of the Frisians, was so much scandalized by this rash declaration of a missionary, that he drew back his foot after he had entered the baptismal font. See Fleury Hist. Ecclési. tom. ix. p. 167.

⁸⁶ The Epistles of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, under the Visigoths, and of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, under the Burgundians, explain, sometimes in dark hints, the general dispositions of the Catholics. The history of Clovis and Theodoric will suggest some particular facts.

⁸⁷ Genferic confessed the resemblance, by the severity with which he punished such indiscreet allusions. Victor Vitenfis, l. 7. p. 10.

⁸⁸ Such are the contemporary complaints of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont (l. vii. c. 6. p. 182, etc. edit. Sirmond.). Gregory of Tours, who quotes this Epistle (l. ii. c. 25. in tom. ii. p. 174.) extorts an unwarrantable assertion, that of the nine vacancies in Aquitaine, some had been produced by episcopal martyrdoms.

⁸⁹ The original monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the History of Victor Vitenfis (de Persecutione Vandalicâ) a bishop who was exiled by Hunneric; in the Life of St. Fulgentius, who was distinguished in the persecution of Thrasimond (in Biblioth. Max. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 4—16.), and in the first book of the Vandalic War, by the impartial Procopius (c. 7, 8. p. 196, 197, 198, 199.) Dom Ruinart, the last editor of Victor, has illustrated the whole subject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and supplement. (Paris, 1694.)

⁹⁰ Victor. iv. 2. p. 65. Hunneric refuses the name of Catholics to the *Homœousians*. He describes, as the veri Divinæ Majestatis cultores, his own party, who professed the faith, confirmed by more than a thousand bishops, in the synods of Rimini and Seleucia.

⁹¹ Victor. ii. l. p. 21, 22. *Laudabilior . . . videbatur*. In the MSS. which omit this word, the passage is unintelligible. See Ruinart. Not. p. 164.

⁹² Victor. ii. 2. p. 22, 23. The clergy of Carthage called these conditions, *periculosæ*; and they seem, indeed, to have been proposed as a snare to entrap the Catholic bishops.

⁹³ See the narrative of this conference, and the treatment of the bishops, in Victor. ii. 13—18. p. 35—42. and the whole fourth book, p. 63—171. The third book, p. 42—62. is entirely filled by their apology or confession of faith.

⁹⁴ See the list of the African bishops, in Victor. p. 117—140. and Ruinart's notes, p. 215—397. The schismatic name of *Donatus*

frequently occurs, and they appear to have adopted (like our fanatics of the last age) the pious appellations of *Deodatus*, *Deogratias*, *Quid-vultdeus*, *Habetdeum*, etc.

⁹⁵ Fulgent. Vit. c. 16—29. Thrasimund affected the praise of moderation and learning; and Fulgentius addressed three books of controversy to the Arian tyrant, whom he styles *piissime Rex*. Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 41. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as exiles in the life of Fulgentius, they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor Tunnunensis, and Isidore; but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the *Historia Miscella*, and a short authentic chronicle of the times. See Ruinart. p. 570, 571.

⁹⁶ See the base and insipid epigrams of the Stoic, who could not support exile with more fortitude than Ovid. Corsica might not produce corn, wine, or oil; but it could not be destitute of grass, water, and even fire.

⁹⁷ Si ob gravitatem cœli interiissent, *vile* damnum. Tacit. Annal. ii. 85. In this application, Thrasimund would have adopted the reading of some critics, *ntile* damnum.

⁹⁸ See these preludes of a *general* persecution, in Victor. ii. 3, 4, 7. and the two edicts of Hunneric, l. ii. p. 35. l. iv. p. 64.

⁹⁹ See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 197, 198. A Moorish prince endeavoured to propitiate the God of the Christians, by his diligence to erase the marks of the Vandal sacrilege.

¹⁰⁰ See this story in Victor. ii. 8—12. p. 30—34. Victor describes the distress of these confessors as an eye-witness.

¹⁰¹ See the fifth book of Victor. His passionate complaints are confirmed by the sober testimony of Procopius, and the public declaration of the emperor Justinian. (Cod. l. i. tit. xxvii.)

¹⁰² Victor. ii. 18. p. 41.

¹⁰³ Victor. v. 4. p. 74, 75. His name was Victorianus, and he was a wealthy citizen of Adrumetum, who enjoyed the confidence of the king; by whose favour he had obtained the office, or at least the title, of proconsul of Africa.

¹⁰⁴ Victor. i. 6. p. 8, 9. After relating the firm resistance and dextrous reply of count Sebastian, he adds, *quare alio generis argumento postea bellicosum virum occidit*.

¹⁰⁵ Victor. v. 12, 13. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 609.

¹⁰⁶ *Primate* was more properly the title of the bishop of Carthage: but the name of *patriarch* was given by the sects and nations to their principal ecclesiastic. See Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 155. 158.

¹⁰⁷ The patriarch Cyrila himself publicly declared, that he did not understand Latin (Victor. ii. 18. p. 42.); Nescio Latine; and he might converse with tolerable ease, without being capable of disputing or preaching in that language. His Vandal clergy were still more

ignorant; and small confidence could be placed in the Africans who had conformed.

¹⁰⁸ Victor. ii. 1, 2. p. 22.

¹⁰⁹ Victor. v. 7. p. 77. He appeals to the ambassador himself, whose name was Uranius.

¹¹⁰ *Astutiores*. Victor. iv. 4. p. 70. He plainly intimates that their quotation of the Gospel "Non jurabitis in toto," was only meant to elude the obligation of an inconvenient oath. The forty-six bishops who refused were banished to Corsica; the three hundred and two who swore, were distributed through the provinces of Africa.

¹¹¹ Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspæ, in the Byzacene province, was of a senatorial family, and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to study Latin, his native tongue (Vit. Fulgent. c. 1.). Many African bishops might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

¹¹² Compare the two prefaces to the Dialogue of Vigilius of Thapfus (p. 118, 119. edit. Chifflet.) He might amuse his learned reader with an innocent fiction; but the subject was too grave, and the Africans were too ignorant.

¹¹³ The P. Quesnel started this opinion, which has been favourably received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are now universally acknowledged (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 516—522. Tillemont, Mém. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 667—671.). 1. St. Athanasius is not the author of the creed which is so frequently read in our churches. 2. It does not appear to have existed, within a century after his death. 3. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently, in the Western provinces. Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, was so much amazed by this extraordinary composition, that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. Petav. Dogmat. Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. c. 8. p. 687.

¹¹⁴ I John v. 7. See Simon, Hist. critique du Nouveau Testament, part. i. c. xviii. p. 203—218.; and part. ii. c. ix. p. 99—121.; and the elaborate Prolegomena and Annotations of Dr. Mill and Wetstein to their editions of the Greek Testament. In 1689, the papist Simon strove to be free; in 1707, the protestant Mill wished to be a slave; in 1751, the Armenian Wetstein used the liberty of his times, and of his sect.

¹¹⁵ Of *all* the MSS. now extant, above fourscore in number, some of which are more than 1200 years old (Wetstein ad loc.). The *orthodox* copies of the Vatican, of the Complutensian editors, of Robert Stephens, are become invisible; and the *two* MSS. of Dublin and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Emlyn's Works, vol. ii. p. 227—255. 269—299.; and M. de Miffy's four ingenious letters, in tom. viii. and ix. of the Journal Britannique.

¹¹⁶ Or, more properly, by the *four* bishops who composed and published the profession of faith in the name of their brethren. They style this text, *lucē clarius* (Victor Vitenfis de Persecut. Vandal. l. iii. c. II. p. 54.). It is quoted soon afterwards by the African polemics, Vigilius and Fulgentius.

¹¹⁷ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Nicolas, cardinal and librarian of the Roman church, *secundum orthodoxam fidem* (Wetstein, Prolegom. p. 84, 85.). Notwithstanding these corrections, the passage is still wanting in twenty-five Latin MSS. (Wetstein ad loc.), the oldest and the fairest; two qualities seldom united, except in manuscripts.

¹¹⁸ The art which the Germans had invented was applied in Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the New Testament was published about the same time (A. D. 1514. 1516. 1520.) by the industry of Erasmus, and the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes. The Complutensian Polyglot cost the cardinal 50,000 ducats. See Mattaire Annal. Typograph. tom. ii. p. 2—8. 125—133.; and Wetstein, Prolegomena, p. 116—127.

¹¹⁹ The three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testaments by the prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors; the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens in the placing a crotchet; and the deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Beza.

¹²⁰ Plin. Hist. Natural. v. I. Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 15. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part. ii. p. 127. This Tipasa (which must not be confounded with another in Numidia) was a town of some note, since Vespasian endowed it with the right of Latium.

¹²¹ Optatus Milevitanus de Schism. Donatist. l. ii. p. 38.

¹²² Victor. Vitenfis, v. 6. p. 76. Ruinart, 483—487.

¹²³ Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 664, 665. He was a Christian, and composed this Dialogue (the Theophrastus) on the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; besides twenty-five Epistles, still extant. See Cave (Hist. Litteraria, p. 297.) Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. tom. i. p. 422.).

¹²⁴ Justinian. Codex, l. i. tit. xxvii. Marcellin. in Chron. p. 45. in Thesaur. Temporum Scaliger. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 196. Gregor. Magnus Dialog. iii. 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessors, which is fixed at sixty in an old menology (apud Ruinart, p. 486.). Two of them lost their speech by fornication; but the miracle is enhanced by the singular instance of a boy who had *never* spoken before his tongue was cut out.

¹²⁵ See

¹²⁵ See the two general historians of Spain, Mariana (*Hist. de Rebus Hispaniæ*, tom. i. l. v. c. 12—15. p. 182—194.) and Ferreras (French translation, tom. ii. p. 206—247.). Mariana almost forgets that he is a Jesuit, to assume the style and spirit of a Roman classic. Ferreras, an industrious compiler, reviews his facts, and rectifies his chronology.

¹²⁶ Goisvintha successively married two kings of the Visigoths: Athanigild, to whom she bore Brunechild, the mother of Ingundis; and Leovigild, whose two sons, Hermenegild and Recared, were the issue of a former marriage.

¹²⁷ *Iracundiæ furore succensa, adprehensam per comam capitis puellam in terram conludit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac sanguine cruentatam, iussit exspoliari, et piscinæ immergi.* Greg. Turon. l. v. c. 39. in tom. ii. p. 255. Gregory is one of our best originals for this portion of history.

¹²⁸ The Catholics, who admitted the baptism of heretics, repeated the rite, or, as it was afterwards styled, the sacrament of confirmation, to which they ascribed many mystic and marvellous prerogatives, both visible and invisible. See Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. i. p. 405—552.

¹²⁹ Oset, or Julia Constantia, was opposite to Seville, on the northern side of the Bætis (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* iii. 3.) and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Francor.* l. vi. c. 43. p. 288.) deserves more credit than the name of Lusitania (de Gloriâ Martyr. c. 24.), which has been eagerly embraced by the vain and superstitious Portuguese (Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 166.).

¹³⁰ This miracle was skilfully performed. An Arian king sealed the doors, and dug a deep trench round the church, without being able to intercept the Easter supply of baptismal water.

¹³¹ Ferreras (tom. ii. p. 168—175. A. D. 550.) has illustrated the difficulties which regard the time and circumstances of the conversion of the Suevi. They had been recently united by Leovigild to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

¹³² This addition to the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan creed, was first made in the eighth council of Toledo, A. D. 653; but it was expressive of the popular doctrine (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 527. de tribus Symbolis).

¹³³ See Gregor. Magn. l. vii. epist. 126. apud Baronium, *Annal. Ecclési.* A. D. 599, N°. 25, 26.

¹³⁴ Paul Warnefrid (*de Gestis Langobard.* l. iv. c. 44. p. 853, edit. Grot.) allows that Arianism still prevailed under the reign of Rotharis. (A. D. 636—652.) The pious *Deacon* does not attempt to mark the precise æra of the national conversion, which was accomplished, however, before the end of the seventh century.

¹³⁵ *Quorum fidei et conversioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianismum. . . . Didicerat*

enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suæ salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere. Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiastic. l. i. c. 26. p. 62. edit. Smith.

¹³⁶ See the Historians of France, tom. iv. p. 114; and Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 11. 31. Si quis sacrificium immolaverit præter Deo soli, morte moriatur.

¹³⁷ The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Salomon, and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar; that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, etc. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. c. 9. p. 240—256.

¹³⁸ Isidore, at that time archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Sisebut (Chron. Goth. p. 728.). Baronius (A. D. 614. N°. 41.) assigns the number on the evidence of Aimoin, (l. iv. c. 22.): but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotation (Historians of France, tom. iii. p. 127.).

¹³⁹ Basnage (tom. viii. c. 13. p. 388—400.) faithfully represents the state of the Jews: but he might have added from the canons of the Spanish councils, and the laws of the Visigoths, many curious circumstances, essential to his subject, though they are foreign to mine.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

¹ In this chapter I shall draw my quotations from the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Paris 1738—1767, in eleven volumes in folio. By the labour of Dom. Bouquet, and the other Benedictines, all the original testimonies, as far as A. D. 1060, are disposed in chronological order, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might provoke our emulation.

² Tacit. Hist. iv. 73, 74. in tom. i. p. 445. To abridge Tacitus, would indeed be presumptuous: but I may select the general ideas which he applies to the present state and future revolutions of Gaul.

³ Eadem semper causa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias libido atque avaritiæ et mutandæ sedis amor; ut relictis paludibus et solitudinibus suis, fecundissimum hoc solum vosque ipsos possiderent. . . Nam pulsus Romanis quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium existent?

⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris ridicules, with affected wit and pleasantry, the hardships of his situation (Carm. xii. in tom. i. p. 811.).

⁵ See Procopius de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 31. The character of Grotius inclines me to believe, that he has not

substituted the *Rhine* for the *Rhône* (Hist. Gothorum, p. 175.) without the authority of some MS.

⁶ Sidonius, l. viii. epist. 3. 9. in tom. i. p. 800. Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 47. p. 680.) justifies, in some measure, this portrait of the Gothic hero.

⁷ I use the familiar appellation of *Clovis*, from the Latin *Chlodovechus*, or *Chlodovæus*. But the *Ch* expresses only the German aspiration; and the true name is not different from *Luduin*, or *Lewis* (ém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 68.).

⁸ Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 12. in tom. i. p. 168. Basina speaks the language of Nature: the Franks, who had seen her in their youth might converse with Gregory, in their old age; and the bishop of Tours could not wish to defame the mother of the first Christian king.

⁹ The Abbé Dubos (Hist. critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Française dans les Gaules, tom. i. p. 630—650.) has the merit of defining the primitive kingdom of Clovis, and of ascertaining the genuine number of his subjects.

¹⁰ Ecclesiam incultam ac negligentia civium Paganorum prætermittam, veprium densitate oppletam, etc. Vit. St. Vedasti, in tom. iii. p. 372. This description supposes that Arras was possessed by the Pagans, many years before the baptism of Clovis.

¹¹ Gregory of Tours (l. v. c. 1. in tom. ii. p. 232.) contrasts the poverty of Clovis with the wealth of his grandsons. Yet Remigius (in tom. iv. p. 52.) mentions his *paternas opes*, as sufficient for the redemption of captives.

¹² See Gregory (l. ii. c. 27. 37. in tom. ii. p. 175. 181, 182.). The famous story of the vase of Soissons explains both the power and the character of Clovis. As a point of controversy, it has been strangely tortured by Boulainvilliers, Dubos, and the other political antiquarians.

¹³ The duke of Nivernois, a noble statesman, who has managed weighty and delicate negociations, ingeniously illustrates (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 147—184.) the political system of Clovis.

¹⁴ M. Riet (in a Dissertation which deserved the prize of the Academy of Soissons, p. 178—226.) has accurately defined the nature and extent of the kingdom of Syagrius, and his father; but he too readily allows the slight evidence of Dubos (tom. ii. p. 54—57.) to deprive him of Beauvais and Amiens.

¹⁵ I may observe that Fredegarius, in his Epitome of Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. p. 398.), has prudently substituted the name of *Patri-cius* for the incredible title of *Rex Romanorum*.

¹⁶ Sidonius (l. v. epist. 5. in tom. i. p. 794.), who styles him the Solon, the Amphion, of the Barbarians, addresses this imaginary king in the tone of friendship and equality. From such offices of

arbitration, the crafty Dejoces had raised himself to the throne of the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 96—100.).

¹⁷ *Campum sibi præparari iussit.* M. Biet (p. 226—251.) has diligently ascertained this field of battle, at Nogent, a Benedictine abbey, about ten miles to the north of Soissons. The ground was marked by a circle of Pagan sepulchres; and Clovis bestowed the adjacent lands of Leuilly and Coucy on the church of Rheims.

¹⁸ See Cæsar. Comment. de Bell. Gallic. ii. 4. in tom. i. p. 220. and the Notitiæ, tom. i. p. 126. The three *Fabricæ* of Soissons were, *Scutaria*, *Balistaria*, and *Clinabaria*. The last supplied the complete armour of the heavy cuirassiers.

¹⁹ The epithet must be confined to the circumstances; and history cannot justify the French prejudice of Gregory (l. ii. c. 27. in tom. ii. p. 175.), *ut Gothorum pavere mos est.*

²⁰ Dubos has satisfied me (tom. i. p. 277—286.) that Gregory of Tours, his transcribers or his readers, have repeatedly confounded the German kingdom of *Thuringia*, beyond the Rhine, and the Gallic city, of *Tongria*, on the Meuse, which was more anciently the country of the Eburones, and more recently the diocese of Liege.

²¹ *Populi habitantes juxta Lemannum lacum, Alemanni dicuntur.* Servius, ad Virgil. Georgic. iv. 278. Dom Bouquet (tom. i. p. 817.) has only alleged the more recent and corrupt text of Isidore of Seville.

²² Gregory of Tours sends St. Lupicinus inter illa Jurenfis deserti secreta, quæ, inter Burgundiam Alemanniamque sita, Avenicæ adjacent civitati, in tom. i. p. 648. M. de Watteville (Hist. de la Confédération Helvétique, tom. i. p. 9, 10.) has accurately defined the Helvetian limits of the duchy of Alemannia, and the Transjurane Burgundy. They were commensurate with the dioceses of Constance and Avenche, or Lausanne, and are still discriminated, in modern Switzerland, by the use of the German, or French, language.

²³ See Guilliman. de Rebus Helveticis, l. i. c. 3. p. 11, 12. Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa, the castle of Habsburg, the abbey of Konigsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquest, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom. If he be truly a philosopher, he will applaud the merit and happiness of his own times.

²⁴ Gregory of Tours (l. ii. 30. 37. in tom. ii. p. 176, 177. 182.), the *Gesta Francorum* (in tom. ii. p. 551.), and the epistle of Theodoric (Cassiodor. Variar. l. ii. c. 41. in tom. iv. p. 4.), represent the defeat of the Alemanni. Some of their tribes settled in Rætia, under the protection of Theodoric; whose successors ceded the colony and their country to the grandson of Clovis. The state of the Alemanni under the Merovingian kings, may be seen in Mascon

(Hist. of the Ancient Germans, xi. 8, etc. Annotation xxxvi.) and Guilliman (de Reb. Helvet. l. ii. c. 10—12. p. 72—80.).

²⁵ Clotilda, or rather Gregory, supposes that Clovis worshipped the gods of Greece and Rome. The fact is incredible, and the mistake only shews how completely, in less than a century, the national religion of the Franks had been abolished, and even forgotten.

²⁶ Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and conversion of Clovis (l. ii. c. 28—31. in tom. ii. p. 175—178.) Even Fredegarius, or the nameless Epitomizer (in tom. ii. p. 398—400.), the author of the *Gesta Francorum* (in tom. ii. p. 548—552.), and Aimoin himself (l. i. c. 13. in tom. iii. p. 37—40.), may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important transactions.

²⁷ A traveller, who returned from Rheims to Auvergne, had stolen a copy of his Declamations from the secretary or bookseller of the modest archbishop (Sidonius Apollinar. l. ix. epist. 7.). Four epistles of Remigius, which are still extant (in tom. iv. p. 51, 52, 53.), do not correspond with the splendid praise of Sidonius.

²⁸ Hincmar, one of the successors of Remigius (A. D. 845—882.), has composed his life (in tom. iii. p. 373—380.). The authority of ancient MSS. of the church of Rheims might inspire some confidence, which is destroyed, however, by the selfish and audacious fictions of Hincmar. It is remarkable enough, that Remigius, who was consecrated at the age of twenty-two (A. D. 457.) filled the episcopal chair seventy-four years (Pagi Critica, in Baron. tom. ii. p. 384. 572.).

²⁹ A vial (the *Sainte Ampoule*) of holy, or rather celestial, oil, was brought down by a white dove, for the baptism of Clovis: and it is still used, and renewed, in the coronation of the kings of France. Hincmar (he aspired to the primacy of Gaul) is the first author of this fable (in tom. iii. p. 377.) whose slight foundations the Abbé de Vertot (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. ii. p. 619—633.) has undermined, with profound respect, and consummate dexterity.

³⁰ Mitis deponē colla, Sicamber: adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 31. in tom. ii. p. 177.

³¹ Si ego ibidem cum Francis meis fuisset, injurias ejus vindicasset. This rash expression, which Gregory has prudently concealed, is celebrated by Fredegarius (Epitom. c. 21. in tom. ii. p. 400.), Aimoin (l. i. c. 16. in tom. iii. p. 40.), and the *Chroniques de St. Denys* (l. i. c. 20. in tom. iii. p. 171.), as an admirable effusion of Christian zeal.

³² Gregory, (l. ii. c. 40—43. in tom. ii. p. 183—185.) after coolly relating the repeated crimes, and affected remorse, of Clovis, concludes, perhaps undesignedly, with a lesson, which ambition will never hear; “His ita transactis . . . obiit.”

³³ After the Gothic victory, Clovis made rich offerings to St. Martin of Tours. He wished to redeem his war-horse by the gift of one hundred pieces of gold; but the enchanted steed could not move from the stable till the price of his redemption had been doubled. This *miracle* provoked the king to exclaim, Vere B. Martinus est bonus in auxilio, sed carus in negotio (Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 554, 555.).

³⁴ See the epistle from pope Anastasius to the royal convert (in tom. iv. p. 50, 51.). Avitus, bishop of Vienna, addressed Clovis on the same subject (p. 49.); and many of the Latin bishops would assure him of their joy and attachment.

³⁵ Instead of the Ἀγέροισι, an unknown people, who now appear in the text of Procopius, Hadrian de Valois has restored the proper name of the Ἀπμορυστοι; and this easy correction has been almost universally approved. Yet an unprejudiced reader would naturally suppose, that Procopius means to describe a tribe of Germans in the alliance of Rome; and not a confederacy of Gallic cities, which had revolted from the empire.

³⁶ This important digression of Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 29—36.) illustrates the origin of the French monarchy. Yet I must observe, 1. That the Greek historian betrays an inexcusable ignorance of the geography of the West. 2. That these treaties and privileges, which should leave some lasting traces, are totally invisible in Gregory of Tours, the Salic laws, etc.

³⁷ Regnum circa Rhodanum aut Ararim cum provinciâ Massiliensi retinebant. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 32. in tom. ii. p. 178. The province of Marseilles, as far as the Durance, was afterwards ceded to the Ostrogoths: and the signatures of twenty-five bishops are supposed to represent the kingdom of Burgundy, A. D. 519. (Concil. Epaon. in tom. iv. p. 104, 105.) Yet I would except Vindonissa. The bishop, who lived under the Pagan Alemanni, would naturally resort to the synods of the next Christian kingdom. Mascou in his four first annotations) has explained many circumstances relative to the Burgundian monarchy.

³⁸ Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, xi. 10.) who very reasonably distrusts the testimony of Gregory of Tours, has produced a passage from Avitus (epist. v.), to prove that Gundobald affected to deplore the tragic event, which his subjects affected to applaud.

³⁹ See the original conference (in tom. iv. p. 99—102.). Avitus, the principal actor, and probably the secretary of the meeting, was bishop of Vienna. A short account of his person and works may be found in Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. v. p. 5—10.)

⁴⁰ Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 19. in tom. ii. p. 197.) indulges his genius, or rather transcribes some more eloquent writer, in the

description of Dijon; a castle, which already deserved the title of a city. It depended on the bishops of Langres till the twelfth century, and afterwards became the capital of the dukes of Burgundy. Longuerue Description de la France, part. i. p. 280.

⁴¹ The Epitomizer of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 401.) has supplied this number of Franks; but he rashly supposes that they were cut in pieces by Gundobald. The prudent Burgundian spared the foldiers of Clovis, and sent these captives to the king of the Visigoths, who settled them in the territory of Thoulouse.

⁴² In this Burgundian war I have followed Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 32, 33. in tom. ii. p. 178, 179.), whose narrative appears so incompatible with that of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 31, 32.), that some critics have supposed *two* different wars. The Abbé Dubos (Hist. critique, etc. tom. ii. p. 126—162.) has distinctly represented the causes and the events.

⁴³ See his life, or legend (in tom. iii. p. 402.). A martyr! how strangely has that word been distorted from its original sense of a common witness. St. Sigismond was remarkable for the cure of fevers.

⁴⁴ Before the end of the fifth century, the church of St. Maurice, and his Thebæan legion, had rendered Agaunum a place of devout pilgrimage. A promiscuous community of both sexes had introduced some deeds of darkness, which were abolished (A. D. 515.) by the regular monastery of Sigismond. Within fifty years, his *angels of light* made a nocturnal sally to murder their bishop, and his clergy. See in the Bibliothèque raisonnée (tom. xxxvi. p. 435—438.) the curious remark of a learned librarian of Geneva.

⁴⁵ Marius, bishop of Avenche (Chron. in tom. ii. p. 15.) has marked the authentic dates, and Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 5, 6. in tom. ii. p. 188, 189.) has expressed the principal facts, of the life of Sigismond, and the conquest of Burgundy. Procopius (in tom. ii. p. 34.) and Agathias (in tom. ii. p. 49.) shew their remote and imperfect knowledge.

⁴⁶ Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 37. in tom. ii. p. 181.) inserts the short but persuasive speech of Clovis. Valde moleste fero, quod hi Ariani partem teneant Galliarum (the author of the Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 553. adds the precious epithet of *optimam*), eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et, superatis eis, redigamus terram in ditionem nostram.

⁴⁷ Tunc rex projecit a se in directum Bipennem suam quod est *Francisca*, etc. (Gesta Franc. in tom. ii. p. 554.) The form, and use, of this weapon, are clearly described by Procopius (in tom. ii. p. 37.) Examples of its *national* appellation in Latin and French, may be found in the Glossary of Ducange, and the large Dictionnaire de Trevoux.

⁴⁸ It is singular enough, that some important and authentic facts should be found in a life of Quintianus, composed in rhyme in the old *Patois* of Rouergue (Dubos Hist. critique, etc. tom. ii. p. 179.).

⁴⁹ *Quamvis fortitudini vestræ confidentiam tribuat parentum vestrorum innumerabilis multitudo; quamvis Attilam potentem reminiscamini Visigothorum viribus inclinatum; tamen quia populorum ferocia corda longâ pace mollescent, cavete subito in aleam mittere, quos constat tantis temporibus exercitia non habere.* Such was the salutary, but fruitless, advice of peace, of reason, and of Theodoric (Cassiodor. l. iii. ep. 2.).

⁵⁰ Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xv. c. 14.) mentions and approves the law of the Visigoths (l. ix. tit. 2. in tom. iv. p. 425.), which obliged all masters to arm, and send, or lead, into the field, a tenth of their slaves.

⁵¹ This mode of divination, by accepting as an omen the first sacred words, which in particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or ear, was derived from the Pagans; and the Psalter or Bible, was substituted to the Poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the fourteenth century, these *sortes sanctorum*, as they are styled, were repeatedly condemned by the decrees of councils, and repeatedly practised by kings, bishops, and saints. See a curious dissertation of the Abbé de Resnel, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xix. p. 287—310.

⁵² After correcting the text, or excusing the mistake, of Procopius, who places the defeat of Alaric near Carcassone, we may conclude from the evidence of Gregory, Fortunatus, and the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, that the battle was fought in *campo Vocladensi*, on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the south of Poitiers. Clovis overtook and attacked the Visigoths near Vivonne, and the victory was decided near a village still named Champagné St. Hilaire. See the Dissertations of the Abbé le Bœuf, tom. i. p. 304—331.

⁵³ Angoulême is in the road from Poitiers to Bordeaux; and although Gregory delays the siege, I can more readily believe that he confounded the order of history, than that Clovis neglected the rules of war.

⁵⁴ *Pyrenæos montes usque Perpinianum subjecit;* is the expression of Rorico, which betrays his recent date; since Perpignan did not exist before the tenth century (*Marca Hispanica*, p. 458.) This florid and fabulous writer, perhaps a monk of Amiens, (See the Abbé le Bœuf, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xvii. p. 228—245.) relates, in the *allegorical* character of a shepherd, the general history of his countrymen the Franks; but his narrative ends with the death of Clovis.

⁵⁵ The author of the *Gesta Francorum* positively affirms, that Clovis fixed a body of Franks in the Saintonge and Bourdelois, and

he is not injudiciously followed by Rorico, electos milites, atque fortissimos, cum parvulis, atque mulieribus. Yet it should seem that they soon mingled with the Romans of Aquitain, till Charlemagne introduced a more numerous and powerful colony (Dubos. Hist. critique, tom. ii. p. 215.).

⁵⁶ In the composition of the Gothic war, I have used the following materials, with due regard to their unequal value. Four epistles from Theodoric king of Italy (Cassiodor. l. iii. epist. 1—4. in tom. iv. p. 3—5.) Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 32, 33.), Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 35, 36, 37. in tom. ii. p. 181—183.), Jornandes (de Reb. Getitis, c. 58. in tom. ii. p. 28.), Fortunatus (in Vit. St. Hilarii, in tom. iii. p. 380.), Isidore (in Chron. Goth. in tom. ii. p. 702.), the Epitome of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 401.) the author of the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 553—555.), the Fragments of Fredegarius (in tom. ii. p. 463.) Aimoin (l. i. c. 20. in tom. iii. p. 41, 42.), and Rorico (l. iv. in tom. iii. p. 14—19.)

⁵⁷ The *Fasti* of Italy would naturally reject a consul, the enemy of their sovereign; but any ingenious hypothesis that might explain the silence of Constantinople and Egypt (the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Paschal), is overturned by the similar silence of Marius, bishop of Avenche, who composed his *Fasti* in the kingdom of Burgundy. If the evidence of Gregory of Tours were less weighty and positive (l. ii. c. 38. in tom. ii. p. 183.), I could believe that Clovis; like Odoacer, received the lasting title and honours of *Patrician* (Pagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 474. 492.)

⁵⁸ Under the Merovingian kings, Marseilles still imported from the East, paper, wine, oil, linen, silk, precious stones, spices, etc. The Gauls, or Franks, traded to Syria, and the Syrians were established in Gaul. See M. de Guignes, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxxvii. p. 471—475..

⁵⁹ Οὐ γὰρ ποτε ὠντο Γαλλίας ξυν τῷ ασφαλὲι κεντησθαι Φράνγοι, μητὲ αυτοκρατορὸς τὸ ἐργὸν ἐπισφραγισαντος τὸτο γε. This strong declaration of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iii. cap. 33. in tom. ii. p. 41.), would almost suffice to justify the Abbé Dubos.

⁶⁰ The Franks, who probably used the mints of Treves, Lyons and Arles, imitated the coinage of the Roman emperors of seventy-two *solidi*, or pieces, to the pound of gold. But as the Franks established only a decuple proportion of gold and silver, ten shillings will be a sufficient valuation of their solidus of gold. It was the common standard of the Barbaric fines, and contained forty *denarii*, or silver threepences. Twelve of these denarii made a *solidus*, or shilling, the twentieth part of the ponderal and numeral livre, or pound of silver, which has been so strangely reduced in modern France. See le Blanc Traité historique des Monnoyes de France, p. 37—43, etc.

⁶¹ Agathias, in tom. ii. p. 47. Gregory of Tours exhibits a very

different picture. Perhaps it would not be easy, within the same historical space, to find more vice and less virtue. We are continually shocked by the union of savage and corrupt manners.

⁶² M. de Foncemagne has traced, in a correct and elegant dissertation (*Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. viii. p. 505—528.) the extent and limits of the French monarchy.

⁶³ The Abbé Dubos (*Histoire critique*, tom. i. p. 29—36.) has truly and agreeably represented the slow progress of these studies; and he observes, that Gregory of Tours was only once printed before the year 1560. According to the complaint of Heineccius (*Opera*, tom. iii. Sylloge iii. p. 248, etc.) Germany received with indifference and contempt the codes of Barbaric laws, which were published by Heroldus, Lindenbrogius, etc. At present those laws (as far as they relate to Gaul), the history of Gregory of Tours, and all the monuments of the Merovingian race, appear in a pure and perfect state, in the first four volumes of the *Historians of France*.

⁶⁴ In the space of thirty years (1728—1765) this interesting subject has been agitated by the free spirit of the Count de Boulainvilliers (*Mémoires historiques sur l'Etat de la France*, particularly tom. i. p. 15—49.); the learned ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos (*Histoire critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Française dans les Gaules*, 2 vol. in 4to.); the comprehensive genius of the president de Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*, particularly l. xxviii. xxx, xxxi.); and the good sense and diligence of the Abbé de Mably (*Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, 2 vol. 12mo.).

⁶⁵ I have derived much instruction from two learned works of Heineccius, the *History*, and the *Elements*, of the Germanic law. In a judicious preface to the *Elements*, he considers, and tries to excuse, the defects of that barbarous jurisprudence.

⁶⁶ Latin appears to have been the original language of the Salic law. It was probably composed in the beginning of the fifth century, before the æra (A. D. 421.) of the real or fabulous Pharamond. The preface mentions the four Cantons which produced the four legislators; and many provinces, Franconia, Saxony, Hanover, Brabant, etc. have claimed them as their own. See an excellent Dissertation of Heineccius, *de Lege Salicâ*, tom. iii. Sylloge iii. p. 247—267.

⁶⁷ Eginhard, in *Vit. Caroli Magni*, c. 29. in tom. v. p. 100. By these two laws, most critics understand the Salic and the Ripuarian. The former extended from the Carbonarian forest to the Loire (tom. iv. p. 151.), and the latter might be obeyed from the same forest to the Rhine (tom. iv. p. 222.).

⁶⁸ Consult the ancient and modern prefaces of the several Codes, in the fourth volume of the *Historians of France*. The original prologue to the Salic law expresses (though in a foreign dialect) the

genuine spirit of the Franks, more forcibly than the ten books of Gregory of Tours.

⁶⁹ The Ripuarian law declares, and defines, this indulgence in favour of the plaintiff (tit. xxxi. in tom. iv. p. 240.); and the same toleration is understood, or expressed, in all the Codes, except that of the Visigoths of Spain. *Tanta diversitas legum* (says Agobard, in the ninth century) *quanta non solum in regionibus, aut civitatibus, sed etiam in multis domibus habetur. Nam plerumque contingit ut simul eant aut fedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum communem legem cum altero habeat* (in tom. vi. p. 356.). He foolishly proposes to introduce an uniformity of law, as well as of faith.

⁷⁰ *Inter Romanos negotia causarum Romanis legibus præcipimus terminari.* Such are the words of a general constitution promulgated by Clotaire, the son of Clovis, and sole monarch of the Franks (in tom. iv. p. 116.), about the year 560.

⁷¹ This liberty of choice has been aptly deduced (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. 2.) from a constitution of Lothaire I. (*Leg. Langobard*, l. ii. tit. lvii. in *Codex Lindenbrog.* p. 664.): though the example is too recent and partial. From a various reading, in the Salic law, (tit. xlv. not xlv.) the Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 290—293.) has conjectured, that, at first, a *Barbarian* only, and afterwards any *man* (consequently a Roman), might live according to the law of the Franks. I am sorry to offend this ingenious conjecture by observing, that the stricter sense (*Barbarum*) is expressed in the reformed copy of Charlemagne; which is confirmed by the Royal and Wolfenbüttele MSS. The looser interpretation (*hominem*) is authorised only by the MS. of Fulda, from whence Heroldus published his edition. See the four original texts of the Salic law, in tom. iv. p. 147. 173. 196. 220.

⁷² In the heroic times of Greece, the guilt of murder was expiated by a pecuniary satisfaction to the family of the deceased (*Feithius Antiquitat. Homeric.* l. ii. c. 8.). Heineccius, in his preface to the Elements of Germanic Law, favourably suggests, that at Rome and Athens homicide was only punished with exile. It is true: but exile was a *capital* punishment for a citizen of Rome or Athens.

⁷³ This proportion is fixed by the Salic (tit. xlv. in tom. iv. p. 147.) and the Ripuarian (tit. vii. xi. xxxvi. in tom. iv. p. 237. 241.) laws: but the latter does not distinguish any difference of Romans. Yet the orders of the clergy are placed above the Franks themselves, and the Burgundians and Alemanni between the French and the Romans.

⁷⁴ The *Antrustiones*, *qui in truste Dominicâ, sunt, leudi, fideles*, undoubtedly represent the first order of Franks; but it is a question whether their rank was personal, or hereditary. The Abbé de Mably

(tom. i. p. 334—347.) is not displeased to mortify the pride of birth (Esprit, l. xxx. c. 25.), by dating the *origin* of French nobility from the reign of Clotaire II. (A. D. 615.).

⁷⁵ See the Burgundian laws (tit. ii. in tom. iv. p. 257.), the Code of the Visigoths (l. vi. tit. v. in tom. iv. p. 384.), and the constitution of *Childebert*, not of Paris, but most evidently of Austrasia (in tom. iv. p. 112.). Their premature severity was sometimes rash, and excessive. *Childebert* condemned not only murderers but robbers; *quomodo sine lege involavit, sine lege moriatur*; and even the negligent judge was involved in the same sentence. The Visigoths abandoned an unsuccessful surgeon to the family of his deceased patient, *ut quod de eo facere voluerint habeant potestatem* (l. xi. tit. i. in tom. iv. p. 435.).

⁷⁶ See in the sixth volume of the works of Heineccius, the *Elementa Juris Germanici*, l. ii. p. ii. N°. 261, 262. 280—283. Yet some vestiges of these pecuniary compositions for murder, have been traced in Germany, as late as the sixteenth century.

⁷⁷ The whole subject of the Germanic judges, and their jurisdiction, is copiously treated by Heineccius (*Element. Jur. Germ.* l. iii. N°. 1—72.). I cannot find any proof, that, under the Merovingian race, the *scabini*, or assessors, were chosen by the people.

⁷⁸ Gregor. Turon. l. viii. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 316. Montesquieu observes (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 13.), that the Salic law did not admit these *negative proofs* so universally established in the Barbaric codes. Yet this obscure concubine (*Fredegundis*), who became the wife of the grandson of Clovis, must have followed the Salic law.

⁷⁹ Muratori, in the *Antiquities of Italy*, has given two *Dissertations* (xxxviii, xxxix.) on the *judgments of God*. It was expected, that *fire* would not burn the innocent; and that the pure element of *water* would not allow the guilty to sink into its bosom.

⁸⁰ Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 17.) has condescended to explain and excuse “*la maniere de penser de nos peres*,” on the subject of judicial combats. He follows this strange institution from the age of Gundobald to that of St. Lewis; and the philosopher is sometimes lost in the legal antiquarian.

⁸¹ In a memorable duel at Aix la Chapelle (A. D. 820.), before the emperor Lewis the Pious; his biographer observes, *secundum legem propriam, utpote quia uterque Gothus erat, equestri pugnâ congressus est* (*Vit. Lud. Pii*, c. 33. in tom. vi. p. 103.) Ermoldus Nigellus (l. iii. 543—628. in tom. vi. p. 48—50.), who describes the duel, admires the *ars nova* of fighting on horseback, which was unknown to the Franks.

⁸² In his original edict, published at Lyons (A. D. 501.), Gundobald establishes and justifies the use of judicial combat (*Leg. Burgund.* tit. xlv. in tom. ii. p. 267, 268). Three hundred years afterwards,

Agobard, bishop of Lyons, solicited Lewis the Pious to abolish the law of an Arian tyrant (in tom. vi. p. 356—358.): He relates the conversation of Gundobald and Avitus.

⁸³ “Accidit (says Agobard) ut non solum valentes viribus, sed etiam “ infirmi et senes laceffantur ad pugnam, etiam pro vilissimis rebus. “ Quibus foralibus certaminibus contingunt homicidia injusta; et “ crudeles ac perversi eventus judiciorum.” Like a prudent rhetorician, he suppresses the legal privilege of hiring champions.

⁸⁴ Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, xxviii. c. 14.), who understands why the judicial combat was admitted by the Burgundians, Ripuarians, Alemanni, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Frisians, and Saxons, is satisfied (and Agobard seems to countenance the assertion), that it was not allowed by the Salic law. Yet the same custom, at least in cases of treason, is mentioned by Ermoldus Nigellus (l. iii. 543. in tom. vi. p. 48.), and the anonymous biographer of Lewis the Pious (c. 46. in tom. vi. p. 112) as the “*mos antiquus Francorum*, more Francis solito, etc.” expressions too general to exclude the noblest of their tribes.

⁸⁵ *Cæsar de Bell. Gall.* l. i. c. 31. in tom. i. p. 213.

⁸⁶ The obscure hints of a division of lands occasionally scattered in the laws of the Burgundians (tit. liv. N°. 1, 2. in tom. iv. p. 271, 272.), and Visigoths (l. x. tit. i. N°. 8, 9. 16. in tom. iv. p. 428, 429, 430.), are skilfully explained by the president Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxx. c. 7, 8, 9.). I shall only add, that, among the Goths, the division seems to have been ascertained by the judgment of the neighbourhood; that the Barbarians frequently usurped the remaining *third*; and, that the Romans might recover their right, unless they were barred by a description of fifty years.

⁸⁷ It is singular enough, that the president de Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxx. c. 7.), and the Abbé de Mably (*Observations*, tom. i. p. 21, 22.), agree in this strange supposition of arbitrary and private rapine. The count de Boulainvilliers (*Etat de la France*, tom. i. p. 22, 23.) shews a strong understanding, through a cloud of ignorance, and prejudice.

⁸⁸ See the rustic edict, or rather code, of Charlemagne, which contains seventy distinct and minute regulations of that great monarch (in tom. v. p. 652—657.). He requires an account of the horns and skins of the goats, allows his fish to be sold, and carefully directs, that the larger villas (*Capitaneæ*) shall maintain one hundred hens and thirty geese; and the smaller (*Mansionales*) fifty hens and twelve geese. Mabillon (*de Re Diplomaticâ*) has investigated the names, the number, and the situation of the Merovingian villas.

⁸⁹ From a passage of the Burgundian law (tit. i. N°. 4. in tom. iv. p. 257.), it is evident, that a deserving son might expect to hold the lands which his father had received from the royal bounty of Gundo-

bald. The Burgundians would firmly maintain their privilege, and their example might encourage the beneficiaries of France.

⁹⁰ The revolutions of the benefices and fiefs are clearly fixed by the Abbé de Mably. His accurate distinction of *times* gives him a merit to which even Montesquieu is a stranger.

⁹¹ See the Salic law (tit. lxii. in tom. iv. p. 156.). The origin and nature of these Salic lands, which, in times of ignorance, were perfectly understood, now perplex our most learned and sagacious critics.

⁹² Many of the two hundred and six miracles of St. Martin (Greg. Turon. in Maximâ Bibliothecâ Patrum, tom. xi. p. 896—932.) were repeatedly performed to punish sacrilege. Audite hæc omnes (exclaims the bishop of Tours), potestatem habentes, after relating, how some horses run mad, that had been turned into a sacred meadow.

⁹³ Heinec. Element. Jur. German. l. ii. p. 1. N° 8.

⁹⁴ Jonas, bishop of Orleans (A. D. 821—826. Cave, Hist. Litteraria p. 443.) censures the *legal* tyranny of the nobles. Pro feris, quas curâ hominum non aluit, sed Deus in commune mortalibus ad utendum concessit, pauperes a potentioribus spoliuntur, flagellantur, ergastulis detruduntur, et multa alia patiuntur. Hoc enim qui faciunt, *Lege mundi* se facere jure posse contendunt. De Institutione Laicorum, l. ii. c. 23. apud Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1348.

⁹⁵ On a mere suspicion, Chundo, a chamberlain of Gontran, king of Burgundy, was stoned to death (Greg. Turon. l. x. c. 10. in tom. ii. p. 369.). John of Salisbury (Policrat. l. i. c. 4.) asserts the rights of nature, and exposes the cruel practice of the twelfth century. See Heinec. Elem. Jur. Germ. l. II. p. 1. N° 51—57.

⁹⁶ The custom of enslaving prisoners of war was totally extinguished in the thirteenth century, by the prevailing influence of Christianity; but it might be proved, from frequent passages of Gregory of Tours, etc. that it was practised, without censure, under the Merovingian race; and even Grotius himself (de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. iii. c. 7.), as well as his commentator Barbeyrac, have laboured to reconcile it with the laws of nature and reason.

⁹⁷ The state, professions, etc. of the German, Italian, and Gallic slaves, during the middle ages, are explained by Heineccius (Element. Jur. Germ. l. i. N° 28—47.), Muratori (Dissertat. xiv, xv.) Ducange (Gloss. sub voce *Servi*), and the Abbé de Mably (Observations, tom. ii. p. 3, etc. p. 237, etc.).

⁹⁸ Gregory of Tours, (l. vi. c. 45. in tom. ii. p. 289.) relates a memorable example, in which Chilperic only abused the private rights of a master. Many families, which belonged to his *domus fiscales*, in the neighbourhood of Paris, were forcibly sent away into Spain.

⁹⁹ Licentiam habeatis mihi qualemcunque volueritis disciplinam ponere; vel venundare, aut quod vobis placuerit de me facere. Marculf. Formul. l. ii. 28. in tom. iv. p. 497. The *Formula* of Linden-

brogius (p. 559.), and that of Anjou (p. 565.) are to the same effect. Gregory of Tours (l. vii. c. 45. in tom. ii. p. 311.) speaks of many persons, who sold themselves for bread, in a great famine.

¹⁰⁰ When Cæsar saw it, he laughed (Plutarch. in Cæsar. in tom. i. p. 409.): yet he relates his unsuccessful siege of Gergovia, with less frankness than we might expect from a great man to whom victory was familiar. He acknowledges, however, that in one attack he lost forty-six centurions and seven hundred men (de Bell. Gallico, l. vi. c. 44—53. in tom. i. p. 270—272.).

¹⁰¹ Audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere, et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare (Sidon. Apollinar. l. vii. epist. 7. in tom. i. p. 799.). I am not informed of the degrees and circumstances of this fabulous pedigree.

¹⁰² Either the first, or second, partition among the sons of Clovis, had given Berry to Childebert (Greg. Turon. l. iii. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 192.). Velim (said he), Arvernæ *Lemanem*, quæ tantâ jocunditatis gratiâ refulgere dicitur oculis cernere (l. iii. c. 9. p. 191.). The face of the country was concealed by a thick fog, when the king of Paris made his entry into Clermont.

¹⁰³ For the description of Auvergne, see Sidonius (l. iv. epist. 21. in tom. i. p. 793.), with the notes of Savaron and Sirmond (p. 279. and 51. of their respective editions), Boulainvilliers (Etat de la France, tom. ii. p. 242—268.), and the Abbé de la Longuerue (Description de la France, part i. p. 132—139.).

¹⁰⁴ Furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte venerant, superare non porterat (Greg. Turon. l. iv. c. 50. in tom. ii. 229.), was the excuse of another king of Australia (A. D. 574.), for the ravages which his troops committed in the neighbourhood of Paris.

¹⁰⁵ From the name and situation, the Benedictine editors of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 192.) have fixed this fortress at a place named *Castel Merliac*, two miles from Mauriac, in the Upper Auvergne. In this description, I translate *infra* as if I read *intra*; the two prepositions are perpetually confounded by Gregory, or his transcribers; and the sense must always decide.

¹⁰⁶ See these revolutions, and wars, of Auvergne in Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 37. in tom. ii. p. 183. and l. iii. c. 9. 12, 13. p. 191, 192. de Miraculis St. Julian. c. 13. in tom. ii. p. 466.). He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to his native country.

¹⁰⁷ The story of Attalus is related by Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 16. in tom. ii. p. 193—195.). His editor, the P. Ruinart, confounds this Attalus, who was a youth (*puer*) in the year 532, with a friend of Sidonius of the same name, who was count of Autun, fifty or sixty years before. Such an error, which cannot be imputed to ignorance, is excused, in some degree, by its own magnitude.

¹⁰⁸ This Gregory, the great grandfather of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 197. 490.), lived ninety-two years; of which he passed forty, as count of Autun, and thirty two, as bishop of Langres. According to the poet Fortunatus, he displayed equal merit in these different stations.

Nobilis antiquâ decurrens prole parentum,
Nobilior gestis, nunc super allra manet.
Arbiter ante ferox, dein pius ipse sacerdos,
Quos domuit iudex, fovet amore patris.

¹⁰⁹ As M. de Valois, and the P. Ruinart, are determined to change the *Mosella* of the text into *Mosa*, it becomes me to acquiesce in the alteration. Yet, after some examination of the topography, I could defend the common reading.

¹¹⁰ The parents of Gregory (Gregorius Florentius Georgius) were of noble extraction (*natalibus . . . illustres*), and they possessed large estates (*latifundia*) both in Auvergne and Burgundy. He was born in the year 539, was consecrated bishop of Tours in 573, and died in 593, or 595, soon after he had terminated his history. See his Life by Odo, abbot of Clugny (in tom. ii. p. 127—135.), and a new Life in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, etc. tom. xxvi. p. 598—637.

¹¹¹ Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium culturâ literarum, etc. (in præfat. in tom. ii. p. 137.), is the complaint of Gregory himself, which he fully verifies by his own work. His style is equally devoid of elegance and simplicity. In a conspicuous station he still remained a stranger to his own age and country; and in a prolix work (the five last books contain ten years) he has omitted almost every thing that posterity desires to learn. I have tediously acquired, by a painful perusal, the right of pronouncing this unfavourable sentence.

¹¹² The Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 247—267) has diligently confirmed this opinion of the president de Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxx. c. 13.).

¹¹³ See Dubos, *Hist. critique de la Monarchie Française*, tom. ii. l. vi. c. 9, 10. The French antiquarians establish as a *principle*, that the Romans and Barbarians may be distinguished by their names. Their names undoubtedly form a reasonable *presumption*; yet in reading Gregory of Tours. I have observed Gondulphus, of Senatorian, or Roman extraction (l. vi. c. 11. in tom. ii. p. 273.); and Claudius, a Barbarian (l. vii. c. 29. p. 303.).

¹¹⁴ Eunius Mummolus is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth (c. 42. p. 224.) to the seventh (c. 40. p. 310.) book. The computation by talents is singular enough; but if Gregory attached any meaning to that obsolete word, the treasures of Mummolus must have exceeded 100,000 l. sterling.

¹¹⁵ See Fleury, *Discours iii. sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*.

¹¹⁶ The

¹¹⁶ The bishop of Tours himself has recorded the complaint of Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis. *Ecce pauper remansit Fiscus noster; ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatae: nulli penitus nisi soli Episcopi regnant* (l. vi. c. 46. in tom. ii. p. 291.).

¹¹⁷ See the Ripuarian Code (tit. xxxvi. in tom. iv. p. 241.). The Salic law does not provide for the safety of the clergy; and we might suppose, on the behalf of the more civilized tribe, that they had not foreseen such an impious act as the murder of a priest. Yet Prætextatus, archbishop of Rouen, was assassinated by the order of queen Fredegundis, before the altar (Greg. Turon. l. viii. c. 31. in tom. ii. p. 326.).

¹¹⁸ M. Bonamy (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxiv. p. 582—670.) has ascertained the *Lingua Romana Rustica*, which, through the medium of the *Romance*, has gradually been polished into the actual form of the French language. Under the Carlovingian race, the kings and nobles of France still understood the dialect of their German ancestors.

¹¹⁹ *Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xi. c. 6.*

¹²⁰ See the Abbé de Mably. *Observations, etc.* tom. i. p. 34—56. It should seem that the institution of national assemblies, which are coeval with the French nation, have never been congenial to its temper.

¹²¹ Gregory of Tours, l. viii. c. 30. in tom. ii. p. 325, 326.) relates, with much indifference, the crimes, the reproof, and the apology, *Nullus Regem metuit, nullus Ducem, nullus Comitem reveretur; et si fortassis alicui ista displicent, et ea, pro longævitate vitæ vestræ, emendare conatur, statim seditio in populo, statim tumultus exoritur, et in tantum unusquisque contra seniore, sævâ intentione grassatur, ut vix se credat evadere, si tandem filere nequiverit.*

¹²² Spain, in these dark ages, has been peculiarly unfortunate. The Franks had a Gregory of Tours; the Saxons, or Angles, a Bede; the Lombards, a Paul Warnefrid, etc. But the history of the Visigoths is contained in the short and imperfect chronicles of Isidore of Seville, and John of Biclar.

¹²³ Such are the complaints of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and the reformer of Gaul (in tom. iv. p. 94.). The fourscore years, which he deplores, of licence and corruption, would seem to insinuate, that the Barbarians were admitted into the clergy about the year 660.

¹²⁴ The acts of the councils of Toledo are still the most authentic records of the church and constitution of Spain. The following passages are particularly important (iii. 17, 18. iv. 75. v. 2, 3, 4, 5. 8. vi. 11, 12, 13, 14. 17, 18. vii. 1. xiii. 2, 3. 6.). I have found Mascou (*Hist. of the ancient Germans*, xv. 29. and *Annotations*, xxvi. and xxxiii.) and Ferreras (*Hist. Générale de l'Espagne*, tom. ii.) very useful and accurate guides.

¹²⁵ The Code of the Visigoths, regularly divided into twelve books, has been correctly published by Dom Bouquet (in tom. iv. p. 273—460.). It has been treated by the president de Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 1.) with excessive severity. I dislike the style; I detest the superstition; but I shall presume to think, that the civil jurisprudence displays a more civilised and enlightened state of society, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.

¹²⁶ See Gildas de Excidio Britanniae, c. 11—25. p. 4—9. edit. Gale. Nennius Hist. Britonum, c. 28. 35—65. p. 105—115. edit. Gale. Bede Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglorum, l. i. c. 12—16. p. 49—53. c. 22. p. 58. edit. Smith. Chron. Saxonicum, p. 11—23, etc. edit. Gibson. The Anglo-Saxon laws were published by Wilkins, London 1731, in folio; and the Leges Wallicae, by Wotton and Clarke, London 1730, in folio.

¹²⁷ The laborious Mr. Carte, and the ingenious Mr. Whitaker, are the two modern writers to whom I am principally indebted. The particular historian of Manchester embraces, under that obscure title, a subject almost as extensive as the general history of England.

¹²⁸ This *invitation*, which may derive some countenance from the loose expressions of Gildas and Bede, is framed into a regular story by Witikind, a Saxon monk of the tenth century (see Cousin, Hist. de l'Empire d'Occident, tom. ii. p. 356.). Rapin, and even Hume, have too freely used this suspicious evidence, without regarding the precise and probable testimony of Nennius: *Interea venerunt tres Chiulæ a Germaniâ in exilio pulsæ, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist.*

¹²⁹ Nennius imputes to the Saxons the murder of three hundred British chiefs; a crime not unfuitable to their savage manners. But we are not obliged to believe (see Jeffrey of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 9—12.), that Stonehenge is their monument, which the giants had formerly transported from Africa to Ireland, and which was removed to Britain by the order of Ambrosius, and the art of Merlin.

¹³⁰ All these tribes are expressly enumerated by Bede (l. i. c. 15. p. 52. l. v. c. 9. p. 190.), and though I have considered Mr. Whitaker's remarks (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 538—543.), I do not perceive the absurdity of supposing that the Frisians, etc. were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.

¹³¹ Bede has enumerated seven kings, two Saxons, a Jute, and four Angles, who successively acquired in the heptarchy an indefinite supremacy of power and renown. But their reign was the effect, not of law, but of conquest; and he observes, in similar terms, that one of them subdued the Isles of Man and Anglesey; and that another imposed a tribute on the Scots and Picts (Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 5. p. 83.).

¹³² See Gildas de Excidio Britanniae, c. i. p. 1. edit. Gale.

¹³³ Mr. Whitaker (History of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 503. 516.) has smartly exposed this glaring absurdity, which had passed unnoticed by the general historians, as they were hastening to more interesting and important events.

¹³⁴ At Beran-birig, or Barbury castle, near Marlborough. The Saxon chronicle assigns the name and date. Cambden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 128.) ascertains the place; and Henry of Huntingdon (Scriptores post Bedam, p. 314.) relates the circumstances of this battle. They are probable and characteristic; and the historians of the twelfth century might consult some materials that no longer exist.

¹³⁵ Cornwall was finally subdued by Athelstan (A. D. 927—941.), who planted an English colony at Exeter, and confined the Britons beyond the river Tamar. See William of Malmsbury, l. ii. in the Scriptores post Bedam, p. 50. The spirit of the Cornish knights was degraded by servitude; and it should seem, from the Romance of Sir Tristram, that their cowardice was almost proverbial.

¹³⁶ The establishment of the Britons in Gaul is proved in the sixth century, by Procopius, Gregory of Tours, the second council of Tours (A. D. 567.), and the least suspicious of their chronicles and lives of saints. The subscription of a bishop of the Britons to the first council of Tours (A. 461. or rather 481.), the army of Riothamus, and the loose declamation of Gildas (*alii transmarinas petebant regiones*, c. 25. p. 8.), may countenance an emigration as early as the middle of the fifth century. Beyond that æra, the Britons of Armorica can be found only in Romance; and I am surprized that Mr. Whitaker (Genuine History of the Britons, p. 214—221.) should so faithfully transcribe the gross ignorance of Carte, whose venial errors he has so rigorously chastised.

¹³⁷ The antiquities of *Bretagne*, which have been the subject even of political controversy, are illustrated by Hadrian Valesius (*Notitia Galliarum*, sub voce *Britannia Cismarina*, p. 98—100.), M. d'Anville (*Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, Corisopiti, Curiosolites, Osismii, Vorganium*, p. 248. 258. 508. 720. and *Etats de l'Europe*, p. 76—80.), Longuerue (*Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 84—94.), and the Abbé de Vertot (*Hist. critique de l'Etablissement des Bretons dans les Gaules*, 2 vol. in 12mo. Paris, 1720.). I may assume the merit of examining the original evidence which they have produced.

¹³⁸ Bede, who in his chronicle (p. 28.) places Ambrosius under the reign of Zeno (A. D. 474—491.), observes, that his parents had been "*purpurâ induti*;" which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, by "*regium nomen et insigne ferentibus*" (l. i. c. 16. p. 53.). The expression of Nennius (c. 44. p. 110. edit. Gale) is still more singular, "*Unus de consulibus gentis Romanicæ est pater meus.*"

¹³⁹ By the unanimous, though doubtful, conjecture of our antiquarians, Ambrosius is confounded with Natanleod, who (A. D. 508.)

lost his own life, and five thousand of his subjects, in a battle against Cerdic, the West Saxon (Chron. Saxon. p. 17, 18.)

¹⁴⁰ As I am a stranger to the Welsh bards Myrdhin, Llomarch, and Talieffin, my faith in the existence and exploits of Arthur, principally rests on the simple and circumstantial testimony of Nennius (Hist. Brit. c. 62, 63. p. 114.). Mr. Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 31—71.) has framed an interesting, and even probable, narrative of the wars of Arthur: though it is impossible to allow the reality of the round table.

¹⁴⁰ The progress of romance, and the state of learning, in the middle ages, are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Wharton, with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry.

¹⁴¹ Hoc anno (490.) Ælla et Cissa obsederunt Andredes-Cæster; et interfecerunt omnes qui id incoluerunt; adeo ut ne unus Brito ibi superstes fuerit (Chron. Saxon. p. 15.); an expression more dreadful in its simplicity, than all the vague and tedious lamentations of the British Jeremiah.

¹⁴² Andredes-Cæster, or Anderida, is placed by Camden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 258.) at Newenden, in the marshy grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest (Anderida), which overspread so large a portion of Hampshire and Suffex.

¹⁴³ Dr. Johnson affirms, that *few* English words are of British extraction. Mr. Whitaker, who understands the British language, has discovered more than *three thousand*, and actually produces a long and various catalogue (vol. ii. p. 235—329.). It is possible, indeed, that many of these words may have been imported from the Latin or Saxon into the native idiom of Britain.

¹⁴⁴ In the beginning of the seventh century, the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons mutually understood each other's language, which was derived from the same Teutonic root (Bede, l. i. c. 25. p. 60.).

¹⁴⁵ After the first generation of Italian, or Scottish, missionaries, the dignities of the church were filled with Saxon profelytes.

¹⁴⁶ Carte's History of England, vol. i. p. 195. He quotes the British historians; but I much fear, that Jeffrey of Monmouth (l. vi. c. 15.) is his only witness.

¹⁴⁷ Bede, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. i. c. 15. p. 52. The fact is probable, and well attested: yet such was the loose intermixture of the German tribes, that we find, in a subsequent period, the law of the Angli and Warini of Germany (Lindenbrog. (Codex, p. 479—486.))

¹⁴⁸ See Dr. Henry's useful and laborious History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 388.

¹⁴⁹ Quicquid (says John of Tinemouth) inter Tynam et Tesam fluvios extitit sola eremi vastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nul-

lius ditioni fervivit, eo quod sola indomitorum et fylvestrium animalium spelunca et habitatio fuit (apud Carte, vol. i. p. 195.) From bishop Nicholson (English Historical Library, p. 65. 98.), I understand, that fair copies of John of Tinemouth's ample Collections are preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Lambeth, etc.

¹⁵⁰ See the mission of Wilfrid, etc. in Bede, Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 13. 16. p. 155, 156, 159.

¹⁵¹ From the concurrent testimony of Bede (l. ii. c. i. p. 78.), and William of Malmsbury (l. iii. p. 102.) it appears, that the Anglo-Saxons, from the first, to the last, age, persisted in this unnatural practice. Their youths were publicly sold in the market of Rome.

¹⁵² According to the laws of Ina, they could not be lawfully sold beyond the seas.

¹⁵³ The life of a *Wallus*, or *Cambricus*, *homo*, who possessed a hide of land, is fixed at 120 shillings, by the same laws (of Ina, tit. xxxii. in Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 20.), which allowed 200 shillings for a free Saxon, and 1200 for a Thane (see likewise Leg. Anglo Saxon, p. 71.). We may observe, that these legislators, the West Saxons and Mercians, continued their British conquests after they became Christians. The laws of the four kings of Kent do not condescend to notice the existence of any subject Britons.

¹⁵⁴ See Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 278.

¹⁵⁵ At the conclusion of his history (A. D. 731.) Bede describes the ecclesiastical state of the island, and censures the implacable, though impotent, hatred of the Britons against the English nation, and the Catholic church (l. v. c. 23. p. 219.).

¹⁵⁷ Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales (p. 426—449.) has furnished me with a curious and interesting account of the Welsh bards. In the year 1568, a session was held at Caerwys by the special command of queen Elisabeth, and regular degrees in vocal and instrumental music were conferred on fifty-five minstrels. The prize (a silver harp) was adjudged by the Mostin family.

¹⁵⁸ Regio longe lateque diffusa, milite, magis quam credible fit, referta. Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, fortitus more barbaro denas aut amplius uxores. This reproach of William of Poitiers (in the Historians of France, tom. xi. p. 88.) is disclaimed by the Benedictine editors.

¹⁵⁹ Giraldus Cambrensis confines this gift of bold and ready eloquence to the Romans, the French, and the Britons. The malicious Welshman insinuates, that the English taciturnity might possibly be the effect of their servitude under the Normans.

¹⁶⁰ The picture of Welsh and Armorican manners is drawn from Giraldus (Descript. Cambriæ, c. 6—15. inter Script. Cambden. p. 886—891.), and the authors quoted by the Abbé de Vertot (Hist. critique, tom. ii. p. 259—266.).

¹⁶¹ See Procopius de Bell. Gothic. l. iv. c. 20. p. 620—625. The Greek historian is himself so confounded by the wonders which he relates, that he weakly attempts to distinguish the islands of *Brittia* and *Britain*, which he has identified by so many inseparable circumstances.

¹⁶² Theodebert, grandson of Clovis, and king of Austrasia, was the most powerful and warlike prince of the age; and this remarkable adventure may be placed between the years 534 and 547, the extreme terms of his reign. His sister Theudechildis retired to Sens, where she founded monasteries, and distributed alms (see the notes of the Benedictine editors, in tom. ii. p. 216.) If we may credit the praises of Fortunatus (l. vi. carm. 5. in tom. ii. p. 507.), Radiger was deprived of a most valuable wife.

¹⁶³ Perhaps she was the sister of one of the princes or chiefs of the Angles, who landed in 527, and the following years, between the Humber and the Thames, and gradually founded the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Mercia. The English writers are ignorant of her name and existence: but Procopius may have suggested to Mr. Rowe the character and situation of Rodugune in the tragedy of the Royal Convert.

¹⁶⁴ In the copious history of Gregory of Tours, we cannot find any traces of hostile or friendly intercourse between France and England, except in the marriage of the daughter of Caribert king of Paris, *quam regis cujusdam in Cantia filius matrimonio copulavit* (l. ix. c. 26. in tom. ii. p. 348.). The bishop of Tours ended his history and his life almost immediately before the conversion of Kent.

Notes to the General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

¹ Such are the figurative expressions of Plutarch (Opera, tom. ii. p. 318. edit. Wechel) to whom, on the faith of his son Lamprias (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii. p. 341.), I shall boldly impute the malicious declamation, *περι της Ρωμαίων τύχης*. The same opinions had prevailed among the Greeks two hundred and fifty years before Plutarch: and to confute them, is the professed intention of Polybius (Hist. l. i. p. 90. edit. Gronov. Amstel. 1670.).

² See the inestimable remains of the sixth book of Polybius, and many other parts of his general history, particularly a digression in the seventeenth book; in which he compares the phalanx and the legion.

³ Sallust. de Bell. Jugurthin. c. 4. Such were the generous professions of P. Scipio and Q. Maximus. The Latin historian had read, and most probably transcribes, Polybius, their contemporary and friend.

⁴ While Carthage was in flames, Scipio repeated two lines of the Iliad, which express the destruction of Troy, acknowledging to Polybius, his friend and preceptor (Polyb. in Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. tom. ii. p. 1455—1465.), that, while he recollected the vicissitudes of human affairs, he inwardly applied them to the future calamities of Rome (Appian. in Libycis, p. 136. edit. Toll.).

⁵ See Daniel ii. 31—40. “And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things.” The remainder of the prophecy (the mixture of iron and clay) was accomplished, according to St. Jerom, in his own time. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano Imperio fortius et durius, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quum et in bellis civilibus et adversus diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum auxilio indigemus (Opera, tom. v. p. 572.)

⁶ The French and English editors of the Genealogical History of the Tartars have subjoined a curious, though imperfect, description of their present state. We might question the independence of the Calmucks, or Eluths, since they have been recently vanquished by the Chinese, who, in the year 1759, subdued the lesser Bucharina, and advanced into the country of Badaksham, near the sources of the Oxus (Mémoires sur les Chinois, tom. i. p. 325—400.). But these conquests are precarious, nor will I venture to ensure the safety of the Chinese empire.

⁷ The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is weakened by the revolt of the Isaurians, the independence of Britain and Armorica, the Moorish tribes, or the Bagaudæ of Gaul and Spain (vbl. i. p. 340. vol. iii. p. 273. 337. 434.)

⁸ America now contains about six millions of European blood and descent; and their numbers, at least in the North, are continually increasing. Whatever may be the changes of their political situation, they must preserve the manners of Europe; and we may reflect with some pleasure, that the English language will probably be diffused over an immense and populous continent.

⁹ On avoit fait venir (for the siege of Turin) 140 pièces de canon; et il est à remarquer que chaque gros canon monté revient à environ 2000 écus: il y avoit 110,000 boulets; 106,000 cartouches d'une façon, et 300,000 d'une autre; 21,000 bombes; 27,700 grenades, 15,000 sacs à terre, 30,000 instruments pour le pionnage; 1,200,000 livres de poudre. Ajoutez à ces munitions, le plomb, le fer, et le fer blanc, les cordages, tout ce qui sert aux mineurs, le soufre, le salpêtre, les outils de toute espèce. Il est certain que les frais de tous ces préparatifs de destruction suffiroient pour fonder et pour faire fleurir la plus nombreuse colonie. Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV. c. xx. in his Works, tom. xi. p. 391.

¹⁰ It would be an easy, though tedious task, to produce the authorities of poets, philosophers, and historians. I shall therefore

content myself with appealing to the decisive and authentic testimony of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. p. 11, 12. l. iii. p. 184, etc. edit. Wesseling.). The Ichthyophagi, who in his time wandered along the shores of the Red Sea, can only be compared to the natives of New Holland (Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 464—469.). Fancy, or perhaps reason, may still suppose an extreme and absolute state of nature far below the level of these savages, who had acquired some arts and instruments.

¹¹ See the learned and rational work of the President Goguet, de l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences. He traces from facts, or conjectures (tom. i. p. 147—337, edit. 12mo.), the first and most difficult steps of human invention.

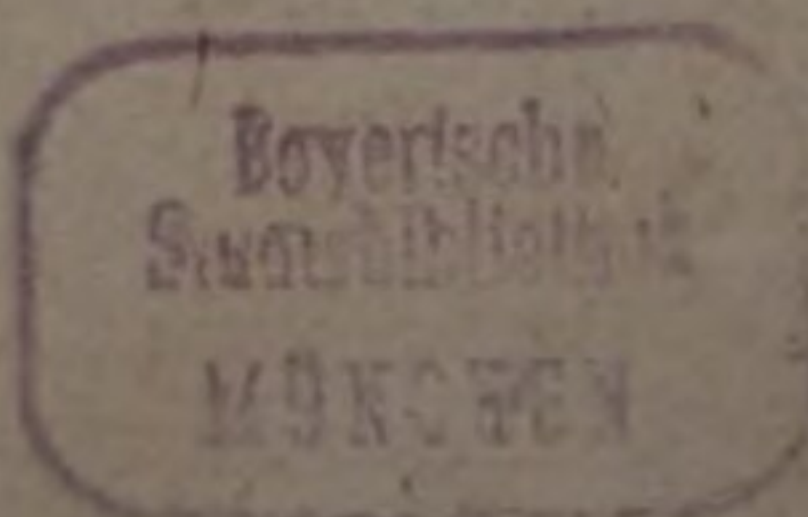
¹² It is certain, however strange, that many nations have been ignorant of the use of fire. Even the ingenious natives of Otaheite, who are destitute of metals, have not invented any earthen vessels capable of sustaining the action of fire, and of communicating the heat to the liquids which they contain.

¹³ Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. in tom. ii. p. 275. Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 8. p. 152. edit. London. The arrival of Saturn (of his religious worship) in a ship, may indicate, that the savage coast of Latium was first discovered and civilised by the Phœnicians.

¹⁴ In the ninth and tenth books of the Odyssæy, Homer has embellished the tales of fearful and credulous sailors, who transformed the cannibals of Italy and Sicily into monstrous giants.

¹⁵ The merit of discovery has too often been stained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticism; and the intercourse of nations has produced the communication of disease and prejudice. A singular exception is due to the virtue of our own times and country. The five great voyages successively undertaken by the command of his present Majesty, were inspired by the pure and generous love of science and of mankind. The same prince, adapting his benefactions to the different stages of society, has founded a school of painting in his capital; and has introduced into the islands of the South-Sea, the vegetables and animals most useful to human life.

End of the Notes to the six first Volumes.



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The History Of The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire

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